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**Dr. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph. D., F.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.N.S.**  
Retired Government Epigraphist for India



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„ 51.	„ —Plate III	„	269
„ 52.	Veligalani Grant of Kapilesvara, Saka 1380.	<i>between pages</i>	286 and 287
„ 53.	Bandora Plates of Maurya Anirjitavarman, Year 29 . . . . .	<i>to face page</i>	295
„ 54.	Ohandil Stone Inscription . . . . .	„	298
„ 55.	Two Inscriptions of Gupta Age . . . . .	<i>between pages</i>	306 and 307
„ 56.	Mayalur Plates of Chalukya Vijayaditya, Saka 622 —Plate I . . . . .	<i>to face page</i>	313
„ 57.	—Plate II . . . . .	<i>between pages</i>	314 and 315
„ 58.	Madanapada Plate of Visvarupasena—Plate I .	<i>to face page</i>	322
„ 59.	„ —Plate II . . . . .	„	324

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 1, foot-note 3, line 3.—For Rājamahēndravarmān during the regin read Rājamahēndravarmān during the reign
- „ 1, foot-note 3, line 4.—For Rāghudēva read Raghudēva
- „ 6, line 19.—For eminences read eminence
- „ 6, foot-note 4, line 2.—For *sthitam* . . . *Ġḡḡācari* read *sthitam* | . . . *Ġḡḡācari*°
- „ 6, foot-note 5, line 2.—For *vipra* read *uprā*
- „ 7, lines 6-7.—For Vijayapratāpakapilēndra-mahāśāsana in the Sanskrit read Pratāpakapilēsarapara in the Oriya
- „ 8, foot-note 2, line 2.—For *Krishnā* read *Kṛishṇā*
- „ 10, line 37 and page 18, text line 128.—Add note—*Madhubābhūra* may be a mistake for *madhubābhūra*.
- „ 11, line 34.—For *Upājati* read *Upajātī*
- „ 12, text line 3.—Read *yaḥ* |
- „ 13, foot-note 2.—Add note—Or read *putraḥ kīrti-pratāpā*°.
- „ 13, foot-note 4.—Read *samprā*°
- „ 14, text-line 44.—For *sukkhām* read *sukham*
- „ 15, text lines 65 and 80.—The correction of “*asa* = *Yajus*” is unnecessary
- „ 16, text line 93.—Read [*sa*°] *ṭamaḥ*
- „ 16, text line 100.—Read *nishpātaḥ* |°
- „ 17, text line 115.—For *mataḥ* read *vataḥ* ; for *soḍ*° read *nyād*°
- „ 18, text line 136.—For *mana*° read *mahā*°
- „ 18, text line 138.—For *Lakshmi* read *Lakshmi*
- „ 20, lines 6-13.—Add note—If the author used the word *asa* in the sense of ‘eight’, the year would be Śaka 1378 (current). As the second of the two suggested dates falls in the next lunar year, the first one may be regarded as the correct date of the record.
- „ 21, foot-note 4.—Omit.
- „ 23, line 3 —Read *nāḍu*(*i-nnāḍu*)
- „ 26, text line 13.—For *idha*, read *i-dha*



- Page 27, line 19.—For *ātman* read *ātman*
- „ 28, line 18.—For *Pullempet* read *Pullampet*
- „ 28, line 28.—For *Renāṇḍu* read *Rōnāṇḍu*
- „ 28, foot-note 4, line 1.—For *Dakṣarṇma*\* read *Dakṣarṇma*\*
- „ 28, foot-note 4, line 2.—For *vira* read *vira*
- „ 29, foot-note 6.—Read \**mūḍa* *Deṇḱapā*\*
- „ 29, text line 3.—Read (*kā-ākhi*)*la*
- „ 29, text line 5.—Read (*dī*)*p-ā*\*
- „ 29, text line 35.—Read *Baraṇāsi*
- „ 32, line 23.—For *indentify* read *identify*
- „ 34, text line 5.—The correction of *kakṣyaḥ* is unnecessary.
- „ 34, foot-note 1.—For *daṇḍa* read *danda*
- „ 35, text line 27.—For *kītusi* read *kītun*
- „ 36, line 21.—For *Pārṇimānta* read *Pārṇimānta*
- „ 37, line 24.—For *preant* read *present*
- „ 37, line 31.—For c. 1255-70 A.D. read c. 1155-70 A.D.
- „ 38, line 22.—For *exacavated* read *excavated*
- „ 41, foot-note 1, line 3.—For *Huitzsch* read *Hultzsch*
- „ 47, foot-note 7.—Add note—*Āsvayuja* sudi 11 seems to have been the date of the grant and not of the festival.
- „ 49, foot-note 3.—For *karuṇiam* read *karuṇyam*
- „ 52, line 5.—For *as* read *us*
- „ 56, line 3.—For *all sins* read *great sins*
- „ 58, line 13.—For *bhikakumi* read *bhikṣuṇ*
- „ 59, line 15.—For *Enlightment* read *Enlightenment*
- „ 61, line 29.—For *definity* read *definitely*
- „ 63, text line 8.—For *sa-pañcha* read *sa pañcha*
- „ 68, foot-note 9.—For \**ādrīḥ* read \**ādrīḥ*
- „ 69, text line 5.—For *śrī* read *śrī*

- Page 69, text line 10.—For *āṛata[ā]* read *āṛata[ā]*
- „ 70, text line 18.—Read *śukhī*<sup>2</sup>
- „ 71, line 31.—For *Karpāta* read *Kārpāta*
- „ 73, line 32. For *discused* read *discussed*
- „ 74, text line 8.—For *Jamḍamaladhātā* etc. read *Jamḍamal[ē]m[ā] (l̥=ʹn)lātā* etc. [H.K.N.]
- „ 75, text line 16.—For *nagare=va*<sup>2</sup> read *nagarī=va*<sup>2</sup>
- „ 75, foot-note 4, line 4.—For *below* read *below as*
- „ 75, foot-note 13, line 2.—Read not *sama*<sup>2</sup>
- „ 77, foot-note 1, line 1.—For *Nollipayva* read *Nollipayya*
- „ 80, line 7.—For *thi* read *this*
- „ 89, lines 33-34, and page 91, text line 20.—Add note—*Uñchh-ādi-parihartavyē samādhī-sahitāh* may mean 'together with an agreement in respect of the exemption of *uñchhā*, etc.'<sup>2</sup>
- „ 92, text line 25.—For *Sua* read *Sen*
- „ 93, line 34.—For *Dēvapāladeva* read *Dēvapālādēva*
- „ 94, text line 1.—For *Srī*<sup>2</sup> read *Śrī*<sup>2</sup>
- „ 97, line 19.—For *Dhanesat* read *Dhaneswar*
- „ 102, line 29.—For *as* read *has*
- „ 104, para 4.—Add note—The verb in *sauti* [5kē=smā in verse 5 may suggest that Mallikārjuna was living at the time when the record was drafted or engraved. In that case, verse 11 merely indicates that Gaurī made her husband Mallikārjuna free from his debt to his ancestors by performing their *śrāddha* at Gayā on her husband's behalf.
- „ 104, foot-note 2, line 3.—For *abave* read *above*
- „ 105, foot-note 3, lines 3. A.—For *Dhruvāvara* read *Dhruvāvara*
- „ 107, text line 1.—For *lasi.* read *lasi-*
- „ 108, para. 3, line 7.—For *magan[ā]* read *maga[ā]*<sup>2</sup>
- „ 109, line 4.—For *in that Narasimha* read *in that of Narasimha*
- „ 113, text line 16.—For *kkā* [||\*] read *kkā*||
- „ 114, lines 25-30.—Add note—If *Vijayanagara-simhāsana-kartala* is taken to refer to Achyutarāya, it was he who was made free from his debt to his ancestors by Timmananna by performing their *śrāddha* at Gayā on the king's behalf.



- Page 118, line 20.—For *Konkoṇḍala* read *Konakoṇḍala*
- „ 118, foot-note 10, line 5.—For *munisturaḥ* read *munistaraḥ*
- „ 118, foot-note 19, line 7.—Read *pūjit-ōṭṭiṣṭa*
- „ 120, text line 15.—For *\*yāṭṭpi* read *\*yāṭpi*
- „ 120, text line 24.—For *varggaṇi = cha* read *varggaṭṭa = cha*
- „ 120, foot-note 1.—For *raṇige* read *raṇigē*
- „ 121, line 29.—For *away* read *away*
- „ 122, lines 13-14.—Add note—The 21 generations are generally understood to indicate the ten preceding and the ten succeeding generations of a person together with his own generation.
- „ 123, foot-note 1, line 1.—For *the* read *the*
- „ 128, text line 1.—For *paṇḍiddhē* read *paṇḍiddhē*
- „ 132, line 15.—For *Rodam* read *Roddam*
- „ 137, line 17.—For *of* read *of*
- „ 139, text line 14.—For *vidhāya* read *vidhāya*
- „ 139, text line 14.—Read *ṣṛgaṇḍhīni*
- „ 144, text line 7.—For *laṅchhana* read *lāṅchhana*
- „ 144, text line 22.—Read *bhūpatir =*
- „ 146, text line 54.—For *uttarāyana* read *uttarāyana*
- „ 146, text line 56.—For *\*ashta* read *\*aṣṭa*
- „ 154, text line 20.—For *\*utkīṣṇā* read *\*utkīṣṇā*
- „ 156, line 15.—For *to whom* read *to which*
- „ 158, foot-note 3.—For *Tihra* read *There*
- „ 161, text line 3.—For *yiruttar* read *Yiruttar*
- „ 161, text line 3.—For *dēvarku* read *dēvarku*
- „ 161, foot-note 11.—For *Pudukottai* read *Pudukkottai*
- „ 173, line 2.—For *Tirupparan\** read *Tirupparan\**
- „ 194, line 39.—For *559 A.D.* read *955 A.D.*
- „ 213, text line 26.—For *vipula[n\*]* read *vipulā[n\*]*

- Page 317, line 4.—For *Kōkapa* read *Kōhapa*
- .. 220, line 39.—For *Bhaktrāja* read *Bhaktirāja*
- .. 220, foot-note 3.—Read pp. 239 ff.
- .. 221, last line.—For *Sūrya* read *Sūrya*
- .. 225, line 36.—For *bring* read *being*
- .. 228, last line.—Read *70 tam*
- .. 231, text line 134.—Read *cha*
- .. 234, foot-note 1.—For *this* read *this*
- .. 237, text line 12.—For *sarvash* read *sarvadā sarvash*
- .. 237, text line 15.—Read *cha bhogavatā* and omit foot-note 1.
- .. 252, foot-note 1, line 2.—For *edescription* read *description*
- .. 256, line 32.—For *nscription* read *inscription*
- .. 258, foot-note 5.—For *Māvāli* read *Māvali*
- .. 260, foot-note 3.—Add note—For the female name *Nāgarasu* with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it, see above, Vol. XXI, p. 64.
- .. 265, foot-note 2.—For *Chōdaganga* read *Chōdaganga*
- .. 280, foot-note 8, line 3.—For *Kashhamumetta* read *Kambamumetta*
- .. 285.—For *74 Yarrā* read *74 Yarrā*
- .. 284.—For *101 Sōmayajulu* read *101 Sōmayajulu*
- .. 285, foot-note 5.—For *Sārdūlavikrīṭā* read *Sārdūlavikrīṭa*
- .. 287, text line 31.—For *Rigvādi* read *Rigvādi*
- .. 287, text line 37.—For *\*pu(pu)li* read *\*puli*
- .. 289, text line 86.—For *Yarrā* read *Yarrā*
- .. 290, text line 141.—For *dharī* read *dari*
- .. 291, text line 177.—For *lādi* read *lādi*
- .. 291, text line 178.—For *nilla* read *nilla*
- .. 293, line 23.—For *seems to register* read *seems to be to register*
- .. 302, text line 20.—For *nama* read *nāma*
- .. 302, text line 21.—Read *\*adida[ru]*



Page 304, line 3.—*For* characters *read* chartdis

„ 304, foot-note 8, line 2.—*Add at the end of the sentence*—as well as in the Gunaighar plate of 507 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 331).

„ 309, line 27.—*For* culléd *read* called

„ 315, line 25.—*Read* ३

„ 316, line 5.—*For* Ballālasēna *read* Ballālasēna

„ 318, line 35.—*For* is *read* are

„ 320, line 41.—*For* snpported *read* supported

„ 323, text line 31.—*For* grāma-samīdāśita *read* grāma-parisara-samīdāśita

„ 328, line 43.—*For* sence *read* sense

„ 331, foot-note 9.—*For* va *read* vi



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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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## No. 1—TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA

(6 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 30.8.1957)



In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions, I visited Rajahmundry in January 1956 in order to examine the copper-plate charters in the collection of the Andhra Historical Research Society. Among the records, kindly shown to me by Mr. R. Subba Rao, the enthusiastic Secretary of the Society, one was a grant of Raghudēva, which Mr. Subba Rao, as I was told, was trying to publish in the Society's journal.<sup>1</sup> On the same occasion, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry was also kind enough to show me a copper plate with inscription on both sides, which was lying in his possession. It was found on examination that this plate contains the central part of another charter of the same Raghudēva. Although Mr. Krishna Rao's plate thus offers us only the fragment of a document, it is interesting because it contains all the details of the grant made by the donor by means of the record in question and also because the introductory stanzas offer an additional information about the genealogy of the Sūryavaṃśī Gajapatis of Orissa as found for the first time in the other epigraph referred to above. The ancestry of the great Kapilēśvara or Kapilendra, the founder of the said dynasty, is shrouded in mystery and traditions on the subject found in such works as the *Mādalā Pāṇī* (i.e. the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri) have unfortunately made the confusion worse confounded. We have now very welcome light on the subject. Both the charters are edited here as they are of considerable interest to the students of Orissan history.

The donor of the two grants under study is already known to us from two inscriptions. One of these comes from Tirupati in the Peddapuram Taluk of the West Godavari District and shows that Raghudēva-narēndra-mahāpātra was the governor of Rajahmundry during the reign of Gajapati Kapilēśvara in 1458 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The other record was discovered in the fort of Warangal in the District of that name, formerly in the Hyderabad State but now in Andhra. This epigraph is dated in 1460 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions of Raghudēva published here bear dates in 1455-56 and

<sup>1</sup> *CE JAHRS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 163 ff.; also *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 275 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *SHI*, Vol. V, No. 100 (pp. 36-37). The inscription, engraved on a pillar at the entrance of the Śrīraṅgarāya temple, records that on Jyēṣṭha-tadi 13, Monday, in the year Bahudhanya (i.e. Śaka 1380 expired), while Raghudēva-narēndra-mahāpātra was ruling at Rājahmalēndravaram during the reign of Kapilēśvara-mahāntya, one Trinētrādēvaguṇapīlari, the officer of the temple treasury, restored the lands of the temple of Śrīrāṅgarāya, which were being illegally enjoyed by the *Mālājanas* of the village of Tirupati during the period of Vīrēśvara-purūṣita's service. Raghudēva is also mentioned in Kapilēśvara's Puri inscription (*JASB*, 1893, p. 99, No. II).

<sup>3</sup> *MacKenzie Manuscripts*, No. 15-45. The date of the inscription is quoted as Kali 4561, Pramāthina, Māgha-sudi 10, Saturday. Taking the Kali year to be current, the date corresponds regularly to the 2nd February 1460 A.D. The record mentions Virabhadra Raghudēva-narēndra as the son of Paramānandēśvara-tyāya of the solar race. As will be seen below, this information is supported by the inscriptions now published. Raghudēva seems to have accompanied Harihara, son of Kapilēśvara, in Harihara's expedition against Warangal which he conquered about this time. Harihara's own inscription in the Warangal fort, an inaccurate transcript of which has been published in *SHI*, Vol. VII, p. 372, No. 733, bears the date Pramāthina, Māgha-sudi 10, Va (i.e. *Vaṇḍavāra*, Saturday), regularly corresponding to the 2nd February 1460 A.D. The record actually reads *Gajapati-Kapilēśvara-mahāntya-kaṇḍarūpāṇi* [A] *Virabhadra-kumāra-mahāpātri(tru)ṇḍa* *Voraṇḍa* *ṇḍiṇi-śaka* *ponḍa* 11. For the two inscriptions, see also *A.N.R.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 53 and 55. Raghudēva's Warangal inscription has been edited below, pp. 125 ff.



1456 A.D. Since the earlier of the two records now under review, viz. the one dated 1455-56 A.D., is fragmentary and its introductory part gets some elucidation from the other epigraph, dated 1456 A.D., we shall take up the latter first for discussion.

The two known records of Raghudēva, together with the two now under study, show that he was Kapilēśvara's governor at Rajahmundry at least from 1455 to 1460 A.D. But he seems to have been placed in charge of the Gajapati province of Rajahmundry some time earlier. The province in question appears to have comprised roughly the present East and West Godavari Districts together with some of the adjoining areas. This was the Rājamahēndra-rājya or the kingdom with Rājamahēndrapura (or 'nagara) or Rājamahēndravaram (i.e. Rajahmundry) as its capital, which Kapilēśvara conquered from the Reddīs and annexed to the Gajapati empire a few years before the earliest date in Raghudēva's known records.

The struggle of the Reddīs of Rajahmundry with their kinsmen, the Reddīs of Kondavidu, led to the decline of both the houses and to their complete subjugation by the Vijayanagara king Prāṇḍha-Dēvarāya (Dēvarāya II) who had ascended the throne in Śaka 1346 (1424 A.D.). This also speaks of the success of the Vijayanagara king against the contemporary Gaṅga monarch Bhānu IV (c. 1434<sup>1</sup> to 1434-35 A.D.) of Orissa because the latter's attempt to annex the Rajahmundry kingdom to the Gaṅga empire failed. An inscription<sup>2</sup> points to the presence of the Vijayanagara general Teluṅgarāya at Simhachalam in the year Playaḍu (1427 A.D.) while the Mūḍa-bidure inscription<sup>3</sup> of Śaka 1351-Saunmya (1429 A.D.) describes Dēvarāya II as the lion in destroying the crests of elephants of the Māluṅgarāja (Gajapati) and the very Agastya to the ocean of the armies of the Andhra kings (i.e. the Reddīs). The latest date for Vimaladhara, the last Reddī king of Rajahmundry, is the month of Phālguna in Śaka 1359-Piṅgala (1438 A.D.),<sup>4</sup> when he was apparently a vassal of the Vijayanagara monarch. But a Draksharame (Rama-chandrapuram Taluk, East Godavari District) inscription of the reign of Dēvarāya II, dated Śaka 1366 (1444 A.D.), seems to suggest that the Reddī king was still living as late as that date.<sup>5</sup> An inscription<sup>6</sup> at Ponugonda (Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District), dated Śaka 1370-Vibhava (1448 A.D.), however, speaks of the rule of the Gajapati king, i.e. Kapilēśvara. The Rajahmundry kingdom was thus conquered by Kapilēśvara between 1444 and 1448 A.D. There is a tradition that he conquered the country named Mahendra (or Rājamahēndra) or Mahēndra (i.e. Rājamahēndra) in the fourteenth Śaka year of his reign.<sup>7</sup> Since he ascended the throne in 1434-35 A.D., his 14th Śaka or 12th actual regnal year would correspond to 1446-47 A.D. Raghudēva may have been stationed at Rajahmundry soon after the annexation of the Rājamahēndra-rājya to the Gajapati empire, i.e. sometime before 1450 A.D. How long he served in the same capacity after 1460 A.D., the latest date known from his records, cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming.

### 1. Raghudēvapura Grant of Śaka 1378

The set consists of six plates, of which only five bear writing on both sides. The plates are each 10½ inches long and 5½ inches high. The inscribed plates are numbered in Telugu-Kannada numerals, the figures being engraved in the left margin on the obverse, very near the ring-hole

<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest known date found in his records. But the real date of his accession cannot be determined. See *JOR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 203.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1352 and 1353.

<sup>5</sup> M. S. Sarma, *History of the Reddī Kingdoms*, pp. 192-93.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192; *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, No. 15-4-4. The Guttī fort was besieged by Gajapati Hasthira during the reign of Prāṇḍha-Dēvarāya (*A.R.Ep.*, 1921, p. 114, No. 10 of App. A).

<sup>7</sup> *Mudala Pāṇḍit*, ed. A. B. Mahanti, Cuttack, pp. 44, 46. Cf. *Kaṭṭiyat of Jagannātham* quoted by Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, p. 84.



which is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter. The ends of the ring passing through the hole are soldered beneath a seal bearing the figure of a standing caparisoned elephant fixed on its surface. The diameter of the ring is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches while that of the seal is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The five plates together weigh about 271 *tolas*. The weight of individual plates varies between 50 and 58 *tolas*.

There are altogether 149 lines of writing on the ten faces of the five plates and they are distributed in the following order: IA—16 lines, IB—15 lines, IIA—17 lines, IIB—16 lines, IIIA—16 lines, IIIB—15 lines, IVA—15 lines, IVB—15 lines, VA—17 lines, VB—7 lines. There is a linear drawing at the end of the epigraph on the reverse of the last plate. The same kind of sketch is also found on the other charters issued by the *Sūryavarmā Gajapati*s of Orissa, in some of which it looks clearly like the representation of a sword or dagger (or several swords or daggers).<sup>1</sup> The figure apparently stood for the signature of the donor on the original document later engraved on copper plates.

The inscription is written in **Telugu** characters and in the **Sanskrit** language and, excepting a short *vaṅmūla* passage in prose at the beginning of line 1, the whole record is written in verse. Its **palaeography** is characterised by the use of almost similar signs for letters like *ch* and *bh* in some cases and for others like *bā* and *bhā*, *bi* and *bhi*, etc. There is no distinction between *p* and *r* when used as subscripts in conjuncts. The mark distinguishing *bh* from *b* is generally a curve added to the top of the right limb of *b*. It is rarely a small vertical below the letter (cf. *Talla-bhāṣṭa* in line 82); but sometimes it is a curve at the same place (cf. *tanū-bhava* in line 81). The indication of aspiration of this second type is found in *chh* (cf. *chchhī* in line 12) and sometimes in *th* (cf. *stambhā-tha* in line 126) in the form of an inward curve in the bottom line of the letters. In a few cases, an inward loop takes the place of the curve (cf. *chchhā* in line 54). The same medial signs have been used for *ś* and *ṣ* and for *ḍ* and *ḍ* as the distinction between the short and long signs did not develop or was not popular as yet. There are two forms of *t* (cf. *\*dutaṁ gata staḥ* in line 15). A noteworthy characteristic of the **orthography** of the record is the representation of *th* by *dh*, *ddh* by *dhdh* and *ph* by *p* in a large number of cases. In some cases, *l* has been written for *l*. The letter *t* is often reduplicated after the nasal (cf. *jagantī* in lines 1-2) while *h* is often represented by *hu* and *y* by *yy*. Another peculiarity is the substitution of the class nasal by *anusāra* which is again invariably used in the place of final *m*. *Visarga* followed by *ś* or *ṣ* has very often been changed to the respective sibilant in *Sandhi*. In several cases, medial *ṛi* has been represented by *ra* (cf. lines 103-04, 107).

The date of the charter is quoted in verses 30 in lines 53-59. It was the twelfth of the bright half of the month of *Śuchi* in the year *Dhātṛi* of Jupiter's Southern Cycle corresponding to the *Saka* year counted by *rasu* (i.e. 8), *śalla* (i.e. 7) and *vītra* (i.e. 13), i.e. 1378. The month of *Śuchi* is *Jyēṣṭha* according to some authorities and *Āshāḍha* according to others, although in Oriya lexicons it is recognised in the latter sense only. The date thus appears to correspond to the 15th June 1456 A.D.

The inscription is divided into four sections, one separated from another by one or more floral designs. It is interesting to note that the stanzas of Sections I and II are numbered, but that the numbering is not continued from Section I to Section II in which the verses have consecutive numbers beginning again from 1. Section III actually begins with a *Siddham* symbol.

Section I may be subdivided into two halves, the first containing adoration to gods and the second a description of the donor's ancestry as well as of the donor and the grant he made. It consists of 33 stanzas in various metres engraved in lines 1-64 on the four faces of Plates I and II.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Chiruvelli grant of Hambira in *Bhārati*, November, 1941, p. 330; the Bainsore copper axe-head inscription of Paruṣhottama in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 335; the Valicharla plates of Pratikṣarudra in *Bhārati*, August 1936, p. 273; above, Vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p. 211; etc.



Section II gives a list of the donees in 40 stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, which runs from line 65 at the beginning of the obverse of Plate III to the first half of line 119 in the middle of the second side of Plate IV. Section III describes the boundaries of the gift village. It consists of 14 stanzas mostly in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, which are engraved in lines 119-35. Section IV contains the imprecatory and benedictory part in 8 stanzas in different metres, which are engraved in lines 135-49. There are thus altogether 95 stanzas in the inscription.

Section I begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala*: *avighnam-aṣṭu*, after which there is another *Siddham* symbol. The above is followed by several verses invoking the protection of a number of deities. Verse 1 contains a prayer to the tusk of the *Lilāvardaka*, i.e. the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, for the protection of the world from danger, while verse 2 contains a similar prayer to the god *Gajāśya* (i.e. Gaṇeśa). The next two stanzas (verses 3-4) likewise seek for the favour respectively of the goddess Earth and the feet of *Kaṁalāpati* (i.e. Viṣṇu). After this, the donor's family is gradually introduced. Verses 5-7 describe the god *Nārāyaṇa* (i.e. Viṣṇu) and the next stanza (verse 8) speaks of *Virīṣhi* (i.e. Brahman), the god of creation, who was born out of *Nārāyaṇa*'s navel and whose two arms produced the martial race (i.e. the *Kahatriya* clan). According to verse 9, in this race came into being the Sun and the Moon (*prakṛpantaḥ*) from whom sprang two dynasties (i.e. the solar and lunar races). Verse 10 states that there was a *Nāyaka* named *Kapilēśvara* who was one of the many rulers (*nripa*) born in the solar and lunar races and was the crest-jewel of a number of *Nāyakas* (i.e. was one of the foremost *Nāyakas* or had several *Nāyakas* under him). The real meaning of the word *nāyaka* used in this context is uncertain. An inscription<sup>1</sup> of Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) from Srikrumam, e.g., mentions the *Nāyakas* of Kalinga either in the sense of royal officers or ruling chiefs, while the Oriya lexicons recognise the word in the sense of a ruler or a leader of forces. There is thus no doubt that *Kapilēśvara*, described not only as a *Nāyaka* but also as a *nripa* or ruler, was a person of some importance, apparently a small ruling chief. The family names *Nāyaka* and *Paṭṭanāyaka* are still current among the people of Orissa.

Verse 11 mentions *Jāgēśvara* who was the son of the above-mentioned *Kapilēśvara* and represents him as a great hero and a possessor of numerous elephants. The next stanza (verse 12) speaks of *Balarāma* as the eldest among *Jāgēśvara*'s sons who were all famous for their prowess. Verse 13 states that *Balarāma* and his father *Jāgēśvara* died on the battle-field while fighting with certain enemies even though they had already obtained victory in the contest. The following three stanzas (verses 14-16) deal with *Kapilēśvara*, the younger brother of *Balarāma*. This *Kapilēśvara*, named after his grandfather, was the celebrated founder of the *Sūryavardhī Gajapati* family of Orissa. A passage in verse 14 says that *Kapilēśvara* acquired the exalted position (*viśhara*) of the *Dantirāja* (i.e. *Gajapati*) by dint of his prowess (*śaurya*). This no doubt refers to his occupation of the throne of *Gajapati Bhānu IV*, the latest known ruler of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty.<sup>2</sup> Verses 15-16 vaguely describe the heroism of *Kapilēśvara*. Verse 17 introduces *Paraśurāma Harichandana* as the younger brother of *Kapilēśvara*, while the following stanzas describe *Paraśurāma*'s son *Raghudēva* who was the donor of the grant under study. Verses 17-18, 20 and 23-24 of this part are also found in the *Dōrapālem* grant of *Raghudēva* edited below, although a stanza in that record, mentioning *Rāma* as the younger brother of *Paraśurāma*, is not

<sup>1</sup> *SIU*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

<sup>2</sup> The title *Gajapati* became popular with the latest rulers of the Gaṅga family gradually. *Bhānu I* is called *Gajapati* or *Gajapati* in a *Drakṣharana* inscription (*SIU*, Vol. IV, p. 361, No. 1084) of Śaka 1196 (1274 A.D.) and *Narasimha III Gajapati-Pada-Narasimha* in a *Simhachalam* record of Śaka 1305-1353 A.D. (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 285, No. 752). *Narasimha IV* is called *Gajapati* in some inscriptions from *Simhachalam*; cf. *Gajapati* in one of Śaka 1328-1400 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 277, No. 731), and *Gajapati* or *Gajapati* in another of Śaka 1305-1353 (*ibid.*, p. 286, No. 753). Similarly *Bhānu IV* is called *Gajapati* in two *Simhachalam* inscriptions respectively of Śaka 1336-1414 A.D. and Śaka 1339-1417 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 447-45, No. 1113; pp. 417-18 No. 1040) Cf. below, p. 44.



met with in the present epigraph. Verse 19, which is not found in the Dōrapālem grant, discloses the fact that the name of Raghudēva's mother was Mallikā. Verse 20 says that, owing to his prowess and his conquests Raghudēva was *putrikṛita* by his uncle Kapilēśvara. The expression *putrikṛita* may suggest that Raghudēva was adopted by his uncle as a son; but the idea may also be that Kapilēśvara treated Raghudēva as one of his own sons. The second alternative seems to be supported by Raghudēva's Warangal inscription of a later date (1460 A.D.) representing him as the son of Paraśurāma and not of Kapilēśvara. It is difficult to say whether the claim had anything to do with the title *Kumāra* enjoyed by Raghudēva.<sup>1</sup>

Verse 33 represents Raghudēva as a *Narēndra*, i.e. a ruler, although he is generally called a *Kumāra*, *Nṛip-ātmaja*, *Rāju-tanaya*, *Narēndrarāja-putra* (or *\*sūnu*) and *Narēndra-dharaṇipāl-ātmaja*, i.e. a prince, and verses 26-27 state that he owed his position to the grace of Kapilēśvara whose viceroy apparently he was. That he was a servant of Kapilēśvara is also clearly indicated by the word *śrēṣṭh* used in verses 25 and 29 with reference to his service to his uncle. Verse 27 may suggest that the title or position of *Kumāra* was assigned to him by Kapilēśvara. But the reference to his *dig-vijaya* (verses 20, 25 and 26) and to his rule over 'the earth' (verses 22, 24), his comparison with the ancient imperial ruler Kārtavīrya (verse 22) and the vague reference to the prowess of his arms in many of the stanzas show how the official *prasthikāra* was trying to endow a provincial governor with the glory of an emperor.

Verse 27 states that Raghudēva had his headquarters at the city of *Rājamahēndra* (i.e. Rajahmundry) and that the province over which he ruled extended from *Simhāchala* to *Giripraja* which may be a mistake for *Girivraja*. *Simhāchala* is no doubt the place of that name in the Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh; but the other limit of the province under Raghudēva is difficult to identify. We know, however, that the kingdom of the Redḍis of Kondavidu, which also was conquered by Kapilēśvara and made a province of the Gajapati empire, lay on the other side of the territory ruled by Raghudēva. It is thus not impossible that *Girivraja* (literally 'the cowherd settlement on the hill') was the Sanskrit form of the Telugu name *Koṇḍavīḍu* (literally, 'the city on the hill'). The rendering may of course have been influenced by the names of the celebrated cities called *Girivraja*, which were the capitals of the ancient Magadha and Kēkaya countries.<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that, when Raghudēva was ruling over the district around Rajahmundry, Kondavidu was the headquarters of Gāḍadēva, another of Kapilēśvara's viceroys. Gāḍadēva's inscriptions bear dates in 1454 and 1455 A.D.<sup>3</sup> It seems that the province under Raghudēva lay between two other provinces of Kapilēśvara's empire, which had their headquarters at Simhachalam and Kondavidu.

<sup>1</sup> This case reminds us of a Simhachalam inscription (*SI*, Vol. VI, No. 1028, pp. 437-38) of Śaka 1381 (1459 A.D.) recording the gift of *Hambira-kumāra-mahāpātra* of the *Sūrya-vamśa*. In the Chitrovroli grant and Warangal record, the donor *Hambira* is represented as the son of Kapilēśvara. The date of the record, the title *Kumāra-mahāpātra* and the descent from the solar lineage no doubt suggest that *Hambira* of the Simhachalam inscription was the same as the homonymous son of Kapilēśvara, although the title may mean 'a *Mahāpātra* of the status of a *Kupāra*'. But *Hambira-kumāra-mahāpātra* is described in the Simhachalam epigraph as the son of *Saṅḍudēva-mahāpātra*. Since it is impossible to believe that the emperor Kapilēśvara has been mentioned as *Mahāpātra* *Saṅḍudēva* in a record of 1459 A.D., the only possibilities are that *Hambira* of the Simhachalam inscription, even though he must have been a close relation of Kapilēśvara, was different from the emperor's son of the same name, or that *Saṅḍudēva*'s son *Hambira* was adopted by Kapilēśvara as his own son sometime after 1459 A.D. as a reward for *Hambira*'s success in the southern campaign. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 286-87.

<sup>2</sup> See N. L. Day, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v. *Girivrajapura*. Cf. the Palampet inscription in *Hyd. A.S.*, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The Chintapalli inscription (*A.R. Ep.*, 1917, No. 70) of Gāḍadēva is dated Śaka 1376, Bhādra, Vaiśākhā and 15, Thursday. The date may be the 11th April 1454 A.D. His Kondavida plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 390 ff.) were issued in Śaka 1377-Yuvan corresponding to 1455 A.D. Chintapalli is in the Sattenapalle Taluk and Kondavidu in the Narasaraopet Taluk, both in the Guntur District of Andhra. The forts of Addanki and Vinukonda lay within Gāḍadēva's province.



The importance of the genealogical part of the inscription, discussed above, is that it throws welcome light on the ancestry of the great founder of the Sūryavardī Gajapati family of Orissa. Very little information was so far available on the ancestors of Kapilēśvara. The tradition recorded in the *Mādhava Pūrāṇa*<sup>1</sup> and several other works of the type states that, in the early part of his life, Kapili (i.e. Kapilēśvara), a Sūryavardī Rāuta, was a cowherd in the employ of a certain Brāhmaṇa and that he was picked up by the last Gaṅga king (Bhānu IV) and brought up in his palace. He is also stated to have begun his life as a thief. It is said that the god Puruṣōttama-Jagannātha advised the king in a dream to adopt Kapilēśvara as his successor. During the last years of the Gaṅga king's rule, the Muslims are reported to have invaded the Gaṅga kingdom and demanded a large ransom. The king sent Kapili to the Muslims for negotiating a settlement, but died shortly afterwards. The Muslims then sent back Kapili to rule the Gaṅga kingdom. A tradition recorded in the *Gaṅgavāṇīśāntakaṇṭha*,<sup>2</sup> however, says that Kapilēśvara was one of the ministers of the Gaṅga king and that he usurped his master's throne when the latter was away from the capital in connection with a campaign and that the Gaṅga king after his return from the expedition retired to Guḍārikāṭaka where he spent his last days in obscurity. This no doubt seems to be a more sensible account of Kapilēśvara's accession to the throne of Gaṅga Bhānu IV. As regards Kapilēśvara's ancestry and early career, our inscriptions now show that he was not a mere cowboy receiving the sovereignty over the Gaṅga empire merely through God's grace but that his ancestors were people of some importance and that his rise to the sovereign status was really from a platform of eminence created not only by his own prowess but also by the exploits of his forbears. His grandfather, bearing his own name, is stated to have been a *Nāyaka* who was one among the rulers of the solar and lunar races while his father Jāgēśvara, who possessed a large number of elephants, and his elder brother Balatama lost their lives while fighting against their enemies. Thus the great Kapilēśvara was born in a family of ruling chiefs. The tradition describing him as a *Rāuta* (derived from Sanskrit *Rājaputra* and known to be a title of subordinate rulers), which was scarcely understood so long, can now be appreciated in its proper significance.

That Jāgēśvara was the name of the father of the great Kapilēśvara is suggested also by his own Veligalani grant<sup>3</sup> issued in 1453 A.D. when he was camping on the bank of the Gōḍavari. Verse 11 of the record in the Sanskrit part speaks of the grant of the village of Veligalani named after himself and his father or parents (*sva-pitṛ-ākhyayā*)<sup>4</sup> while the next stanza refers to the grant of Vijayapratāpakapilēmra-mahāśāhana lying to the east of the united rivers Kṛishṇā and Vēṇṇā.<sup>5</sup> At the commencement of the Telugu section beginning on the obverse of the third plate, the gift village is mentioned as Veligalani alias Kapilēśvarapura (*Veligalani-Kapilēśvarapurāṇaku*) and the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 42 ff. Similar traditions are found in the *Kapilavāṇīśāntakāṇṭha*, Kāṇṭha of Jagannātham etc. See Sastri and Venkatarāmanayya, op. cit., pp. 22 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Kāṇṭhaśāntakāṇṭha* (Telugu), p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> An inaccurate notice and an extremely faulty transcript of this fragmentary inscription were published respectively in *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-35, p. 69 (C. P. No. 17) and *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 64 ff. The record is dated in Śaka 1350 (*vṛkṣa-dhā-māni-indu*)=Bahadhānya, Vaiśākhi (i.e. Vaiśākha-sukli 15) corresponding to the 25th April 1428 A.D. The inscription describes Kapilēśvara's military successes in the passage (*vijayapratāpakapilēmra-mahāśāhana*) : *Haripāda kṛpāpāṇṇāṇāṁ tātādāṇāṁ dāra dāra cha māra-dura-dāra Chiruvall grant of Haripada (Bādrati, November 1941, pp. 514 ff.), verse 5.*

<sup>4</sup> The stanza (after removing small scribal errors) reads : *Śak-dhā Bahadhānya-nāmi pūṇḍṛya-dhā-rakha-indu-dhāra-Vaiśākhiyā Kapilēśvar-Haripada-Māṇḍari-stani dhānam vijayapratāpakapilēmra-mahāśāhana Veligalani-nāmakam-ādāt-prāmam svā-pitṛ-ākhyayā* The name of the village has to be read *Veligalani* for the sake of the metre. The Śaka year is indicated by the words *vṛkṣa* (i.e. 5), *dhā* (i.e. 8), *maṇi* (i.e. 3) and *indu* (i.e. 1), i.e. 1350.

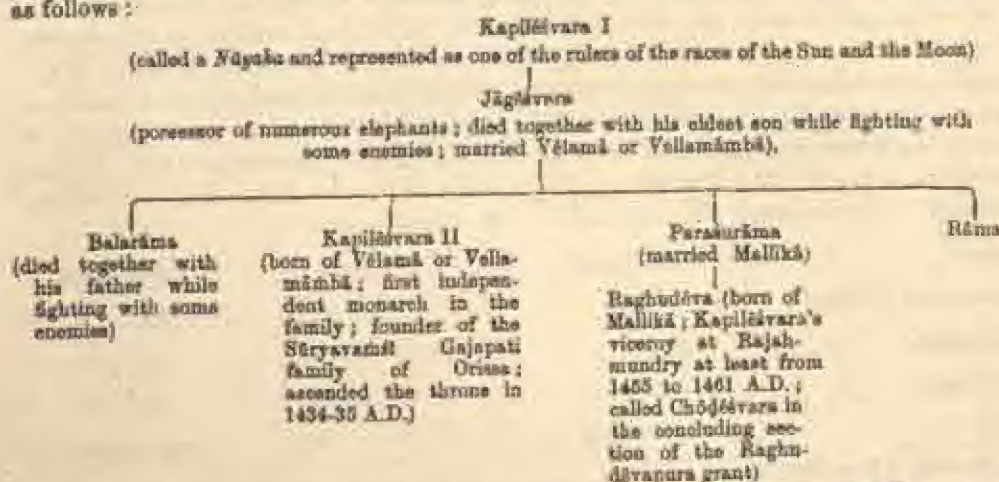
<sup>5</sup> The stanza (after removing small scribal errors) reads : *Kṛishṇā-dakṣiṇa-vāṇī vijayatē Vēṇṇā-nadī-saṅgātā vijayapratāpakapilēmra-mahāśāhana* | *tātādāṇāṇāṁ dāra dāra cha māra-dura-dāra Chiruvall grant of Vijayapratāpa-Kapilēśvar Mahāśāhana-dhāra* ||



120 donees receiving shares in the two localities are then enumerated in the following order: (1) northern part of Jāgēśvarapura (*Jāgēśvarapurapu vidhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas; (2) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas; (3) northern part of Vellamāmbāpura (*Vellamāmbāpurapu vidhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas; (4) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas; (5) northern part of Kapilēśvarapura (*Kapilēśvarapurapu vidhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*), called Vijayapratāpakapilēndra-mahāśāsana in the Sanskrit part—20 Brāhmaṇas; (6) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas. It appears clear from this enumeration that the village of Veligalanī was divided into three parts, one of which was named Jāgēśvarapura and another Vellamāmbāpura. This further suggests that the word *pitrī* in the passage *sva-pitr-ākhyayā* means not merely 'father' but both 'father and mother' and that the name of Kapilēśvara's father was Jāgēśvara and that of his mother Vellamāmbā. The third part of the gift village was named after the donor and the village was sometimes referred to as Veligalanī-Kapilēśvarapura.<sup>1</sup>

The female name Vellamāmbā looks like Telugu in origin and it may be suggested that Kapilēśvara had Āndhra blood in his veins. This is of course not improbable in view of the fact that his success in conquering wide areas of the Telugu- and Tamil-speaking lands, then under the hegemony of the Vijayanagara king, was due, to a very considerable extent, to the help he received from Āndhra generals.<sup>2</sup> But the question cannot be satisfactorily solved without further light on the subject, since the Oriya supplement<sup>3</sup> of the Veligalanī grant mentions Vellamāmbāpura as Vēlamapura or Bēlamapura and *Vēlamā* or *Bēlamā* may be supposed to have been made *Vellamāmbā* in Telugu. It has, however, to be admitted in this case also that *Vēlamā* or *Bēlamā* does not look like a typical Oriya name either. On the other hand, it reminds us of the Velama caste, one of the front-rank agriculturist communities of the Āndhra country, to one of the sub-divisions of which belong the Rajas of Bobbili, Venkatagiri, Pithapuram and Nuzvid.<sup>4</sup>

The genealogy of the early Śūryavarmā Gajapati of Orissa, as found in the Raghudevapura grant with its information supplemented by the Dōrapāleṇi and Veligalanī grants, now stands as follows:



<sup>1</sup> The Oriya part of the document also suggests that the village of Veligalanī was divided into three parts, one named after the king's father, another after his mother and the third after himself.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the celebrated Gajapati generals were Āndhras. Some of those who served under Kapilēśvara were Gajarāva Tippe and Dāmara Timma or Tamma and Tamma's son Basava-bhūpāla (cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-87; *A. R. Ep.*, 1892, No. 208; etc.).

<sup>3</sup> This part of the inscription is carefully engraved on both sides of the last plate, lines 1-10 on the obverse and line 11 on the reverse. For the text, see *JHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 279-80; *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Thurston and Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, pp. 336 ff.







No.	Donor	Donor's father	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
5	Annam-ārya	Mallabhatta	Kandika	Yajus
6	Śiṅgan-ārya	Brahma	Hārita	do.
7	Annam-ārya	Narasimha	do.	do.
8	Kāman-ārya	Āditya	Kandika	do.
9	Vadagiri	Mallan-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
10	Prōlan-ārya	Bōtan-ārya	Kausika	do.
11	Nāgan-ārya	Gōpāl-ārya	Bhāradvāja	do.
12	Nāya(Nāgaya ?)-bhatta	Tippa-ārya	Kaundinya	do.
13	Aubhal-ārya	Vallabh-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
14	Tallo-bhatta	Kāman-ārya	Laubha	do.
15	Kāman-ārya	Mallan-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
16	Nāśyapa-bhatta	Vallabh-ārya	Kaundinya	do.
17	Āditya-bhatta	Kāman-ārya	Kandika	do.
18	Kasavan-ārya	Kamchan-ārya	Bhāradvāja	do.
19	Timmapa-āstrin	Aubhal-ārya	Ārēya	do.
20	Viśvāvara	Narasimha-āstrī	Kāśyapa	do.
21	Kṛishya-bhatta	Peddan-ārya	do.	do.
22	Dēvarē-bhatta	Viśvāvara	Kutsa	do.
23	Pōti-bhatta	Viśvāvara	Kaundinya	do.
24	Kāmārya-bhatta	Lakshmana	Ārēya	do.
25	Appal-ārya	Kāman-ārya	Kandika	do.
26	Nāgan-ārya	Vallabha	Kaundinya	do.
27	Dagga-ārya	Mallaya	Kāśyapa	do.
28	Aubhal-ārya	Gangan-ārya	Srīvata	do.
29	Bollan-ārya	Śiṅgan-ārya	Ārēya	Bahvricha (Rik)
30	Bhaskara	Brahmānanda	Hārita	Yajus
31	Yaru-bhatta	Aubhal-ārya	Ārēya	do.
32	Dēvi-bhatta	Āditya	do.	do.
33	Mallana	Setgi (Setgiri ?)	Hārita	
34	Sōma	Mallana	Bhāradvāja	
35	Aubhal-ārya	Appal-bhatta	Kāśyapa	Yajus
36	Yaran-ārya	Narasimha-ārya	Srīvata	do.
37	Rāmachandra	Peddi-yajvan	Hārita	do.
38	Śiṅgana	Yajvan-ārya	Kaundinya	Bahvricha (Rik)
39	Narasimha	Azant-ārya	Gautama	Yajus



No.	Donor	Donor's father	Gotra	Veda or Śākhā
40	Sāraṇ-ārya . . . . .	Mallan-ārya . . . . .	Kāśyapa . . . . .	Yajus
41	Mādhava . . . . .	Yallanna . . . . .	Kaṇḍika . . . . .	do.
42	Vīraṇa . . . . .	Bhāskara . . . . .	Kuśa . . . . .	do.

Of these Nos. 33-34 and 41-42 are specifically stated to have received only half a share each. This seems to suggest that the other Brāhmanas received one full share each. There were altogether 40 shares; but 2 shares were divided equally among 4 Brāhmanas.

Verse 29 of Section I (lines 55-58) shows that the land granted by the charter under study was called **Kṛiddēvy-uttarakhaṇḍa**, i.e. the northern part of Kṛiddēvi, while the next verse mentions the land granted by Raghudēva in favour of the 40 Brāhmanas as **Kṛiddēvi-khaṇḍa** situated on the bank of the **Gōdā**, i.e. the Gōdāvari (called **Gautamī** in verse 1 of Section III). The three concluding stanzas of the section mention **Raghudēvapūra** which was made an *agrahāra* (i.e. a rent-free holding for being owned by Brāhmanas) by Raghudēva. It is thus clear that the northern part of what was formerly called Kṛiddēvi-khaṇḍa was made an *agrahāra* and granted in favour of a large number of Brāhmanas and that the *agrahāra* was re-named as Raghudēvapura after the donor Raghudēva. The grant was made for the *prīti* or favour of the god Vāṇudēva (Viṣṇu). It was endowed with the privileges of *aśṭa-bhoga* and *aśṭa-bhūti*.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that Kṛiddēvi-khaṇḍa or Raghudēvapura on the Gōdāvari or Gautamī is the same as modern Raghudēvapuram, about 14 miles to the north-west of Rajahmundry, headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the East Godavari District of Andhra. It is situated on the left bank of the river.

Section III of the inscription (lines 119 ff.) describes the boundaries of Raghudēvapura situated on the bank of the **Gautamī** (i.e. Gōdāvari). To the north and north-west of the village, the **Vṛiddhe-Gautamī** (i.e. bigger Gautamī) was flowing and, to the east of the river, there was an *antariya* (an island or a promontory) and the **Laghu-Gautamī** (i.e. the smaller Gautamī) flowed beyond it. To the east of the Laghu-Gautamī, there was a big stream flowing from the Gautamī and, to the east of this stream, there was a row of palmyra trees and beyond them a big Pippala tree. On the way to the Pippala tree (or, at the same place near it), there was a big Vāja tree and near it, on the same mound (*śete*), some palmyra trees. To the north-east of these, there were two bamboo bushes and to their east a tamarind tree. To the north-east of that tree, there was a Bahā tree and to its east another tamarind tree. There were two Palāsa trees to the north-east of that tree and a Plakṣa tree stood to the north-east of the Palāsas, and near them, on the same mound, there were the Gōḍinēni-taṭāka (tank), one Pippala tree and two Vāja trees. To the north-east of these, there was a stone pillar while a second stone pillar stood towards the east of it. From the second pillar towards the east began a big mound (*śete*) which ran towards the south. There was a big Pippala tree on it and also the bank of the Muḍikāra (possibly the name of a tank or stream). To the south of these, there were some Kadamba trees and, to the south-east of the trees, there stood a Madhuhāhūra (tree) very near a stone pillar. There was Kāṣava's tank to the south of the pillar and behind the tank there was a curved road marked by a pointed stone, which came from or led to the locality called Kōṭēṣapūṭa. On the said road towards the south-west, there were several Ghṛṣha and Tāja trees and to the west of them stood two Pippala trees on the road to or from Mugguḷu. To the north of them, there was a big Pippala tree as well as a temple of Śaṅkara (Śiva). Behind the temple, the Gautamī was flowing in the west and there were the temple of Chintamma and a big Pippala tree on its bank. To the west of these, the Gautamī flowed straight in a small stream, to

<sup>1</sup> The same privileges are also referred to in such other records as the Kondavida plates of Gopādēva. Cf. *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta) Vol. XX, p. 291.



the west of which there was an island and beyond it ran the bigger stream of the same river. Between these two streams of the Gautami, there was an *antaripa* and, from that place (*adhvan*) the northern bank of the Gautami formed a part of Raghudēvapura.

The concluding section of the inscription in lines 135 ff. contains some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. But they are preceded by two stanzas containing the prayer of *Śrī-Narēndra* (i.e. the illustrious ruler Raghudēva) to the future rulers and that of *Śrī-Vira-Chōḍēśvara* of the solar race to the Brāhmanas, both for the protection of the grant stated in the verses to have been made by the *Narēndra* or Chōḍēśvara. This seems to suggest that Chōḍēśvara was another name of Raghudēva, the donor of the grant. Whether this suggests that Raghudēva's mother was a Chōḍa or Chōḷa princess cannot be determined. The last verse of the inscription states that the charter regarding *Raghudēvapura* was *kathita* by Āḍuriḷa Nṛsiṃha under orders from *Raghudēva*. The word *kathita* seems to have been used here in the sense of 'composed' or 'written'. It is found in a similar context also in some other records.<sup>1</sup>

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription include : Kaṭaka (Cuttack) the capital of the empire of Kapilēśvara, Rājamahēndranagara (Rajahmundry) which was the headquarters of the province under the rule of Raghudēva, the gift village originally called Kriddēvi-uttarakhaṇḍa or Kriddēvi-khaṇḍa and re-named as Raghudēvapura, and the river Gōḍā or Gōḍavari or Gautami and its courses called Vṛiddha-Gautami and Laghu-Gautami on which the gift village was situated. As already indicated above, the province of the Gajapati empire, which was under Raghudēva's rule, is stated to have been bounded by the Siṃhāchala (Simbachalam in the Taluk and District of Visakhapatnam, Andhra) on one side and by what is called Giripraja (probably standing for *Giriṇja*) on the other. This Giripraja or Girivraja was apparently situated towards the west or south-west of Rajahmundry and, as already suggested above, was probably the name applied to another province of the Gajapati empire, which had its headquarters at Kondavidi in the Guntur District.

The location of Raghudēvapura, the new name applied to the gift village formerly called Kriddēvi, has already been discussed above. In the description of its boundaries, mention is made of the Mugguḷlu-mārga, i.e. the road coming from or leading to Mugguḷlu which is still known to be a village about a mile to the south of Raghudēvapuram and about 13 miles to the north west of Rajahmundry. I am unable to identify the few other places mentioned in this connection.

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres : Section I—verses 1-2, 6, 8-11, 16 *Upajāti* ; verses 3 *Indravajrā* ; verse 4 *Harini* ; verses 5, 7, 31, 33 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 12, 14, 25-27, 29-30 *Śārdūlavikriṣṭa* ; verses 13, 21-24, *Mālabbhāriṣi* ; verse 15 *Sragdharā* ; verse 17 *Varanatilaka* ; verse 18 *Giti* ; verses 19-20, 28 *Priṭha* ; verse 32 *Snāgata*. Section II—verses 1-10 *Anuṣṭubh*. Section III—verses 1-9, 11-14 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 10 *Upajāti*. Section IV—verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikriṣṭa* ; verse 3 *Śālini* ; verses 4-8 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

### Section 1

#### First Plate, First Side<sup>3</sup>

1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [1\*] avighnam=astu. [1\*] Siddham [1\*] Pāyād=apāyāt=paramāya puma[6]  
Lilāvarāhasya jagā-

2 mīti(tī) dānash[ṛā | vaṇa-prarūh-āgra-da]śaya lakṣmīti yad-āgra-lagnā vaandhā bahhāra | 1 |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Chituvrūḷ grant (*Bhāratī*, November 1941, pp. 314 ff.), line 31.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The figure 1 is engraved in the left margin of the plate, near the beginning of line 8.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol which is preceded by a floral design.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.



- 3 Sa-*etambdra-lēkha*<sup>1</sup> gaganam nirikahya mahurinama(*r-mmu*)*mōd-āmbuda-mēhaka*m yaḥ  
khōla[n\*]-pi-
- 4 tri-prānta-*charō* Gaḥāyasyō<sup>2</sup>-*vyād-Aj-ādya*r=abhi<sup>3</sup>vā<sup>4</sup>ndyamānsh | 2 | Yām-ud<sup>4</sup>dhirshut-  
jala-
- 5 rāṣi-līnām dēvō dhar-ōdbhēda-vidhāna-*chudichu*ḥ | sanstabdha<sup>5</sup>-rōm-ājanī Mādha<sup>6</sup>vō-pi  
śukaryyatas-ā-
- 6 Vipul-āstu bhūtyaḥ | 3 | Pradha(*tha*)yatu mudatā pād-āmbhōja-dvayaḥ Kamalāpat<sup>7</sup>(*r*)-  
nata-
- 7 ripu-śira[h\*]-śrēṇyāś-*śadn-āvatī(t)ṛṇa-jaya-śriya*ḥ | vinamad-*amari-da(dha)*mmill-āsta-prapu-  
(*phu*)lla-śu-
- 8 ra-du(*drum*)-*prasava-patāli-ṛva(vē)*sh<sup>8</sup>t(ah)<sup>9</sup>bhūta-pramōda-parākramam(mam) | 4 | Aśti  
vāstu chid-ā-
- 9 nanūla-mayam-*adivayam-achyutān(tam)* | ari<sup>10</sup>dyā-dvaya-nā(ā)chivva-vivartita-jaga<sup>11</sup>(t\*)-
- 10 trayam(yam) | 5 | Sabāra-samūkhyat-*charapāṭh* śrōbbhir-nētrāḥ karair-vv<sup>12</sup>yāpya jagad-  
vasantatam(tam) | vīrōchān-
- 11 bhūta-ray-indu-bhābhāḥ vībhūḥ mahātmanam-*ajīanad-yat* | 6 | Utpatī-*sthici-samhva-*  
(hā)ra-hō-
- 12 tu-bhūtō-yam-*avyaya*ḥ | Nātāya<sup>13</sup>ō-bhavach-*chhirmān*<sup>14</sup> tri-guṇ-ātmā trayī-mayaḥ | 7 |
- 13 Tan-nābhī-padmā<sup>15</sup>d-*śalābhūd-Virinichū(h\*)* śrāshṭā samastasya char-ācharasya | chatur-  
mukhasy-āya me-
- 14 hātmanō-bhūd-*varpō* bhujābhyām jaya-labha(*ldha*)-*varṇa*ḥ | 8 | Kīrti-pratāp-*iva* mūrti-  
māt-
- 15 tan tan pushpavāntatā(*tā*)v-*uditau yata* stah | yash-*patākā* jagatāḥ tatō-bhūd-*vandā*-*dva-*
- 16 yī bhāgya-pa<sup>16</sup>ram<sup>17</sup>parābhāḥ | { 9 [\*] | Tat-ārya-*śm-ānaya*-bhūmi-pāla-*vamā-āgrajānām n(r)*-

## First Plate, Second Side

- 17 pa-saṁ-maṇikū(nām) | viṇḍh<sup>18</sup>dhā(*ddha*)-*vṛittāḥ* Kapilō<sup>19</sup>varō-bhūt-saṁ-nāyakō nāyaka-  
maṇi<sup>20</sup>-ratnam(tnam) | { 10 [\*] | Jāgō<sup>21</sup>śva-
- 18 ras-tat-tanayō mahātma Raghō<sup>22</sup>(*iv*)-*ājō* bhuvan-āika-*śūrah* | abbūd-*abhūr*-*vairi*-bhuvām bha-
- 19 yānām kīrti-pratāpa-dvaya-bhū<sup>23</sup>(*r*\*)-*gga*ja(*j*-au)ghaḥ | { 11 [\*] | Tasy-*śaṇ*<sup>24</sup> tanayāḥ prasidh<sup>25</sup>dhā-  
(*ddha*)-*vinayā* Jāgō-
- 20 āvarasy-ābhavan vira-*chheha(chchha)*trita-kīrtayaḥ kuvalay-ōllāi-pratāpa-*śriya*ḥ | tat-  
ādyō Bala-
- 21 rāma ity-*adaya*-bhūr-*anvat*dhāna(*rttha*)-nām-ābhavat-*kha*ḍga-*stambhita*-*śīra*-*vairi*-nikara-  
(*h*\*) kīrti-pratāp-ā-
- 22 āryaḥ | 12 | Asama-samara-*śatipat*-*kampit*-āris-tad-āyam nija-janaka-samēō yudh<sup>26</sup>dhā  
(*ddha*)-*śam*(*sa*)nna-

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be an unnecessary and imperfectly formed ā-mānā with āḥ.

<sup>2</sup> Read Gaḥāyō vō or Gaḥāyā-ā-

<sup>3</sup> Read samāmbhā-

<sup>4</sup> Sandāi has not been observed here.



# TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA — PLATE I

## 1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

6, a

2	...	2
4	...	4
6	...	6
8	...	8
10	...	10
12	...	12
14	...	14
16	...	16

6, b

18	...	18
20	...	20
22	...	22
24	...	24
26	...	26
28	...	28
30	...	30

Scale : One-Half



32	...	32
34	...	34
36	...	36
38	...	38
40	...	40
42	...	42
44	...	44
46	...	46
48	...	48

50	...	50
52	...	52
54	...	54
56	...	56
58	...	58
60	...	60
62	...	62
64	...	64



- 23 dhḍha(dḍha)-vāhaḥ | rāṇa-bhuvī vijit-āra-tyakta-dāhō vibhinna-dyu-magur-agamad-ishta-  
svar-vadū(dhū)nām
- 24 kuth(ku)ch-āgram(gram) | 13 | Vira-āri-Kapilśēvaras-tad-anujah kṛtti-pratāpa-dvayī arī-  
vikshālita-
- 25 cakra-vāla-chaṭam-ōddām-ānḍhakārō-bhavat | saury-śaśita-Darhtirāja-vibha-
- 26 vō bhō-maṇḍal-ākhaṇḍalō illā-avikṛita-dig-jay-ārjita-mahī(hī)pāl-ākḥila-āri-bharah | 14 | \*
- 27 Dīk-kōṇō yasya śōṇō rāṇa-śarāṇa-mukhō samimukhaṇ vairi-vi(vi)raṇ vāraṇ vāraṇ varitū-
- 28 ratam-Amara-purī-vātaṇāryasavaramvaiḥ | ēkā yasy-śai-putri(trī) nava-jalada-tati-śyāmālāḥ
- 29 ma-bhūṣhā putrāḥ kṛti-pra\*tāpāvesabhata yamalan purvīḥ rakta-raktā | 55(15) | Yas-  
śai-dhō-
- 30 nuḥ samid-agra-bhūmaḥ yav-āmkurān karpa-vataṇa-bhūṭān | dvishad-vadhūnān grasat-
- 31 anvelam-apahnuvāṇāḥ stama-patra-vallīḥ | 16 | Tasy-ānujah Paraśurāma iti prasiddhō-  
(dḍhō) nāmna padē-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 32 na Haricharidana āva śākahāt | yam prāsya(pya) yam[ti\*] vibudhāḥ paripūrpa-kāmāḥ  
samprā-
- 33 rōti-ārdhḍha\*-[pha]lādām karḥ-āpta-ko(ki)rtitū(ritim) | 17 | Abhavad-analō guḥ-aughair-  
uditah kṛtti[yā] cha Paraśo-
- 34 rāma-vibhōḥ | Udaya-girī[ḥ\*] śi(ṭi)taruchi(ah) Raghudēva-kō(ku)māra-vi(vi)ra-śimhvō-  
(hō)-yam(yam) | 18 | Anu(śū)ta suta-
- 35 m-aṅganā-kula-matallikā Mallikā prabhūlam-iva mahī(hī)kā-prasavam-ishta-gaṇḍhaṇ  
nṛpāṇ(nām) | [yataḥ]
- 36 Paraśurāma-rā\*ḥ-ābhavad-agraṇḥ putriṇām-āsan Raghuvārō vaśi(śi) vibhu-maṇḥ kaḍam-  
nābavad\* | 19 | Putri(trī)-
- 37 kṛtō mahimnā Kapilśēvara-damtti(ti)-rāja-ai[m\*]hvō(hō)ca | dig-vijay-ārjita-yasasā Raghū-  
dēva-kumā-
- 38 ra-śūra-(śā\*)rdūlaḥ | 20 | Raghudēva-kumāra-vi(vi)ra-ai[m\*]hvō(hō) vidadhānō vijayam  
diśām ravim(v-iṇ)dvōḥ | pra-
- 39 vibhūbaktāḥ pratāpa-kīrtiḥ ppa(pa)rivēśma-tu Vidhēr-ayam viśēhaḥ | 22(21) | Raghudēva-  
narō-
- 40 mdra-rājaputrō vipulām śasati Kārttavi(vi)rya-kalpē | girāyaḥ paripadhdhī(nthi)nām-  
abhūvann-u-
- 41 ta sarv-āpasasēṇ kucchā nivāzēḥ | 23(22) | Raghudēva-narōmdra-rājasūnau rāṇa-sannō-
- 42 hā-vidhāyini prakāman(mam) | śarapam cha rāṇō tadā bhajantē cārapāḥ vā marapam ripu-  
pra-

\* Read \*adryasasturamāḥ.

\* The syllable pra may be omitted for the sake of the meter.

\* The figure 2 is engraved in the left margin of the plate, near the beginning of line 40.

\* Read *compared to the*.\* Read *with the*.



- 43 vi(vī)rāḥ | 24(23) | Raghudēva-narēndra-rājaputrē jagatīm āsati khaḍga-sāli-bāhan |  
charaṅ-ā-  
44 vanatāṁ-sukhān bhajantā(tā) rāṇa-sīm-āvanatāṁ-tu jamaṇā | 25(24) | Dhātī-dig-vijay-  
ārji-  
45 tair-bahunai<sup>1</sup> ratnatā-cha ghōḥ-batāḥ āśā(āśā)ti(tī)bbhi(b\*) kṛō(ka)ripām ghaṭābhīr-  
abhisādhōjya-ādhigriya-  
46 gmaṁ pinuḥ | vira-śrī(śrī)-Kapilēśvarasya bahudhā sāvām vidhāy-ādarādvī(d-vī)ra-śrī-  
Raghudēva-rā-  
47 ja-tanayō labdh-ākhlā-śrī(śrī)ra-abhūt | 25 | Jitv-āśā-saka(ka)lā nibatya cha ripūn hritvā  
48 tadāyasa(yaṁ) dhanam nānā-ratna-mahābha-bhāpya(vya)-turaga-ārēṇābhīr-aty-ambujan |  
vira-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 49 [śrī]-Kapilēśvarasya charaṇau samṇūjya tat-sāvayā labdhā-śrī(śrī) Raghudēva[ra\*]-rāja-  
tanayō  
50 dharm-ādhibhō vārdhha(rddha)tā | 27(26) | Tishṭhan-Bājamahēndra-nāma-nagarē samyak-  
prajāḥ ppā(pā)kya(n\*)-  
51 o-ā-Sirbhvā(hā)chalam-ā Gripra(vrā)jam-imām bhūmim tatā-ākṣhjakām(kām) | vira-  
śrī(śrī)-Kapilēśva-  
52 rasya kṛpāyā kurvan Kumār-āgrāṇi(ṇi)-rddh(r-dh)ra-śrī(śrī)-Raghudēva-rājatanayāḥ Śrī-  
(Śrī)sa-priyō'ra-  
53 riddha(rddha)tā | 28(27) | Turanga-ju(khu)ra-dhā(dā)rita-kṣitī-rajah-kaṇair-vairipām  
ārēṇai pata-bhānair-a-  
54 nu-kulam samāchchhāda(ya\*)ḥ | mahāura-gaṇān-punair<sup>2</sup>-vasubhir-adhithi(rithi)taim-  
tāhayan-asau Raghū-  
55 nrip-ātmajaḥ pitar-abhishtadit ambhatā | 29(28) | Svāyā Kapilēśva[ra\*]sya Katakam  
56 gatvā tatō mārgatō vyāghropā(ahy-ā)ḥainanā samikahya dharagidēvān sa-bhāḥ(bhā)ryā-  
57 n-bahūn | tad-rakṣā-huta-dhīr-anarēndra-dharagipāl-ātma-jō-mānyata Kriddēvy-  
uttara-kha-  
58 [m]ḍam-ācha sukpiṇ dātum divyēbhya-etiham(ram) | [29]\* Śāk-ābdō vasu-salla-  
viēva-gaṇitē sa[mh\*]vatsarē  
59 Dhātari Dvādeśyām Śuchi-śukla-pakahage-tidhan(thau) prādādhā(d-Dha)ri-  
pri(pri)taṇ | vira-śrī-Raghudēva-  
60 rājatanayāḥ Kriddēvi-kharṇḍam parat chātvarīmān-abhishtā-bhūura-vara-ārēṇyai  
cha Gō-  
61 dā-tatā | [30]\* Raghudēvapuram datvā(ttvā) Raghudēva-nripātmajaḥ | śrī(śrī)matō  
Vāudēvasya pri(pri)ta-  
62 yē-sa(sā)[va\*]kalpata | [31]\* Aṣṭa-bhōga-sahitām Raghudēvaś-eb-āhja-bhūti-sahitam  
cha vidhāya |

<sup>1</sup> Read bhānānā.

<sup>2</sup> Read bhānānā or bhānānā.

<sup>3</sup> Read puma.



- 53 agra-hāra-Raghu-dēvapuraṁ tat-sarva-mānyam-adadhākṛipātuh<sup>1</sup> | 31(32) | Raghu-dēvapu-  
 54 rasy-āśya likhyatē [bhū]sur-āva[īh] | Raghu-dēva-narēndrasya dha[r\*]mmāpām-iva mālīkā  
 | 32(33) |<sup>2</sup>

## Section II

Third Plate, First Side<sup>3</sup>

- 55<sup>4</sup> nasyapas-sanya(d-Ya)jurvēdi(df) Varad-ā[r]yya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi(gī) Vēdagiri-dvēdī<sup>5</sup>  
 vēd-ādhyāya-pa-  
 56 rāyapaḥ<sup>6</sup> | 1 | Ātrēyō-namttā(ta)-bhaṭṭō=pi Yajurvēda-parāyapaḥ | bhāgi(gī) prājñō manā-  
 57 vidvān-Ādityasya [ta\*]nūbhavaḥ | 2 | Mahā-vidvān-Mallu-bhaṭṭō Hārit-ānvaya-śekharaḥ |  
 Na-  
 58 rasimhva(ha)-sutō bhāgi(gī) Yajur-vich=chhāstra-vāk-patiḥ | 3 | Hāritō Dēvarē-bhaṭṭa-  
 sutas-Sō-  
 59 maya-kōvidaḥ | bhāgi sabhyas-sad-āchārair-agra-vēdi-Pitāmahaḥ | 4 | Kauśikō=pi Yajus-  
 śā[khō]  
 70 Mallu-bhaṭṭa<sup>7</sup>-tanūbhavaḥ | Annam-ārya-dvijō bhāgi(gī) Vēda-śāstra-parāyapaḥ | 5 |  
 Hārita-Brahma-tana-  
 71 yō Yaju<sup>8</sup>-śākhā-parāyapaḥ | bhāgi(gī) syāch=Chimgan-āryō=pi nity-āchāra-niradī-  
 72 taraḥ | 6 | Hāritō Yajur-adhyāya-nishṭhō bhāgi dvij-ōttāmaḥ | Annam-ārya-  
 73 s-sad-āchārō Narasimhva(ha)-tanūba(bha)vaḥ | 7 | Kāman-ārya[h] Kauśikō=pi bhāgi(gī) bhū-  
 74 sura-sattamaḥ | Yajur-vēdas-sad-āchārair-Ādityasya tanūbhavaḥ | 8 | Kā-  
 75 śyapō Yajur-adhyāya(ya)s-sabhya[h\*] prāmāṇikō gupī(nī) | Mallan-āryasya tanayō bhāgi  
 76 Vēdagiri[h\*] avayam(yam) | 9 | Kauśikō Yajur-adhyāyō Bētan-āryya-tanū-bhavaḥ |  
 bhūsur-ā-  
 77 grēsarō bhāgi Prōlan-ā[r\*]yyaḥ priyashvadaḥ | 10 | Bhāradvājō Yajus-śākhō Gōpā-  
 78 [-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi san-Nāgan-āryō=pi sabhyaḥ prāmāṇika-priyaḥ | 11 | Kauṇḍi-  
 79 nyō Yajur-adhyā[ya\*]s-Tippaṇ-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi Nāya<sup>9</sup>-bhaṭṭō=pi vidvad-yājñika-  
 sam-  
 80 mataḥ | 12 | Kāśyapas-sanya(d-Ya)jñ-śākhō Vallabh-ārya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgavān-Aubhai  
 āryō<sup>10</sup>=pi

<sup>1</sup> The intended reading seems to be \*adadhāsa kṛipātuh.

<sup>2</sup> There is a floral design here to indicate the separation of the following section quoting the list of donees from the foregoing part.

<sup>3</sup> The figure 3 is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of lines 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> There is another floral design at the beginning of this line.

<sup>5</sup> The correct form of the word is *dvēdī*. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> The two *śikhara* signs are engraved in the margin.

<sup>7</sup> The name is written partially in the margin on an erasure.

<sup>8</sup> Between Ya and ju, the letter śā was engraved and rubbed off.

<sup>9</sup> One more syllable is required in the name to suit the metre. The intended reading may have been *Nāpaya*.

<sup>10</sup> The correct form of the name is *Aubhāṇa* which is a modification of *dhāṇa*.



*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 81 prāmāpika-padhā(āh-ā)ngah | 13 | Lauhitō Yajur-adyā(dhyā)yah Kāman-ārya-tanūbhavah  
[1\*]  
82 Tallu-bhattō=pi bhāgi syād=Vēda-sāstra-viśāraḥ | 14 | Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāyō Ma-  
83 lan-āryya-tanūbhavah | Kalpasāstra-priyah kāmrah Kāman-āryyō=pi bhāgavā-  
84 n | 15 | Kaundīnyō Yajur-adhyāyō Vallabh-āryya-sutō vail | bhattō Nārāya-  
85 nō bhāgi karmamathō dha(rma-va\*)[saulah | 16 | Kaudikō Yajur-adhyāya-pāradipar\*lyya-  
pārāya-  
86 nah | Kāman-āryya-sutō bhāgi bhatt-āditya-divij-ottamah ||17|| Bhāradvājō Ya-  
87 jur-vēda[h\*] |<sup>1</sup> Kamohan-āryya-sutō mahān | bhāgi syāti=Kasavan-āryyas-tu<sup>2</sup>  
88 sabhya=sammat-priyō vail ||18|| Ātrēyō Yajur-adhyāya-pravīnō  
89 bhāgavān-iha | Aubha[||]-āryya-sutas=sabhyah sāstri Tisimmā-kōvidah ||19\*||  
90 Śrīmat-Kāśyapa-gōtrō=pi bhāgi Viśvāvaras-audhth | Nṛīdhha-sūri-tanayō Yaju[r]-vē-  
91 dī guṇ-śnatah | 20 | Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāya-nipunō bhāgavān-iha | Peddan-āryya-su-  
92 tas=sabhyah |<sup>3</sup> Krishṇa-bhattas=sabhā-priyah ||21|| Kutsa-gōtrō Yajur-sākhī Viśvāvara-  
93 tanūbhavavah[(bhavah | ) bhāgi syā(d\*)=Dēvarō-bhattas-sāstri(trī) bhāraur[sa\*]ttamah  
||22|| [Kaundīnyō Ya]-  
94 jur-adhyāya-nipunō bhūti-bhāsurah || | ) Pōti-(bha\*)nō bhava(vōpi-bhāgi Viśvāva[ra-tanō]-  
bha-  
95 vah ||23|| Ā[trēyō] Yajur-adhyāya-nipunō La[kahma]n-āt[ma]yah || [bhāgi] [Kā]mā[r]ya-

*Fourth Plate, First Side\**

- 96 bhatta[h\*] syād=anna-dāna-pad-ō(va[j]ya)lah ||24|| Kauśikō Yajur-adhyāyi Kāmanāman-ā-  
97 rya-tanū-bhavah | bhāgi(gi) syād=Appal-āryō=pi Kalpasāstra-priyō vail ||25|| Kaundī-  
98 syō Yajur-adhyāya-nipunō Vallabh-ātma[ah] | bhāgi syān=Nā[rya]n-āryō pi [pāncha-ya]-  
jā-pa-  
99 rāyayah ||26|| Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāya-niśitō Malla[y-ā]tma[ah] | [Duggan-ā]ryō  
100 pi karmajā[ah] ||27|| bhāgi sabhya-manō-harah ||27|| Śat[vata]n-gōtrō Yajurāhi nūbhāh  
101 sūri-vallabhah || | ) Aubhā[ān]-(ā)ryō nūbhān-utn Gūḍiga[n-ā]ryya-sutō vail ||28||  
Ā[trō]-  
102 yō Bahvricha-prashthō bhāgi nūbhā-ka[r\*]mmathah || | Śingap-āryya-sutas=sabhyah(bhyō)  
103 Bollen-āryyas=satāh priyah ||29|| Hārītō Yajur-adhyāya-viśri[ru]lah  
104 śri[ru]ta-pāragah || | ) Brahmānādhā-sutō bhāgi Bhākarō yajva-vallabhah ||30||  
105 Āvrā[trō]yō Yajur-adhyāyō Yagu-bhattō=pi bhāgavān | Aubha[ah]-āryya-su-  
106 tas=sabhyas=sā-dharmmas=sōma-sut-pr[ī]yah ||31|| Ātrēyō Yajur-adhyāyi

<sup>1</sup> The danda is redundant.<sup>2</sup> There is a redundant syllable in this foot of the stanza. Either *spāt* or *ta* may be omitted to rectify the defect.<sup>3</sup> The figure 4 is incised in the margin near the beginning of lines 102-103.<sup>4</sup> Read *Kāman-ā*.



# TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA—PLATE II

## 1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

iii, a

66	...	66
68	...	68
70	...	70
72	...	72
74	...	74
76	...	76
78	...	78
80	...	80

iii, b

82	...	82
84	...	84
86	...	86
88	...	88
90	...	90
92	...	92
94	...	94

Scale : One-Half



96	...	96
98	...	98
100	...	100
102	...	102
104	...	104
106	...	106
108	...	108
110	...	110

112	...	112
114	...	114
116	...	116
118	...	118
120	...	120
122	...	122
124	...	124



- 107 Dēchi-bhaṭṭō=pi bhāgavān | Ādityasya sutas=sabhyah(bhya)s=su-āpi(aru)taḥ karmmaṭha-  
priyaḥ  
108 ||32|| Hāritō Mallanō=py=arddhā(rddha)-bhāgi(gi) [Śrī]gi<sup>1</sup>-namdanah | Bhāradvājō=  
py=arddhā(rddha)-bhāgi 35  
109 mō Mallana-namdanah ||33|| Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāya-paṇu(r\*)=bhāgi satām ma-  
110 taḥ || (|) Appalō-bhaṭṭa-tanaya<sup>1</sup> Aubha-āryyas=sabhāh(bhā)-priyaḥ ||34|| Śrī(Śrī)vatsa-  
gōtrō

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 111 Yajuaḥ prasiddhō(ddhō) bhāgavān=iha | Narasimhvā(h-ā)ryya-tanayō Yajan-āryyas=  
nā-  
112 tān mataḥ ||35|| Hāritō=pi Yajur-vēda[h\*] Peddi-yajva-tanūbhavaḥ ||(|) bhāgi jyō-  
113 tirvidāt śrēṣṭhō Rāmachandra-budh-āgratḥ ||36|| Kaundinyō Bahvicha-śrēṣṭhō Ya-  
114 jñan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi Śimgana-viprō=pi sat-satig-aika-parāyaṇah ||37|| Gau-  
115 tamō=pi Yajus-śākhi-paṇu=bhāgi satām mataḥ | Narasi(tu\*)hva(ha)s=sabhāya[h\*] svōd=  
Ana-  
116 māt-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ ||38|| Kāśyapō=pi Yajus-śākhi(khi) Mallan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ [l\*]  
117 sat-sahga-niratō bhāgi Sūra-ā[r\*]yyah priyaḥ(ya)s=satām(tām) ||39|| Śrī(Śrī)mat-Kau-  
118 śika-Kuta-ākhyā-gōtrau Mādhava-Vissanau | Yallana-Bhāskara-sutau Yajuaḥ-  
119 v=śka-bhāginau ||40||<sup>2</sup>

**Section III**

Siddham<sup>3</sup> [l\*] Etad-vipta-nivāsaaya Gautamī-ti(tī)ra-śōbhinaḥ | Raghudevā.

- 120 purasy=ś[s]ya si(sī)mā-chihnam vilikhyatē [| 1\*] Raghudevapur-śōchyām vāyavyām  
Vrt-  
121 dhōha(ddha)-Gautamī | tat-prāg-diśy=amtaripaś=cha tad-agrē Laghu-Gau(ta\*)-  
mī [| 2\*] Tat-prāchyām mā-  
122 bati(tī) kulyā Gautamyā nirgatā spuṭam(sphuṭam) | tat-prāchyām tāla-paś(k\*)tiś=cha  
tad-agrē sthūla-  
123 pipa(ppa)taḥ [| 3\*] Tad-adhvani vaśa sthūla=tat-sētau tāla-bhūruhaḥ | tadi(d-ai)śān-  
yām vaiśa-ku-  
124 njan tat-prāchyām chintriṭi-tarū [| 4\*] Itōvi(Tad-ai)śānyām bahā-vriksha[s=ta]t-prā-  
chyām chi(m\*)triṭi-tarūḥ |  
125 palāśau cha tadi(d-ai)śānyā(mi(m=ai))śānyām [plakshaka]s=ta(th)ā || 5\*] Gō(dināni)-  
ta[tā]kaś=cha [tat-sētau] pī-

<sup>1</sup> The name requires one more syllable to suit the metre. It may have been Śrigiri.

<sup>2</sup> There is a floral design after this to indicate the separation of the foregoing list of donors from the following description of the boundaries of the gift village.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> This letter had been originally omitted and was later inserted in the small space between ja and āh.



*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 126 ppalō vaṣaṇ | śilā-stambhaḥ = tādī(d-a)śānyāś śilā-stambhō = cha pūrvata[h\*] || 6\*
- Tad = ārabhya mana-sētuḥ prā-
- 127 chyān dakṣiṇa-dīśmukhaḥ | a[th]ūlāḥ ppa(pa)lāsas = sētuḥbō Mudikāva-mahā-tataḥ  
|| 7\*
- Tad-dakṣiṇa-dīśi śrāpi-ka-
- 128 daṁba-dharapi(gi)-ruhāḥ | ājāś(gnō)yyāś madhubibhūraḥ ppā(pā)chāpa-stambha-vaśi-  
gataḥ || 8\*
- Kāśavaśa tatākō = pi
- 129 dakṣiṇasyāś dīśi athitaḥ || 9\* Tatāka-paschā[d\*]-dīśi vakra-mārggō Kōtā[apūntaśaśa  
śil-āgra-lakṣmā | tataś = cha
- 130 tatr = ādhvanī ghōṣa-tā[a-vrikṣā[h\*] praśiddhā(ddhā) dīśi nī[r\*]ritās = cha || 10\*
- Prati(t)chyāś dīśi Mugguḷlu-mā-
- 131 rggā(rggō) ppi(pi)ppala-yugmakaḥ | tata a[ttā]ra[taḥ\*] aṭhūlāḥ ppi(pā)lāḥ Śaṅkar-  
ālayaḥ || 11\*
- Tatpu(t-pi)śāṭha-bhāgam = ā-
- 132 rabhya prati(t)chyāś dīśi Gautamī | Chintalaśim-ālayaḥ aṭhūla-pippalō Gautamī-tataḥ  
|| 12\*
- 133 Tat-pratyag-ṣṭu-mārggōśa śūkhma-vāhā cha Gautamī | pratyag-dīśi tatō lakṣā aṭhō-
- 134 la-vāhā cha Gautamī || 13\* Vāhā(ha)yōś = ubhayōś = madhyō yō = nītarī(rī)pas = tatō-  
dhvanāḥ || \*
- 135 Gautamyāś = ch = ōttarō bhāgō Raghudāvaparaśa hi || 14\*

## Section IV

Gṛāmaś śi(śi)m-śāṭha-chihna-

- 136 apr(aphu)ṭa-vij(dī)ṭa-lasāśi\* | kaśāśtraś-śvāśa drīj-aughaś-āki(kī)raśaś Gautamīyyaś(yaś)r-  
amrī'a-jāśa samā[h\*] aśā-
- 137 na-pān-śāi-tōluḥ(ham) | datvā(ttv = ā)śan śrī(śrī)-na(rē\*)śindrō nikhīla-ppā-vaśāś = bhāvinō  
yāśatē śvaś [āha]rma-
- 138 m m[ā]ś pāśayamaś prakāśam = itī chiraśaś prāśjāś; brahma-kalpaś(īnam) || 1\* Lakṣmī-  
vibhrama-darppaśā(śō)
- 139 Ravi-kula-kāśi(kāśi)rōda-kā[pa]drumō nānā-bhūpa-kīrī(rī)śa-rudjīta-paśaś śrī(śrī)-vīra-Chō-  
ṣāśvaraś | madhdha(d-dha)-
- 140 rma[h\*] ppa(pa)tipāśyatām = ayaś = itī kaśōṣi(pī)śaurāś = bhāvinō bhūyaś |\* prāddhā-  
(rthā)yaś tādī
- 141 yya(ya)-charaśa-dvaśdvā-śprīśā mauḷinā || 2\* Sāmānyōś = yaś dharma-sētu[r\*] = nī-  
pāśāś kālō
- 142 kālō pāśāśyō(yō) bhāśadbhī | a[ttā]śaś sarvāś = bhāśina[h\*] pāddhī(rthī)-v-śmāśnū-

\* The figure 3 is not clear in the left margin.

\* The intended reading may be *ast*.

\* There is a floral design after this to indicate the separation of the foregoing description of the boundaries of the gift village from the concluding part of the inscription that follows.

\* The *darpa* is redundant.



*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 143 yāchatē Rāmacha[m]draḥ || 3\*] Ēk=aiṣa bhagini[n] lōkē sarvēśhām=ēva bhūbhujāch-  
(jām) | na bhōjyā na ka-
- 144 ra-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasumdhārā || 4\*] Sva-dattā[d\*]=dvi-guṇam puṇyam pa[ra\*]-  
datt-ānupālana[nam] |
- 145 para-datt-āpahārēṣa sva-dai[t]am niśpa(sūpha)lath bhavēt || 5\*] Dāna-pālanayō[r\*]=  
madhya(dhyē) dānā[chohrē(ch=chhrē)]-
- 146 yō=nupālana[nam] | dānāt=[s\*]varggan=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutam padam(dam)  
|| 6\*] Sva-dattām pa-
- 147 ra-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdhārām(rām) | shashtir=varaha-sahasraṇi viṃśhāyām  
jāya-
- 148 tē krimiḥ || 7\*] Raghudēvapuraṣy=ai[tad=Ra]ghudēvas[y]a {śāsa[nāt | Āḍuṇi]a-  
Nriśimhvē(hē)na [ka\*]-
- 149 dhī(thi)tam dharma-śāsanam(nam) || 8\*]<sup>1</sup>

**2 Dōrapāleṣ Grant of 1455-56 A.D.**

This is a **stray plate** inscribed on both sides. It is 8½ inches in length and 5 inches in height and contains altogether 26 lines of writing, 14 lines on the obverse and 12 on the reverse. There is a hole (about ½ inch in diameter) nearly ¼ inch inside from the left border of the plate. The hole was no doubt meant for a ring bearing the seal of the donor of the grant in question, on which several inscribed plates including the one under study must have been strung. But the ring with the seal and the other plates of the set are now lost. The plate weighs 33½ tolas.

The inscription is fragmentary and represents only the central part of a charter. The whole record was probably incised on three plates. The last line on the reverse of the extant plate shows clearly that only a few lines more were required to complete the document which must therefore have ended on the inner side of the next plate. The writing on the obverse of the plate begins with a complete stanza introducing the father of the donor (Raghudēva) as the younger brother of one who must have been mentioned in one or more verses engraved in the lower part of the inner side of the previous plate. The stanza in question is also found in the Raghudēvapura grant of which it is the seventeenth verse. Considering the fact that the present plate contains about 7½ stanzas (engraved in 14 lines) on the obverse and 5½ stanzas (incised in 12 lines) on the reverse, the entire matter of the first sixteen stanzas of the Raghudēvapura grant (running upto a little more than 30 lines and almost entirely covering both the sides of plate I which is slightly bigger in size than the present plate) would have covered a little above two faces of one plate of the size of the plate under study. But it is interesting to note that the description of the donor in the present charter (verses 3-6, i.e. four stanzas only) is much shorter than in the other record (verses 18 ff. in lines 33 ff. more than ten stanzas). It therefore looks very probable that the number of stanzas in the introductory part was considerably smaller in this record than in the Raghudēvapura grant. In any case, only one plate, with the beginning of the document inscribed probably on the inner side, seems to be lost.

<sup>1</sup> This is followed by three floral designs. There is also an ornamental design in the right hand part of the space below the writing. This was the symbolical representation of the donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates.



The inscription is written in **Telugu** characters and in the **Sanskrit** language, the composition being in verse throughout. As regards **paleography** and **orthography**, the present epigraph closely resembles the **Raghudēvapura** grant, although there are a few minor differences in the shape of some of the characters and signs. The medial signs for *ḥ* and *ṣ* have been used for the corresponding short signs in the name of the village *Dōrapālem*; cf. lines 18 (verse 10), 21 (verse 11) and 24 (verse 12). The date of the charter is quoted in verse 11 in lines 19-23 as the **Śaka year** counted by *rasa* (i.e. 6), *śaila* (i.e. 7), *rāma* (i.e. 3) and *śaśin* (i.e. 1), i.e. **1376**, the year being **Yuvan** of Jupiter's 60 year cycle as prevalent in South India. There is no other detail of the date but that the grant was made on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse**. It may be pointed out that the year Yuvan of Jupiter's Southern Cycle actually corresponded not to Śaka 1376 (i.e. 1454-55 A.D.) but to the **expired Śaka year 1377 (i.e. 1455-56 A.D.)**. There occurred two lunar eclipses in the year, one on the 1st May 1455 A.D. and the other on the 22nd March 1456 A.D. The charter seems to have been issued on either of the two dates.

Verse 1 on the plate, as already indicated above, introduces **Paraśurāma Harichandana**, the father of **Raghudēva**, as the younger brother of one whose name must have occurred on the last first plate of the set. From the **Raghudēvapura** grant, we know that the immediate elder brother of **Paraśurāma** was the great **Kapilēvara** who occupied the **Gaṅga** empire in 1434-35 A.D. Verse 2 of our record speaks of **Paraśurāma's** younger brother whose name was **Rāma**. It may be noted that **Rāma's** name was omitted even in the fairly elaborate genealogy of the family found in the **Raghudēvapura** grant. The next two stanzas represent **Raghudēva-narēndra**, who enjoyed the title **Pūtra** and acquired fame for conquering the quarters, as having been regarded, owing to his prowess, as one of his sons by **Kapilēvara Dantirāja** (i.e. **Gajapati**). Verse 5 states how, when **Raghudēva-narēndra** was ruling the earth like king **Kārtavīrya** of old, his enemies fled to the hills or made their resting place on the breasts of the celestial nymphs. To make one's resting place on the breasts of the celestial nymphs of course refers to one's death. The representation of the governor of a small territory as a ruler of the earth like **Kārtavīrya** is an interesting instance of the exaggeration to which the *prasaṅgikāras* attached to medieval Indian courts were used. Verse 6 again refers vaguely to the military prowess of **Raghudēva-narēndra**.

Verses 7 ff. introduce the donee of the grant. The first of these stanzas mentions **Sūri-bhaṭṭa** who belonged to the **Kauṭika gōtra** and resided at **Bhīmavara**. His son **Śiṅga-āchārya** is mentioned in verse 8 and **Śiṅga-āchārya's** son **Tirumala-bhaṭṭa** in verse 9. Verse 10 states that the **narēndra-bhūnātha** (i.e. the ruler **Raghudēva**) made a grant of the village of **Dōrapālem** in favour of the **Paurāṇika** (exponent of the **Purāṇas**) **Tirumala-bhaṭṭa**. The next stanza states that, in the **Śaka year 1376**, called **Yuvan**, and on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse**, **Raghudēva** granted the village of **Dōrapālem** situated on the bank of the **Kauntēya-gaṅgā** to the **Brāhmaṇa** **Timmaya**. **Timmaya** is a modification of **Tirumalaya**. The name **Kauntēya-gaṅgā** is no doubt applied to the **Gōdāvarī** or one of its mouths. Although the association of the river with any of the sons of **Kuntī** is not wellknown from Indian mythology, there may be a local tradition to this effect current in the area in question. Verse 12 states that, after having given **Dōrapālem** to the learned **Tirumala**, **Raghudēva-narēndra** entreated the future kings for the protection of his **Dharma**, i.e. the gift made by him by means of the charter in question.

The last two lines of the record (lines 25-26) contain more than three-fourths of the well-known stanza, *nāmanyo-yash dharma-stu*, etc., generally found in the imprecatory and benedictory part about the conclusion of a charter.

The inscription mentions only three geographical names. They are the locality called **Bhīmavara** where the donee's family resided; the village of **Dōrapālem** which was granted by **Raghudēva** to the **Brāhmaṇa** **Tirumala** or **Tirumala-bhaṭṭa** or **Timmaya**, and the **Kauntēya-gaṅgā** on the bank of which the gift village was situated. There are several places called **Bhīmavaram** in



# TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA—PLATE III

## 1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

v. a

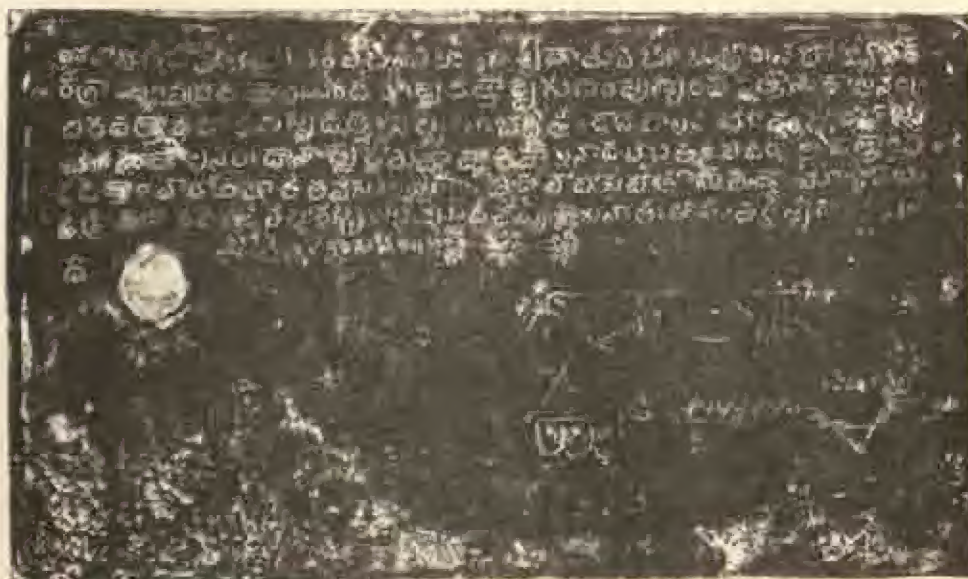
126  
128  
130  
132  
134  
136  
138  
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142



126  
128  
130  
132  
134  
136  
138  
140  
142

v. b

144  
146  
148



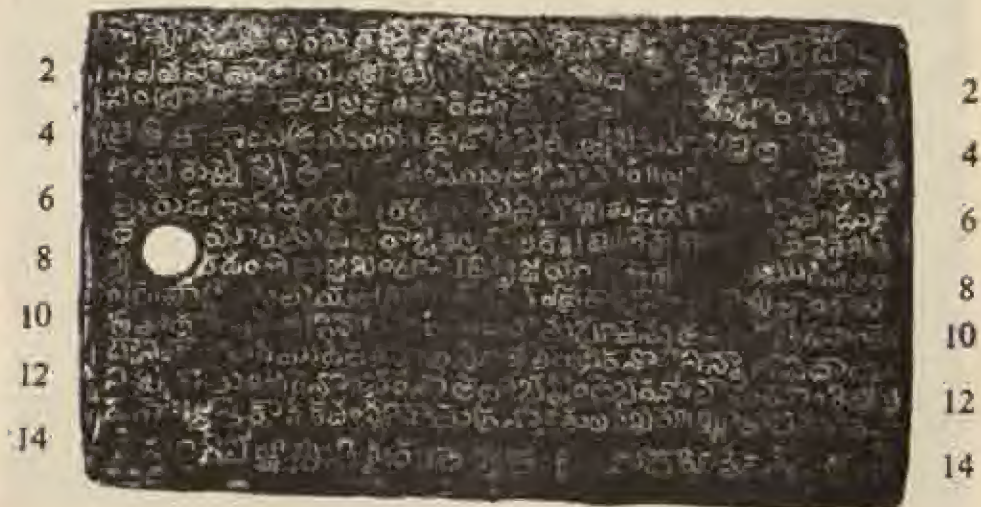
144  
146  
148

Scale : One-Half

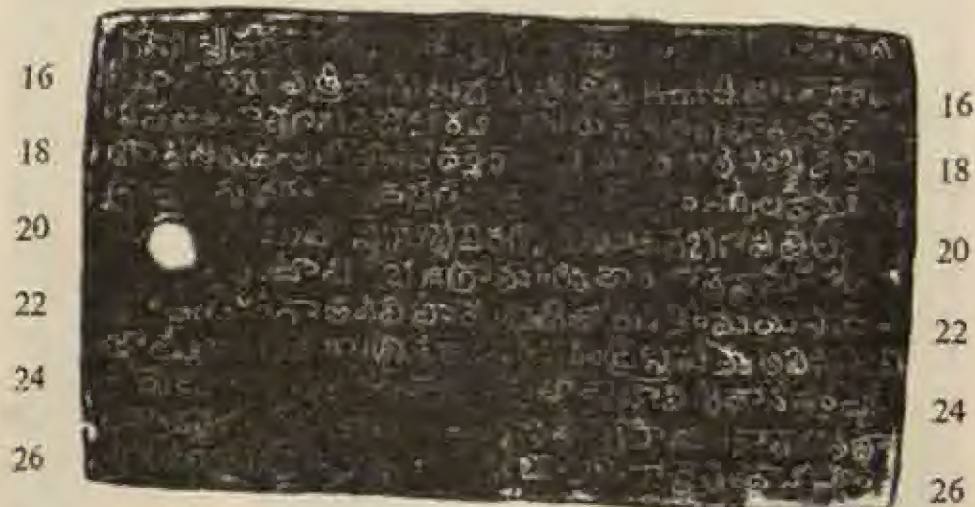


## 2. Dorapalem Grant of 1455-56 A.D.

6. a



6. b



Scale : One-Half



the East and West Godavari Districts. Of these, Bhīmāyaram, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the West Godavari District, is the most important and may have been the place intended by the writer of the document. As already indicated above, the Kauntēya-gaṅgā is no other than the river Gōdāvari or one of its mouths. I am not sure about the location of the village of Dōrapālem. There is no such name in the list of villages in the East or West Godavari District, although there is one called Dōrachintalapālem in the Chodavaram Division of the West Godavari District.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : verses 1 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 2 *Upajāti* ; verses 3-4, 9-10 *Giti* ; verses 5-8 *Mālakhāriṣi* ; verses 7-8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 11 *Śārdūlavikrīṭa* ; verse 12 *Arjā* ; verse 13 *Śālīni*.]

## First Side

- 1 Tasy=ānujaḥ Paraśurāma iti prasādhābhō(dābhō) nāmnā padēna Harichandā-
- 2 na śva sākhāt | yam prāpya yānti vibudhāḥ paripūrṇa-kāmāḥ
- 3 samprārthit-ārdha(rtha)-pa(pha)ladam harid-anta-k[ī]rttiṁ(rttim) || 1\* Tasy=ānujō  
Rāma iti
- 4 pratibhō Rāma-trayaṁ yad-guṇa<sup>2</sup>-vaibhava[ī] svaiḥ | guṇaiḥ pratāpāś-cha ya-
- 5 śōbhīr-ucchhai[ī] smṛitē<sup>3</sup> kaṭākaharī nayatē janānāth(nām) || 2\* Abhavad-amaśō  
guṇ-au-
- 6 ghair-uditaḥ ki(kī)rtiḥ cha Paraśurāma-vibhōḥ | Uday-āchalād-iv-ēndus-su-
- 7 dhayā Raghudēva-rāja-kula-tilakaḥ || 3\* Putrikṛtō mahimnā Kapilē-
- 8 śvara-dantirāja-simbhēna | dig-vijay-ārjita-yasasā Raghudēva-narē-
- 9 ndra-pātra-simbhō-yam(yam) || 4\* Raghudēva-narēndra-rāja-simbhō vipulān śāsa-
- 10 ti Kārtavīrya-kalpē | girayaḥ paripamdhī(thi)nām-abhāvann-uta sarv-āsa(psa)rasān  
ku-
- 11 bhā nivā[s]āḥ || 5\* Raghudēva-narēndra-bhūtalāndrē rapa-sannāha-vidhāyi-
- 12 ni pra[kā]mam(mam) | śarapaṁ cha rapō tadhā(thā) bhajantē charapō vā marapaṁ rāpa-  
pra-
- 13 vi(vī)rah || 6\* Asti Kauśika-vahśyānām-agraṇiḥ(ṇi) kula-śekharaḥ | khyātō Bhī-  
(Bhī)ṁavara-stā(sthā)-
- 14 nā Sūri-bhaṭṭu(tṭa)s-sudhīśvaraḥ || 7\* Tat-putraḥ Śiṅgaṇa(ṇ-ā)chāryō vēda-vēd-ārtha<sup>12</sup>.  
pā-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> This is verse 17 of the Raghudēvapura grant with slight change in the last foot.

<sup>3</sup> Better read yō guṇa<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Read smṛitē or śrutē.

<sup>5</sup> This stanza introducing a new name in the Gajapati genealogy is not found in the Raghudēvapura grant.

<sup>6</sup> This is verse 18 of the Raghudēvapura grant, although there is some difference in the wording of the second half of the stanza.

<sup>7</sup> This is verse 20 of the Raghudēvapura grant with some difference in the wording of the last foot.

<sup>8</sup> This is verse 23 of the Raghudēvapura grant.

<sup>9</sup> This is verse 24 of the Raghudēvapura grant with slight difference in the first foot.

<sup>10</sup> Better read vād-āpa, although the reading vād-ārā can also be supported.



*Second Side*

- 15 ragah | sva-dharma-nirataḥ śāhitaḥ amṛiti-śāstra-purāṇa-vit || 8\*] Tasy-āpi  
 16 sūnur-abhavat-Tirumala-bhaṭṭas-sudhī[ḥ\*] śruti-amṛitiḥ | Kauṭika-vad-  
 17 ās-vatadīś Vyāsa-vachas-sarapī-jāmbhika-śrēṣṭhaḥ || 9\*] Paurāṇikāya  
 18 ch-āmaī Tirumala-bhaṭṭāya dharma-śāstra-vidā | Dōrapāle-samjñam-uchita-  
 19 grāmaṁ vyatarad(ran)-narēndra-bhūnāthaḥ || 10\*] Śāk-ābdō rasa-śaila-rāma-śaśi-gō  
 20 varshē Yuv-ākhyē śubhai(bhō) vi(vi)ra-śrī-Raghubhūpa-bhūpa-tilaka[ḥ\*] [śrī].  
 21 [mā]n-narēndrō vibhūḥ | grāmam śrī-Dorapāle-nāmakam-adā-  
 22 t-Kauritēya-gaṅgā-tapā viprēya prathitāya Tirmaya-sudhī-sa-  
 23 mājāya Sōma-grahā || 11\*] Śrī-Raghubhūpa-narēndras-Tirumala-vidushē vi-  
 24 tīrya Dorapāleṁ | iti nāthatē mahātmā bhāvi-nṛpān pa(pra)śakāya-  
 25 tām dharmaḥ || 12\*] Sāmānyō-yam dharma-sētur-nṛpāṇāḥ kālē kālē pā-  
 26 lantīḥ bhavadbhiḥ | itam(itam) sarvān bhāvīnaḥ pārtthiv-śmādrān bhūyō<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the stanza, viz., *śāśyō pūchāt Rāmāśmādrāḥ* || 13\*, must have been engraved on the next plate.



## No. 2—TIPPASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF KAMPA-VIKRAMAVARMAN, YEAR 17

(1 Plate)

J. SUNDARAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9.1.1958)

The inscription<sup>1</sup> edited below is engraved on a stone set up on the bund of the lake at Tippasamudram in the Vellore Taluk of the North Arcot District. The language of the record is Tamil and the characters used are Tamil and Grantha. The use of the archaic form of *n* in *Viḷuppēraiyar* in line 13 is interesting.

This inscription is dated in the 17th regnal year of Kō-*viśai(ja)ya-Kampavikramavarman*. Its object is to commemorate the digging of a channel called *Viḷuppēraiyar* from the river to the lake at *Valivalakkamaṅgalam* by *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* (*Prithivigaṅgaraiyar*), the chief of the (*nāḍu i-nnāḍ-uḍaiya*), and his wife *Ilāḍapperundēviyār* for the merit of *Ayyakkutti-aḍiga* who may have been their daughter.

The chief interest of this inscription lies in the mention herein of a *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* in the 17th regnal year of *Kampavarman*, apparently as a *Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu* chief, since he is described as the chief of 'this *nāḍu*', i.e. *Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu* in which the findspot of the record is situated. The identity of *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* can be established with reasonable certainty. An inscription from *Śōḷavarām*,<sup>2</sup> dated in the 8th regnal year of *Kampavarman*, mentions one *Rājādittan Mahādēva* who is stated to have built a tomb (*atiyagaram* or *paḷḷi-ppaḍai*) and a Śiva temple at the place where his father *Prithivigaṅgaraiyar* was buried. The name of this person implies that the son was called *Mahādēva* and his father *Rājādittan*.<sup>3</sup> Probably *Prithivigaṅgaraiyar* was *Rājādittan*'s surname. The chief in our inscription also calls himself *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* and the interval between the *Śōḷavarām* inscription and the present record is very short. These facts appear to suggest that *Mahādēva*, who should have succeeded his father in the chiefship in the ordinary course, also assumed the title *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar*. This assumption is supported by the occurrence of the same or a similar title along with the names of the later chiefs of this family.<sup>4</sup>

If the identification of the chief of the present record with *Mahādēva* and the supposition that the members of this family assumed the title *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* are correct, then we can say that some of the *Prithivigaṅgaraiyars* occurring in inscriptions of about this period and region may have belonged to this family of chiefs who ruled over *Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu*.<sup>5</sup>

The above identification again helps us to fix the period to which this *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* and his overlord *Kampavarman* belonged. An inscription<sup>6</sup> dated in the 26th regnal year of *Rājākēsarivarman*, who on account of the high regnal year and the palaeography of the record has been identified with *Chōḷa Āditya I*, refers to one *Mahādēva* as the father of *Gaṅgamā[r\*]ttāṇḍar alias* *Sēmbiyan Prithivigaṅgaraiyar*. Again we hear of other sons of possibly the same *Mahādēva* in

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> The son's name was taken to be *Rājāditya* while *Mahādēva* in *Rājādittan Mahādēva* was interpreted to mean 'the great king' (op. cit.). But we have many other instances of a son prefixing his father's name to his own, e.g., *Nandi Kampavarā* (ibid., p. 196), *Aṭṭaiyya-Piṇṇakadēvar* (*A. R. Ep.*, 1920, No. 572), etc. The Sanskrit portion of the first of these inscriptions seems to support this view.

<sup>4</sup> See *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 139; 1930-31, No. 177; *SIH*, Vol. XIII, No. 319. It is not certain if *Śōḷavarāgarayan*, son of *Amaṅgaṅgaraiyar*, figuring in an inscription dated in the 2nd year of *Nandippōṭṭaraiyar* (*Nandivarman III*) was an earlier member of the family (*SIH*, Vol. XII, No. 45).

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 180 ff.; cf. Vol. XXIII, pp. 145-46.

<sup>6</sup> *SIH*, Vol. XIII, No. 319.



the reign of Parakēsarivarman.<sup>1</sup> One Kāmaḍiga, son of Mādēvar of Paṅgala-nāḍu, is mentioned in an inscription of this king's 8th year.<sup>2</sup> Another of the same person's sons named Pṛithivigāgaraiyar, figures in an inscription dated in the [11]th regnal year of that king.<sup>3</sup> Probably he is identical with Alivin Kaḷḷaraṣi alias Śembiyan Bhuvaṇigaṅgaraiyar figuring in another inscription<sup>4</sup> of Parakēsarivarman. If it can be assumed that Mahādēva, son of Rājāditya of the Śōḷavaram record, whom we have identified with the Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar of the present inscription, and Mahādēva, mentioned as the father of the Paṅgala-nāḍu chiefs in the inscriptions of Āditya I and Parakēsarivarman, are identical, it will follow that Mahādēva was at least a senior contemporary of Āditya I. The acceptance of the suzerainty of Āditya I by these chiefs goes to show that the Chōḷa king succeeded in consolidating his position in this part of the former Pallava dominion.<sup>5</sup>

The channel which was dug for the maris of Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ was named Viḷuppēraraiyaṅ. This leads us to suppose that the title Viḷuppēraraiyaṅ was connected with the name of Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ. Two inscriptions<sup>6</sup> dated in the 19th and 26th regnal years of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I) mention one Viḷuppēraraiyar Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ and her mother Puḡaḷttuṇai-aḍiyār. The former may be identified with the person of that name mentioned in our record. It is likely that Puḡaḷttuṇai-aḍiyār (or aḍigaḷ) was the real name of Ilāḍapperundēvi.

The above discussion would suggest that Kampavarman, who was the overlord of Mahādēva, was a predecessor of Āditya I in this territory or at least their reigns were not far removed from each other in point of time.<sup>7</sup>

Ilāḍapperundēvi, the title of the wife of Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar, could have been only a surname indicating that she was the daughter of a Lāṭa chief. These chiefs, who called themselves variously as Lāḍarāyar or Lāḍappēraraiyar, and sometimes also as Virāṭarāja, find mention in a number of inscriptions of the time of the early Chōḷas.<sup>8</sup> Many inscriptions refer to their matrimonial connections with the families of local chieftains and, in one instance, Chōḷa Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka I, is said to have had a wife who was the daughter of Ilāḍarāyar.<sup>9</sup> They seem to have held sway over some parts of the Chittoor District and portions of the North and South Arcot Districts.

Two inscriptions<sup>10</sup> of the reign of Pārthivāndrādhipativarman mention a member of this family named Āṇaiyaṁmaṅ alias Paramaḍalādittan. They state that the family of the Lāṭa chiefs belonged

<sup>1</sup> This king may be identified with Parāntaka I owing to the proximity of his reign with that of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I) mentioned above. The palaeography of the record seems to support this.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1928, No. 138. Parakēsarivarman of both the records must be identical.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1930-31, No. 177. The date portion of the inscription is damaged. Only the figure 1 as the second digit is discernible.

<sup>5</sup> The chiefs of Paṅgala-nāḍu were used to the transference of their allegiance to new masters. They submitted to the Rāshtrakūṭas during the occupation of this part of the Chōḷa territory by Kannaradēva (above, Vol. VII, pp. 195-96).

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 285 and 317.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, lxxvi-lxxix. The arguments for assigning Kampavarman's rule to about the middle of the 10th century are not convincing. In the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-chōḷa (*SII*, Vol. III, No. 125), the record of the previous transactions is confusing and it is difficult to take them in chronological order and deduce that Kampavarman flourished later than Parāntaka I. It is also not safe to identify Atri(varmān) of the Śōḷavaram record, who is merely mentioned as born in the line of Mādava (above, Vol. VII, p. 193), with Hastimalla, the son of Vaylri-Aḍiyar and feudatory of Kannaradēva (*ibid.*, 195-96). As regards Niraṅjanaguru mentioned in an inscription of the 19th year of Kampavarman (*SII*, Vol. XII, No. 105), Venkatacāmba Aiyar's views appear to be reasonable (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 145, note).

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 141; *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. 63; *ibid.*, 1912, No. 168, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 134.

<sup>10</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, Nos. 267 and 324. While in the former the chief is called Virāṭarāja in the Sanskrit portion and Ilāḍarāyar in the Tamil portion, in the latter he is simply called Virāṭarāja. Their identity is discussed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, para. 63; see also *Proc. IHC*, 7th session, Madras, pp. 203 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 267 ff.



to the solar race, in which Guṇaratnasindhu of the family of Sagara-Virāṣa was born. His son was Aṇigōpa, grandson Kampadiga], great-grandson Taṭṭālar and great-great-grandson Āṇaiyamman. We get a Śaka date, viz. [88]9, for this last chief in an inscription<sup>1</sup> from Puṇṇaṇūr. With the help of the date in this inscription, we can assign Aṇigōpa and Kampadiga],<sup>2</sup> the great-grandfather and grandfather of Āṇaiyamman, to the period of the inscription under study. An undated record<sup>3</sup> attributable to the 9th century, mentions one Aṇigōvan Oṟriyūr-pirāṭṭi, daughter of Vilāḍarāyar and wife of Vayiramēga Vāṇakōvaraiyar.<sup>4</sup> The first name Aṇigōvan and her being the daughter of a Vilāḍarāyar seem to indicate that she was the daughter of Aṇigōpa. Probably Ilāḍapperundēvi of our record was a daughter of one of these two chiefs.

Paṇḍaḷa-nāḍu seems to have included portions of the present taluks of Polur and Velur in the North Arcot District. The village of Tippasamudram appears to have been originally called Valivalakkamaṅgalam. An inscription<sup>5</sup> belonging to the Vijayanagara period refers to the place as Valiṇṇattimaṅgalam *alias* Tippasamudram. It is fairly certain that the name Valiṇṇattimaṅgalam itself is a corruption of Valivalakkamaṅgalam. The modern name of Tippasamudram might have been derived from the lake referred to in the inscription.

#### TEXT\*

##### *First Side*

- 1 Svasti śri [||\*] Kō-viśaiya-Ka-
- 2 mpavikkiramaparumaṅku yā-
- 3 nḍu paḍiṅ-āḷvadu
- 4 i-nnāḍuḍaiya Pṛithiya-
- 5 ṇgaraiyarum iṇar-dē-
- 6 viyār Ilāḍapperundē-
- 7 viyārum taṅga] maga[|]
- 8 Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍiga]ukku

##### *Second Side*

- 9 i-vvinnavarum śeyda
- 10 dha[r]mnam Valivalakkamaṅga-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 267 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The name Kampadiga] may suggest that the chief had some connections with Kampavarman.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-35, No. 233; see plate facing page 75.

<sup>4</sup> It is possible that this Vayiramēga Vāṇakōvaraiyar was identical with the homonymous person mentioned as the son of Perumāṅgai *alias* Sāmi Akkaṅ figuring in two inscriptions dated in the 4th regnal year of Aparāḍita (*SII*, Vol. XII, Nos. 87 and 88).

<sup>5</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1932-40, No. 173.

\* From impressions.



- 11 lattu ērikku-kkaṇḍa ā-
- 12 rruk-kāl [i\*] i-kkāl Viḷu-
- 13 ppērararaiya(n)<sup>1</sup> i-dha-
- 14 [r]mmam [i\*] idu irakshippāṅ<sup>2</sup>.
- 15 [u-a]ḍi eṅ-muḍi-mōl [i\*]

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<sup>1</sup> Read pēraraiyaṅ.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is superfluous.



TIPPASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF KAMPA-VIKRAMAVARMAN, YEAR 17

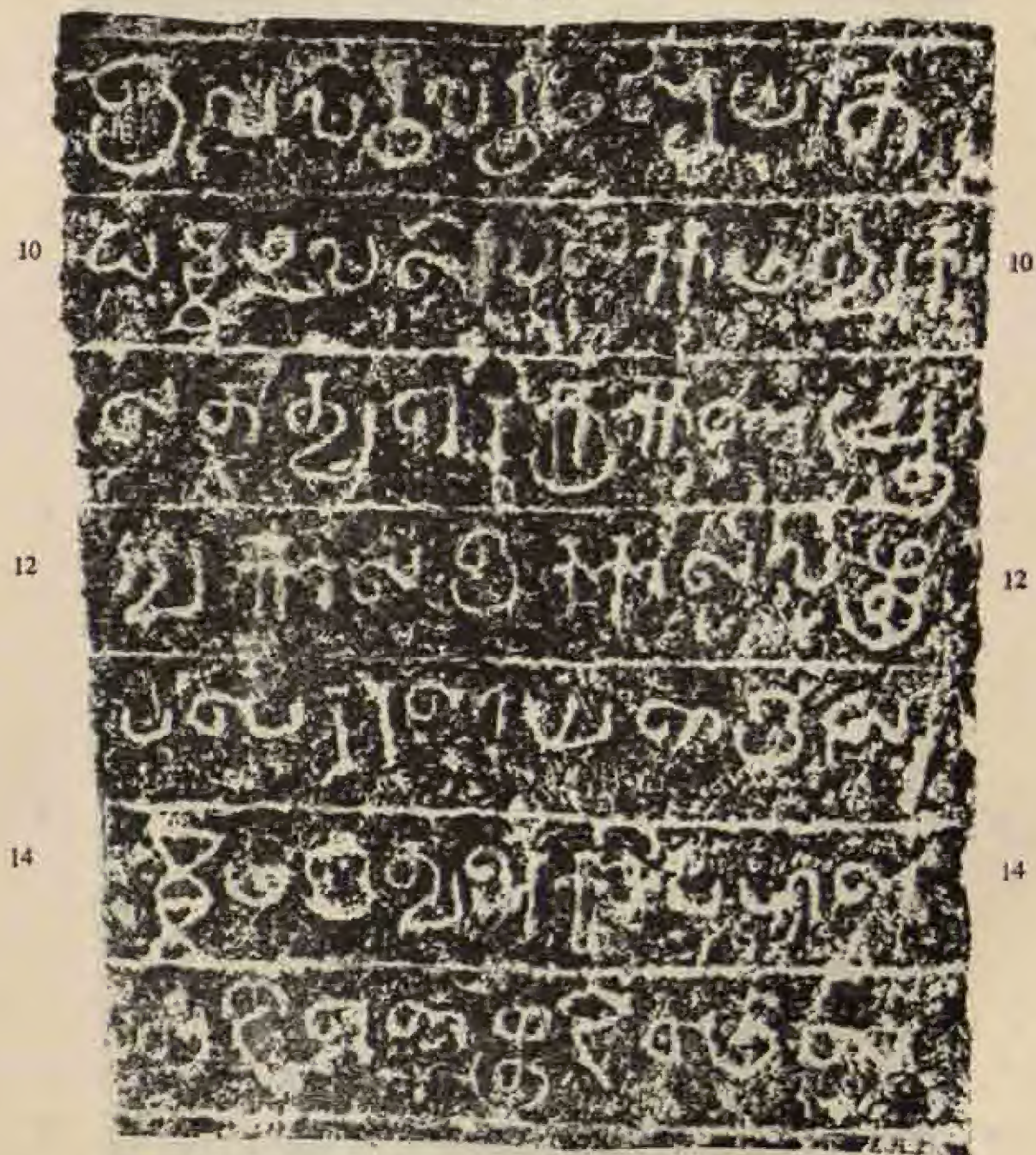
First Side



Scale: One-Fourth



Second Side





### No. 3—DONGALASANI INSCRIPTION OF VANKEYA-CHOLA, YEAR 41

(1 Plate)

K. H. V. Sarma, Ootacamund

(Received on 6.2.1958)

The subjoined inscription,<sup>1</sup> edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied in the year 1939-40 from **Doṅgalasāni**, a hamlet of Kuruguntapalle in the Siddhavatam Taluk of the Cuddapah District. It is engraved on two faces of a large slab measuring about 3.25 feet in height and 1.25 feet in width and lying in front of the Āṇjanēya temple in the village. There are altogether thirty-five lines of writing.

The record is engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters of about the 9th century and its palaeography very closely resembles that of other records of the period and area in question. The letters *bh* and *dh* still retain their archaic form while *b* occurs both in its archaic form (cf. *varanbhu* in line 12) and its more developed open form (cf. *samratsarambhu* in lines 8 and 9). The cursive form of the letter *y* can be seen in the words *yokaṇṇi* (lines 9 and 10) and *yella* (line 18). The initial vowels *ā*, *i* and *u* are used in the inscription. The use of the sign of *anuvāra* above a letter and the archaic forms of *r* and *l* as found in early Telugu records<sup>2</sup> is noteworthy.

The inscription is in **Telugu** prose and verse with an imprecatory verse in **Sanskrit** at the end. The rules of *sandhi* are observed and the consonants associated with *r* are doubled. The number forty-one is indicated by *nalvādy-ādi-yokaṇṇi*, literally 'one preceded by forty'. The word *peṭṭuna* (lines 10-11) is used in the sense of *atibaya* and *garuru* (line 14) in the sense of 'boundary'. The expression *ajina-vāḍu* (lines 27-28) is similar to that of Tamil *ajin-avaṇ* and Kannada *ajid-aran*, for all of which the common root is *aji*, 'to destroy'. The royal epithets *Tenkkavādityu*, *Puṣi-illad-ātman* and *Komarara-Bhīma* appear to be of Kannada origin.

The inscription is dated in the fortyfirst regnal year of the king, Chitta (Chaitra) Śa. 10, Sunday (lines 9-12). But in the absence of the corresponding Śaka or cyclic year, it is difficult to fix the exact period of the record. The Madras Museum plates of Balliya-chōḍa,<sup>3</sup> considered to be the earliest charter so far known of this branch,<sup>4</sup> are assigned palaeographically to Śaka 850-60 (928-38 A. D.).<sup>5</sup> The later forms of the letters *b*, *j*, *s* and *k* and the *anuvāra* in the form of a circle placed almost to the side of a letter in the above charter bear close resemblance to the Madras Museum plate<sup>6</sup> of the Vaidumba king Bhuvana-trinētra, dated in Śaka 893. These palaeographical features are also noticed in other Vaidumba records from Upparapalli<sup>7</sup> and Animals<sup>8</sup> in the Cuddapah District, which are dated in Śaka 894 and 898 respectively. On palaeographic grounds, the present inscription has to be assigned to a date in the proximity of that of the Madras Museum plates of Balliya-chōḍa, i.e., c. Śaka 850.

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, App. B, No. 13. Cf. M. Venkataramayya in *Telugu-saṃskṛta-saṃgraha*.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 347; Vol. XXVII, pp. 221 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, App. A, No. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *JABRS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 50 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, Part II, para. 8. Dr. F. Greenivasahar assigns the record to 1106-07 A. D. and identifies Balliya-chōḍa with Chōḍa Balliya-chōḍa of Kopidema (*JIH*, Vol. XV, pp. 48-49). Neither the date nor the identification is acceptable.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1905 App. B, No. 325.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1938, App. B, No. 198.







TEXT<sup>1</sup>*Front Side*

- 1 [Sva]sti [i\*] Chars[pa-sarōru]-
- 2 [ha]-viha(hi)ta-vi[lōchana-Tri]-
- 3 lōchana-pramukāki(kh-ākhi)la-[pī]-
- 4 thivīvara-kārita-Kāvē[ri-ti]-
- 5 ra-Karikāla-kula-ratna-pradi(dī)p=ā-
- 6 hit-āhikusa(śa)-śrī-Vankeya-chōla-
- 7 mahārājula paṭṭa[mbu]gaṭṭina
- 8 pravardda(rddha)māna-vijaya-rājya-[sami]-
- 9 vatsara[m]bu-nalvādy-ādi-yoko-
- 10 pṭi-yagunēṭi [Chittā]-[su]di perb-
- 11 puna Dasa(śa)miyu [Ā]ditya-
- 12 va(vā)ra[m]bunāṇḍu Kuguva-
- 13 bhaṭṭāriki reṇḍu rē[vu]lu
- 14 pola[m] garusugānu
- 15 paḍumaṭam goṇḍa[ya] ga-
- 16 rusugānu uttara[m]buna.
- 17 ku guṇava dāṇika lōpali[nē]-
- 18 la yella sarvva-parihāru[vu] iśhoḥa [i\*].
- 19 Śrī-Vankeya-chōla-mahā-
- 20 rāju [Terb]kaṇ-ādityuṇḍu Komara-
- 21 ra-Bhāmupḍu pusi-illad-ātma-
- 22 n=ī dharmmuv=ī-chandr-ārka-tārakambu [²]
- 23 .....

*Back Side*

- 24 idda .....
- 25 vāṇḍu [Baranāsi] .....

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.<sup>2</sup> The last four lines seem to be in verse.



- 26 navāṇḍu śrīpa(r)bhe(rva)taṁbuna-  
 27 [m ga]la līṁgaṁbulaṁ-aḷi[ai]-  
 28 [na] vāṇḍu [vāvura mu].  
 29 ..... galaṁ i-sta(śihā)-  
 30 [naṁbu]galavāru ḷ[śā]-  
 31 naśivulu || Bahubhīr-vraṇu-  
 32 dā(dhā) dattā bahubhīś-ch-āṇṇpā-  
 33 lītā[ ] \*] a(ya)śya a(ya)śya  
 34 a(ya)dā bhūmīś-tasya ta-  
 35 śya tadā phalaṁ(lam)<sup>1</sup> [ ]\*

<sup>1</sup> There is a floral design to indicate the end of the writing.



DONGALASANI INSCRIPTION OF VANKEYA-CHOLA, YEAR 41  
Front Side



Scale : One-Fourth



Back Side





## No. 4—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GOPALA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.9.1957)

Both the inscriptions edited below are inscribed on stone slabs which are at present preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The first of them was found at Baraudi and the second at Narwargarh, both in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State. The first record was noticed by M. B. Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V. S. 1979, No. 26, and the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 187. The notices of the record in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions in Northern India*, No. 597, and H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh*, No. 133, are based on Garde's note. The second epigraph was noticed by Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V. S. 1971, No. 9, and in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 242. His views were similarly quoted by Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 603, and Dvivedi, op. cit., No. 141. Unfortunately the published notices of both the inscriptions are based on incomplete and inaccurate transcripts. Some of the important details are omitted in the notices which contain several errors of omission and commission. They are edited here with the help of impressions prepared under my supervision about the end of 1952 when I visited Gwalior with a view to attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress and examining the inscriptions preserved in the Gwalior Museum. Both the inscriptions, which were registered as Nos. 141 and 139 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, Appendix B, belong to the reign of the Yajvapāla or Jajapāla king Gōpāla (known dates between 1279 and 1289 A. D.) of Nalapura. They contain each a *prastāvi* recording the excavation of a *vāpi*. The eulogies were composed by the poet Śivanābhaka belonging to a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior.

### 1. Baraudi Inscription of V. S. 1336

There are 29 lines of writing, which cover an area about 22 inches in length and about 18½ inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory as a number of letters are damaged here and there. The characters belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble other contemporary inscriptions discovered in the area in question.<sup>1</sup> The letter *ḍ* has been indicated by the sign for *ṣ*. The orthography of the inscription is also similar to that of other records of the age and area. Reduplication of a consonant after *r* is noticed only in a few cases. *Anuvāda* has been used for class nasals excepting some cases while it has taken the place of final *m* at the end of the first and second halves of stanzas in all cases. The language is Sanskrit and the whole composition, excepting a few passages at the beginning and end, is in verse. It is a *prastāvi* composed in 30 stanzas. The verses are numbered, although there is a mistake in the numbering. The twentyfourth stanza is wrongly numbered as the twenty-third and the mistake is continued in numbering the following verses. The date of the record is quoted in the last line as V. S. 1336, Mārgaśīrṣa-vadi 6, Friday. It regularly corresponds to the 27th October 1279 A. D. The month was Pūrṇimānta.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham followed by the passage *Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow the 30 stanzas of the *prastāvi*. The first two of them (verses 1-2) contain adoration to

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 145 ff. and Plate; Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 367 ff. and Plates.



the god Śambhu (Śiva) and to both Girīśa (Śiva) and his consort Śailasutī (Pārvatī). Verse 3 introduces the city of Nalapura (modern Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapāla kings, while verse 4 speaks of king Chāhaḍa of the Yajvapāla family. Verse 5 mentions king Nṛivarman, son of Chāhaḍa. He is described as a devotee of *Deūpārāṭī*, probably meaning here the god Śiva. Verse 6 mentions Āsalladēva, son of Nṛivarman, as well as his queen Lāvāpyadēvī, while the next stanza (verse 7) continues Āsalla's description. Verses 8-9 describe the reigning monarch Gōpāla who was the son of Āsalladēva apparently from the queen Lāvāpyadēvī.

Verse 10 introduces a Kshatriya family, to which the hero of the *prastāvi* belonged, as resembling a family of Brāhmaṇas and the next stanza (verse 11) gives its name as Gauḍahara and states that it belonged to the Vatsa gōtra. It is possible that Gauḍahara is the same as what is now called the Gaur-Rājput.<sup>1</sup> Verse 12 says that the family of the Gauḍahara Kshatriyas worshipped three forms of the Mother-goddess, viz. Chāmūṇḍā, the nine-formed (*nava-vidhā*) Dēvī and Gauḍaharā. The *Nava-vidhā* Dēvī is no doubt the same as Nava-Durgā or Durgā having nine forms, viz. Kumārikā, Trimūrtī, Kalyāṇī, Rōhīṇī, Kālī, Chāṇḍīkā, Śāmbhavi, Durgā and Bhadrā. Of the three goddesses, Gauḍaharā was apparently the family deity of the Gauḍaharas.

Verse 13 says that Tribhuvanagiri was the capital of the Śūrasēna king and that there lived one Dāmōdara. It appears that Dāmōdara was a Gauḍahara Kshatriya and that the original home of the family in question was Tribhuvanagiri, capital of the Śūrasēnas.<sup>2</sup> The ancient capital of the Śūrasēna country was Mathurā; but our inscription appears to speak of a place where a Śūrasēna family was ruling at the time when Dāmōdara flourished. The reference may be to a dynasty like the Śūrasēna royal family known from the Kama (Bharatpur District, Rajasthan) inscription<sup>3</sup> of about the eight century A.D. The name Tribhuvanagiri suggests that it was a hill-fort named after a king called Tribhuvana. But it is difficult to indentify it without further evidence.

Verse 14 speaks of Dāmōdara's son Nāgādēva, who seems to have been the minister of an unnamed king, and the next stanza (verse 15) of the latter's three sons, viz. Pithana, Jalhapa and Mālādihara, while verse 16 describes Jalhapa who was the second of the three brothers. This importance accorded to Jalhapa is due to the fact that he was the most famous amongst the brothers. Verse 16 tells us that Jalhapa was reliable and commanded the confidence of the people and that, having learnt this fact, the *Hammīra* himself appointed him as one of his officers at Gōpātāla (i.e. Gwalior). The word *hammīra*, derived from Arabic 'amir, was generally used in early medieval India to indicate a Turkish Musalman king, although it gradually came to be adopted sometimes by the Indians as a personal name. The stanza seems to refer to the conquest of Gwalior by Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi (1210-36 A.D.) about the beginning of 1233 A.D.<sup>4</sup> It appears that, after the conquest of Gwalior, the Sulṭān appointed Jalhapa in order to create confidence in the minds of the recently subdued Hindus of the area. It was no doubt a wise step. But it is interesting to note that, even if Jalhapa was an officer at Gwalior under the Muslims, many members of his family appear to have migrated to the Yajvapāla kingdom and settled there.

Verse 17 again refers to Pithana, elder brother of Jalhapa, while the following stanza (verse 18) gives the name of his wife as Champā. Pithana is described as a devotee of the god Paśupati (Śiva). Verse 19 mentions Dēvadihara, son of Pithana and Champā, and verse 20 says that he was the *Adhikāri-mukhya* (i.e. chief minister) of king Āsalladēva. The known dates of the Yajvapāla

<sup>1</sup> Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharya's List, No. 1342.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXX, p. 147.



king Āsalla, father of Gōpāla, range between 1254 and 1279 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Verse 21 refers to Dēvadhara's wife whose name is given as Nīlā.

Verse 23 refers to the village of Vajapatra which is stated to have been formerly granted to the Brāhmaṇas by a ruler named Nāninga. The village is no doubt the same as modern Baraudī (Burhī Baraudī) where the record was discovered; but no ruler named Nāninga is known from any records. He seems to have been a subordinate ruler of the district round Baraudī under the earlier Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura. Verse 24 speaks of the excavation of a vāpī or step-well by Dēvadhara, apparently in the said village of Vajapatra. The next stanza (verse 25) continues the description of the vāpī, while verse 26 contains a prayer to the effect that it might last for ever. Verse 27 speaks of the three sons apparently of the said Dēvadhara. They were Harirāja, Mahārāja and Śivarāja.

Verse 28 mentions the poet who composed the *prastāvi*. This stanza is found in several Yajvapāla records including the Narwar inscription of V.S. 1339 edited below. The poet was Śivanābhaka described as the son of Kōśādhipa (treasurer) Lōhaṭa and the grandson of Dāmōdara of a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gōpādri (Gwalior). The king whom Lōhaṭa served as a treasurer is not mentioned. But it appears that the family migrated from Gwalior to the Yajvapāla kingdom on the fall of Gwalior in to the hands of the Muhammadans in the reign of Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi. Lōhaṭa was therefore an officer of the Hindu king either of Gwalior or of Narwar.<sup>2</sup>

The person who was responsible for writing the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver was another member of the Māthura Kāyastha community. He was Vikrama, son of Bhiṅgaka (verse 29). Verse 30 mentions the engraver. He was *Sūtrabhṛt* (*Sūtradhāra*) Bhīmadēva. The same stanza also states that a Kahatriya named Sōmadēva was the superintendent of the whole work, probably meaning the excavation of the vāpī.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Nalapura and Gōpādri or Gōpāchala are well-known. The location of the village of Vajapatra where the vāpī was excavated has been indicated above. We are not sure about the location of Tribhuvanagiri which may, however, have been a hill-fort in the Gwalior region.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 8, 11, 18-19, 21 *Upajāti*; verses 2, 14, 25, 27-28 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 3-4, 20, 22, 26 *Varanatilaka*; verses 5-7, 10, 13, 15-16 *Mandākrāntā*; verses 9, 12, 23-24, 29-30 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 17 *Mālinī*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> Ōḥ nama[h] Śivāya || Vi(Bi)jāni kalyāṇa-lat-āṅkurāṇām dipās-trilōki-timir-āvali-nām(nām) | puṇyātma-kānām-apī pāvanāni jayanti Śambhōḥ padayō
- 2 rajātsai || 1 Drasṭum manmatha-manthar-śkeṣaṇa-bhavās-tās-tā vilā[śa](sa)-kriyāḥ pātum oh-ādihara-vimva(bimba)-janma-madhuram pīyūṣham-atyadbhutam(tam | ) vakṣaḥ-pīṭha-vimaradda-kharvita-ku[cha]m la-

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham read the latest date on the coins of Chāhaḍa and the earliest on those of his grandson Āsalla as V.S. 1311=1254 A.D. while R.D. Banerji speaks of the former's coins of V.S. 1312 and 1316 and the latter's issues of V.S. 1315 and suggests that, since their reigns overlapped, Āsalla's father Nṛvarman did not resign at all (*Nemirmatic Supplement*, No. XXXIII, pp. 80-83). The matter requires further examination.

<sup>2</sup> No. 146 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Lōhaṭa's master was Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa of Nalapura. See below, pp. 69, 69 and note 2.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions. This is No. 141 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B. I am indebted to Mr. P. B. Desai for some suggestions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.



- 3 vdhum(bdhum) tad-āliṅganam kāy-alkyē-pi Gīṛṭā-Śaila[su]tayōr-utkam manaḥ pāṭa-  
vaḥ || 2 Saṁrājya-bhāsura-manō-hara-bhūti-pātram-āstō putam Nalapur-ākhyam-ananya-
- 4 chāru | yatr-ādhvare-prachīta-pāvaka-dhūma-[bhū]mā tāpaṁ ravēr-api para(rā)sa rti-  
(ti)raśchakāra || 3 Tasmīn-abhūt-sahaja-śaurya-nivāsa-bhūmiḥ ari(āri)-**Chāhaḥ** kaṭi-  
patih sukri-
- 5 t-ādhivāsaḥ | dōr-damḍa-charḍa-charitō vilāsa-nitānta-tivra-pratāpa-sikhi-dagḍha-vipa-  
kasya-kakasyaḥ(kahāḥ) || 4 Tasmād-āśid-anavadhi-guṇaḥ śaucha-Gāṅgēva(ya)-vṛittō  
Daityārā-
- 6 ti-prapāti-nīrataḥ | Ari-Nṛivarmā mahīśaḥ || Yēna cchhinnai ripu-nripa-āraḥ-paṭi-  
kajair-arochit-tyam mūrttiḥ Saṁbhō rāpa-vasumatī ta[n]vatā Śaiva-vṛittih(tim)  
|| 5 Tat-putrō-bhūch-ōhikhi-mi-
- 7 ta-nripa-śkaridhīlāḥ kshōpināthaḥ śaury-ōdagrō guṇa-gaṇa-nidhiḥ śrīma[d-Ā]śailadēvaḥ |  
Gauri Śaṁbhōr-iva Jaladhijā Kāśavasy-ēva ādhvī nirvyāj-āika-prapāya-va-
- 8 satir-yasya **Lāvāpyadēvi** || 6 Yan-nistṛiṇ(striṇ)śam harita-māṇjari māncham-ārūhya  
tigṁair-vairi-a[t]rīpāśm eva(ēva)śita-pavanair-vijvanmānā jaya-ārīḥ | antaḥ-pāthōnidhi-  
chalaḍ-u-
- 9 r-ūlōla-sarṅghaḥ[nir]yaḍ-viṇḍu-ārōṇ-pari[cha]ya-mīlaj-jāḍya-duḥkham | ahātī || 7 Ta-  
[am]āt-Sudhāśmōr-iva Rauhīpēyaḥ Pinākāpāpēr-iva Kārttikēyaḥ | nidhir-guṇānām cha  
su-tējasām cha
- 10 **Gōpālā**-nāmā jayati kshittīśaḥ || 8 Tasmīn-avati bhūpālē dharām-uddā[ma-dh]āma-  
[nī] aśvārānta-makḥ-āhūta-Paruhūta-kṛit-ālayām(yām) || 9 Yasy-ōtpatti(h\*) Sarasija-  
[bh]uvaḥ pāvanā-
- 11 bhyām bhujābhyām dēvaḥ sākāśā-ajani bhagavān-ādīmō ya[tra] Chāndraḥ | iśṭaiḥ  
p[ū]s[t]air-a[vatī] ja[gatīḥ] karmabhiḥ saṁtatam yaḥ kshātrō varuṇaḥ sa jayati mahi-  
dēva-sādharāṇa-ārīḥ || 10 Tat-ā-
- 12 pi Vata-ākhyā-mun-īndra-gōtra-vībhūṣaṇam **Gauḍahar**-ānvavāyaḥ | pāṭh-ādi-kar[ma]-  
tritaya-pravī[ṇa]ḥ | ā[r]ēyasvi(n)ām [k]ṛitīva(ma)lām dhuripaḥ || 11 **Chāmuhā** paramā  
śaktir-**Dēvi** nava-vi-
- 13 dhā tathā ||\*|| puṇyā **Gauḍahar**-ākhyā cha tīrō-mūr-yatra dēvatā[h] || 12 Asti khyātas-  
Tri[bh]uvanagirir-vīrūtō rājadhāni kīrti-ārēṇ-dhavalita-dīśaḥ **Śūrasē(śē)n**-ādhipasya  
||\*|| puṇya-āri-
- 14 kaḥ śuchītam-guṇō yatrā tad-vamśa-muktā-ratnam tanvan-ruoham-avikalām-śa Dāmōdo-  
r-ākhyāḥ || 13 Ām(ā)t-sad-guṇa-vāridhir-nripa-tarōḥ kaundō yaśaḥ-k[ṣa]mudī-chāndras-  
taasya śu(śu)taḥ pāṇur-vyavahṛīsu śrī-
- 15 Nāgādēv-ābhīdhaḥ | mār[ṅgō] sajjana-sēvitō vicharatā vīrānta-vīrāṇanair-yēn-āmūr-  
bhūvi bh[ū]tayaḥ [su]-kṛitā nīta[h] parām-unnatīm(tim) || 14 Trayō va(ba)bhūva[s]-  
tanujā[s]-[t]ādīyā dharm-ārīḥ-

\* There is an unnecessary *danda* at the end of the line.



1. Baraudi Inscription of V.S. 1336

Scale : One-third



- 16 kāmā iva mūrti-bhāṣaḥ | śrī-Pīthanō Jalhapa<sup>1</sup>kaś=cha dhīmān-Mālādharas=cha prathitā  
gupa[<sup>2</sup>]h] svaiḥ || 15 Śaury-āmbhōdhir-jagati caturō nti-śāstrōś[<sup>3</sup>]v]-adhīu sad-vyā-  
pāra-pragupita-matir-Ja-
- 17 lhaṣaḥ puṇya-kīrttiḥ | Harimfrēpa svayam=adhikṛitō Gōpa-śailō viditvā sarvv-śchāra-  
khamā-[pa]ricchayō viśva-viśvāsa-[dhā]ma(mā) || 16 Amita-guṇa-gariṣṭhaḥ Pītha-  
n-ākhyō varishṭhaḥ Panu(ṣu)pati-
- 18 pada-bhaktāḥ puṇya-charyāsu śa(ea)ktāḥ | śa jayati śīta-kīrtti[<sup>4</sup>]r\*]-lōchan-ānamdi-mūrttiḥ  
parihṛita-[pa]ra-[hiti]śaḥ khatra-vamś-āvatadīśaḥ(eaḥ) || 17 Champ-ābhidhā tasya su-  
dharma-patni va(ba)bhūva sāmā[n]ya-bhṛīśa-praviddha[<sup>5</sup>]b.]\*]
- 19 Vidēha]-āpāya-nirārayaḥ san-pati-[v]rata[=tat-pri]yatām-iyāya || 18 Tēn-ājani kahatriya-  
śā[kha]rō[pa] tasyām tu(su)tō Dēvadharasḥ kṛita\*]jāḥ | ānamdit-śāśha-jau-āntarēpa  
yathā ghan-āntēna
- 20 divi prasādaḥ || 19 Sarvv-ōpakāra-nira[tō] naya-pāra-driśvā dharm-ōday-ābi[ta]-mati[<sup>6</sup>]h]  
kṛita-vit-kṛipālūḥ | Analladēva-nripa[t]ār-ādhikāri-mukhyaḥ kasy-āntarāḥ na haratō  
sa gupair-udārāḥ || 20 Nī-ā-
- 21 bhidhā tiśaḥḥati tasya kāntā sūdhvi-ei(śi)rō-śatnam-ānamita-kīrttiḥ | vimuchya patyāś-  
chatra-dvayam yā na dēvam-a[n]iyam khalu manyatō-tra || 21 Tēn-āvalōkya pa[ta]l-  
ānta-gat-ōda-viśadu-lōlam vayasāśha
- 22 vasu ch-āpaga[na]m va(cha) lōkō | dharmā kṛitā matir-ananta-guṇō samasta-jar-  
t-ōpakāra-para-[p]ūrita-bha[<sup>7</sup>]v]-na[vadyē] || 22 Asti Nānīmga-bhūpēna dvijēbhyō dakṣha-  
(kṣi)plkṛitāḥ | Vajrapatr-ābhidhō grāmaḥ puṇya-
- 23 sadipatti-bhājanam(nam) || 23 Adhvaga-śrama-nāśya sukṛit-ōpachayāya cha | karuṇ-  
āmbhōdhinā tēna [vā]pi nirmāpitā śubhā || 23(24) San-maitr-iva su-saṁhitā su-kavit-ōva-  
āti-prasaṁ-ōjva(jjva)lā sad-vādi-pra-
- 24 tibh-ōva bhariga-rakitā kām-ōva nōtr-ōtavā | puṇya-śrī[<sup>8</sup>]va] bhūri-[sar]va-phaladā  
jyōtan-ōva tūp-āpahā yasās-tungā-śilā-vibhāṁga-ghaṭitā rany-ādri-vam(bam)ḥdha-  
sthitīḥ || 24(25) Yāvad-vi(bi)bhartti Gīriśō Gī-
- 25 ri-j-ārdham-aṁgārā yāvat-punāti bhuvanāni cha Jahnukanyā | tāvat-payōbhīr-amalair-  
iyam=astu vāpi saṁtarpayāya bhavinām bhuvi bhinnā-tāpā || 25(26) Dhanyāḥ pāvana-  
kīrttayaḥ sukṛitino nīś[<sup>9</sup>]śma-tat-tad-gu
- 26 pa-śrēṣṭhīr-guṇinām haranti hṛidaya[n] tasya trayasḥ sūnavāḥ | ādyāḥ śrī-Harirājakaś-  
tad-ann cha śrīmān-Mahārājakaś-tad-bhaktā[<sup>10</sup>]h] Śivarāja ity-adhigupā viśvabhārā-  
bhūṣanāḥ(nam) || 26(27) Gōp-[ā]-
- 27 drau Līpikṛit-kulō samabharad=Dāmōdarō Māthuraḥ sūna-tasya visu(ṣu)ddha-kīrtti-  
anaghaḥ kōś-ādhipō Lōhataḥ | putras-tasya manāhi-mānasa-mudātā vistāra-kētum  
vyadhāś-ōnām śrī-Śi-

<sup>1</sup> There is a cancelled vicarupa sign after this letter.

<sup>2</sup> There is a cancelled i-matā with this letter.

<sup>3</sup> The letters śh/śati were incised and cancelled by the engraver after this.



- 28 [va]nābhakō nirupamaiv-vṛttaiḥ prastātib śubhām(bhām) || 27(8) Māthur-ānvaya-  
Kāyastha-Bhīṣṇakasy-āṅgasambhavaḥ | līlākha Vikramō dhīmān-satām-agrēsarō-  
naghaḥ || 28(29) Utkirṇavān-i-
- 29 mām Bhīmadēvaḥ sūtrabhṛitām varāḥ | kahatriyaḥ Sōmadēvō-bhūd-adhyakṣaḥ sarva-  
karmmasi || 29(30) Sarhvat 1336 Mārggaśirsha-vadi 6 Śukra-dinē ||<sup>1</sup> | śrī śrī śrī śrī

## 2. Narwar Inscription of V.S. 1339

The inscribed space on the squarish stone slab measures about 22½ inches in length and 22 inches in height. There are in all 27 lines of writing in the inscription. The preservation of the epigraph is not quite satisfactory. A number of letters are damaged especially in the central part of the record. The characters belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble those of the Baraudī inscription edited above. In several cases, the distinction between the forms of *ch* and *v* is not clear. The sign for *avagraha* is once used in line 14 in order to avoid the possibility of the personal name Ajayadēva being read as Jayadēva. As regards orthography also, the inscription resembles the Baraudī record. We have the use of *anustōtra* in the place of class nasals and of final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. Reduplication of a consonant after *r* is noticed only in the cases of *t*, *d*, and *dh*. There are some cases of the wrong use of *s* for *ś* and vice versa. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end, the whole epigraph is written in verse. It is a *prastā* composed in 27 stanzas in various metres. The verses are numbered consecutively. The date, quoted in the last line, is V. S. 1339, Pausa-vadi 10, Thursday. It regularly corresponds to the 26th November 1282 A. D. The month was *Pūrṇimānta*.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the word *siddhīḥ*, which are followed by the 27 stanzas of the eulogy. The first two stanzas (verses 1-2) contain adoration to the gods Śiva or Sadāśiva and Achyuta (Viṣṇu). Verse 3 introduces a hill or hill-fort called Ratnagiri, while verses 4-5 state that the goddess Mahārūpā created there a hero named Jayapāla who became the progenitor of a family named after him, although it was pronounced as *Jajapāla* by the common people. Jayapāla was no doubt the mythical progenitor of the Jajapāla (often Sanskritised as *Yajapāla*) dynasty of Narwar. But the interesting fact supplied by this description is that the original home of the Jajapālas was at Ratnagiri and that their family deity was Mahārūpā, no doubt a form of the Mother-goddess worshipped originally at Ratnagiri and later possibly also at Nalagiri or Nalapura (Narwar) which the Jajapālas afterwards made their capital. Ratnagiri mentioned in this connection cannot be satisfactorily identified. But it may be the same as the modern town of Ratangarh Khiri (lat. 24° 49', long. 75° 13') in the former Gwalior State, situated on the route from Nimach to Bundi, 36 miles north-east of the former and 73 miles south-west of the latter.

Verse 6 introduces king Chāhaḍa born in the Jajapāla dynasty. He is stated to have captured from his enemies a number of forts including Nalagiri (i.e. Nalapura, modern Narwargarh). Chāhaḍa thus seems to have transferred the Jajapāla capital to Narwar which he had conquered. The next stanza (verse 7) speaks of Chāhaḍa's son Naravarman (called Nṛivarman in verse 18 and in several other records including the Baraudī inscription edited above) and verse 8 of king Āsalladēva, son of Naravarman. Verses 9-10 describe the reigning monarch Gōpāla who was the son of Āsalladēva. An interesting information in Gōpāla's description is that he defeated king Viravarman, lord of Jājābhukti in a battle fought on the bank of the river Sikatā (*Sikatā-nimnagā-kachchha-bhūmau*). King Viravarman seems also to be compared with the epic hero

<sup>1</sup> There is a heart-shaped design between the double *daṇḍas*.



Lakshmana and described as 'the Chandra king of kings' (*Chandra-kshatidhara-pati*), the name Chandra here indicating the Chandella family claiming descent from the Moon-god and often called Chandr-āstrya. The passage in question may, however, also suggest that, along with Chandella Viravarman, Gōpāla also defeated king Lakshmana of the Chandra hill (Chandragiri). But, in such a case, it is difficult to identify the ruler, although Chandragiri may be the same as Chanderi in the Guna District of the former Gwalior State.<sup>1</sup>

The word *sikatā* is a synonym of *bālukā* and the Sikatā river is no doubt the same as the Bālukā mentioned in the Bangla inscriptions, according to which the Chandella king Viravarman of Jējābhukti or Jējāhuti was defeated by Gōpāla's forces on the bank of the said river in V.S. 1338 (current) or 1337 (expired), Chaitra sudi 7, Friday, corresponding to the 28th March 1281 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The river has been identified with the small stream of Barna which flows within a few miles from the fort of Narwar, the capital of Gōpāla. Since Chandella Viravarman actually besieged the Jajapalla capital, his repulse was no doubt a memorable event to the people of the Jajapalla kingdom. The present inscription was inscribed within two years after the battle. It was therefore quite fresh in the people's memory. Moreover, as will be seen below, the hero of the eulogy under study himself took part in the said battle.

Verses 11 introduces the family to which the hero of the *prafastī* belonged. It is stated that one Anayasintha was born in a family of physicians and was famous for his exploits in many battles. He is further described as a devotee of the god Paśupati (Śiva). The next two stanzas (verses 12-13) speak of his heroic son Vijayadēva who is credited with a victory over the armies of a king named Viśvala in a battle fought at Hastināpura. The name *Viśvala* is a variant of *Vīśala*. It is not impossible that Viśvala mentioned in our record is the Chāhamāna emperor of the same name, otherwise called Vīrahārāja IV whose known dates range between 1153 and 1164 A.D. As Vijayadēva's grandson was the hero of the present record of 1282 A.D., he might well have been a later contemporary of the Chāhamāna king. The only Hastināpura known to us is the old capital of the Kuru country, identified with a locality on the Ganges in the present Meerut District of U.P. This place was within the dominions of the Imperial Chāhamānas of Ajmer and Delhi. It is, however, difficult to determine the circumstances that led to the battle of Hastināpura, in which Vijayadēva claims to have fought against the forces of the Chāhmāna king. It has to be noticed that we do not know who Vijayadēva's master was. The problem is easily solved if he was an officer of a ruler like the contemporary Gāhādvāla monarch Vijayachandra (c. 1255-70 A.D.) who is reported to have come into conflict with the king of Delhi.<sup>3</sup>

Verses 14-15 mention Vijayadēva's son Ajayadēva and verse 16 the latter's wife Saubhāgyadēvi. Ajayadēva is stated to have fought with the *Mīśchchha* army. The *Mīśchchha* referred to were no doubt the Turkish Muhammadans who are often referred to in the epigraphs of the contemporary Indian rulers. But under whom and what circumstances Ajayadēva fought with the Mussalman can scarcely be determined without further light on the subject. It should, however, be remembered that king Chāhāda, great-grandfather of Gōpāla, is known to have come into conflict with the Turks. According to Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāgiri*, in 1234 A.D., Chāhar-i-Ajar (i.e. Chāhāda) is stated to have come into conflict with Nugratuddīn Taysūt, general of Sulṭān Ilutmiṣ of Delhi, on the banks of the river Sindh (Kalisindh) and in 1251 A.D. again with Ghiyāsuddīn Balban.

<sup>1</sup> An inscription of V. S. 1331 from Būgherā in the Shīrapurī District is said to mention Kirtidurga (identified with the Chanderi fort) and *Paramahasthaka Padmarāja* (Drivedī's List, No. 173). The king mentioned in the record is, however, Yajvapāla Gaupatī (cf. below, pp. 163 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 326 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Ray, *DBSI*, Vol. I, p. 535.



general of Sulṭān Nāṣiruddīn.<sup>1</sup> But it has to be pointed out that, if the father was a contemporary of Chāhamāna Vīśala or Vīgraharāja IV (c. 1154-63 A.D.) and the son of Jajapālla Chāhaḍa (c. 1234-54 A.D.), both of them must have enjoyed very long lives.

Verses 17 ff. describe Gāṅgadēva, the son of Ajayadēva and Saubhāgyadēvi and the hero of the eulogy under study. An interesting information about him is that he claims to have been a *sachio* (minister) of the son of Nṛivarman (i.e., of Gōpāla), who defeated Vīravarmān in the battle on the Saikata river. It is difficult to say whether the stanza uses the word *jaganā* in the sense of 'victorious' or as a secondary name of king Gōpāla. Gāṅgadēva is stated to have himself taken part in the battle on the Saikata, apparently the same as the Sikatā or Bālukā mentioned above. The Bangla inscriptions mention Gōpāla's partisans who died in the said battle with Chandēlla Vīravarmān. Here we have one who escaped death in that sanguinary conflict to enjoy the fruits of victory. Verse 19 states that Gāṅgadēva repaired the dilapidated temples in the Pādōnalakṣa *vīśaya* (district or territory), with the administration of which he was possibly associated. This district of Pādōnalakṣa, probably forming the whole or part of Jajapālla Gōpāla's kingdom, reminds us of the two Sapādālakṣa countries, one of which extended up to the valley of the Siwalik<sup>2</sup> and the other lay in the present Karimnagar region of the former Hyderabad State.<sup>3</sup> The expressions *sa-pāda-lakṣa* and *pād-śa-lakṣa* literally mean respectively 'one lakh and a quarter', and 'one lakh minus a quarter'. The number in these geographical names refers to the traditional number of villages contained in the geographical units although it is generally exaggerated.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the Pādōnalakṣa territory mentioned in our record cannot be identified with precision.<sup>5</sup>

Verses 21-23 state that Gāṅgadēva excavated a *vēpi* or stepwell while verse 24 mentions an *upavana* or pleasure garden, full of fruit trees and flowering plants, which was also created by him apparently around or in the vicinity of the *vēpi*. Verse 25 contains a prayer that the *vēpi* might last for ever.

Verses 26-27 mention the author of the *prastāvi* and the person who wrote it on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver. The poet responsible for the composition of the eulogy was Śivanābhaka born in a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gōpādri (Gwalior). He was the son of Kōśādhipa (treasurer) Lōhata and the grandson of Dāmōdara. The same stanza is found in some other *prastāvi* composed by Śivanābhaka, including the Baraudī inscription edited above. The person responsible for writing the letters of the epigraph on the stone was another member of the Māthura Kāyastha community. His name was Mahārāja and his father was Sōmarāja. The name may not be a mistake for *Mahārāja* since the stanza mentioning the person is known from other inscriptions in which also it is spelt as *Mahārāja*.<sup>6</sup> But it is difficult to be definite in this matter as *hā* could have been changed to *ka* for the requirement of the metre.

The location of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been already discussed above. As we have indicated, some of them cannot be satisfactorily identified.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 1102; *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 57, 133; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 323-24.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, op. cit. pp. 1081 ff.; cf. pp. 1054, 1067.

<sup>3</sup> JOR, Vol. XVIII, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. JERS, Vol. XI, Part I, March 1954, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>5</sup> No. 146 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Pādōnalakṣa was the name of the district round Narwar. See below, p. 65. It may thus have been the name applied to the Jajapālla kingdom just as the name Sapādālakṣa was used to indicate the dominions of the Chāhamānas of Sāhambhār.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, No. 145; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 339.



## TEXTS

[Metres : verses 1 *Upajāti* (*Vamānātha*, *Indrasujā* and *Upēndrasujā*) ; verses 2, 6-7, 19 *Vasantatīlaka* ; verses 3, 5, 14-17 *Upajāti* ; verses 4, 21, 23, 25, 37 *Anuṣṭup* ; verses 8, 11-12 *Mālinī* ; verse 9 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 10 *Paśkti* ; verse 13 *Rathoddhatā* ; verse 18 *Āryā* ; verses 20, 22, 24 *Sārdūlavakriṣṭa* ; verse 34 *Aupachāhandasika*.]

1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> || Siddhih || Na yatra rūp-ādi-vivakīṭā-grahō viśva(śva)sya nirmāṇa-vidhau cha na  
 kramah | adhīratas-tām para<sup>2</sup>mām-avasthām sadā Śivō vab hiva.<sup>3</sup>

३ m=ktanōru || १ Drishtv-īśast-kutā(su)ma-kōmala-kānti-kantam-atigam rahasy-opamālā  
prativish(bhū)vi(bi)tam evam(evam) | Lakṣmī-kapōla-phalakt<sup>7</sup> jana-īśāma<sup>8</sup>

3 yā tad=utprōhohchhi(ekhi)tam dīśatu vaḥ śivam=Achyutasya || 2 Gamyō na vidvāhi-mandra-  
thānūn ratha-syadam bhānumatō niruśdhan | vāśab satām=astī vi-

4 bhūti-pātram samy-ōdayō Ratnagiri-gu-lindrah || 3 Tatra sau(śau)rya-mayaḥ kaśchi(n\*)-  
nirmitō Maheśvarīdayā | Jayapālō-bhavan-ālinnā vidvadbhāḥ duratikra-

5. mah || 4. Taḍ-ākhyayā prākṛita-lōka-vṛuhdair=uccharyam[cah] ūchūr-ar[hi]ta[-erih] | va-  
(ba)ḥ-āvedān[-ṣ]rjita-kānta-kīrttīr-vaṇḍah pṛeṣ-ḥḥi Jaiarāḥa-māṇḥa a. 5. T...

6 [bha]van-uṣipatir-u[ga]tata-pratāpaḥ śrī-**Chāha[ḍa]**ś-tribbhuvana-prathamāns-kīrtitḥ | dō-  
rddam[ḍa]-chaḥḍima-bharāṣa purāḥ parā[ḥ]yau[bh]yō yān-ā[hṛ]tā **Nalagiri-pramu-**  
khā vari-

7 śhṭāḥ(śhṭāḥ) || 6 Tasmād-anāka-vīdha-vīkrāma-javdha(bdha)-kīrtitḥ pu(n)ya-śrūtḥ samabha-  
van=**Naravarmadōvāḥ** | bhūbhīḥ-vyudāsa-pajimā-zipu-nāga-dānti-dakṣaḥ śrīyā pari-  
vī-

8 tō-tra yathā Murārīḥ || 7 Aṣaṁ jagat-anarghy-śiddhima-|| āgrat-pratā|pas=tad-anu vaśa|u[ma]t-  
tāḥ śrīmad-A[śa]ṁ|lādēvaḥ || praguṣṭa-guṇa-rāṣi-radijit-śaśi-|| 4-||

9 vakāśō nirupadhi-bidhir=3kō [v]jāntaḥ śrōyaśām yāḥ [|| 8 ||] [Śrī]-Gōpālāḥ samajani tatō bhūmi-  
pālāḥ kalā[v]jānta(=ta)nvan=ki[r]iti[h\*] samitī Siktā-ni-

10 mṃsā-kachohha-bhūman | Jēābhukti-prabhum-a[ṽ]-[va(ha)]lath Viruva[r]mā[ṇam]-  
piddhē jivā [Cha]mdra-kaha(kah)tidhara-patim laksh[ṇ]aṇam sāmyu[g]hān(nam) || 9  
Raksha[ṭi] bhūmim latra mahi-'

11 ā | vāridhī-stmā-mṭhi-vimuktāḥ(kṛtān) [ || 10. A]bhavada-Anayas(im)hō [Vaidya]-vairāṣṇa-  
navadyō vividhā-samara-śūmā)-lavdha(luḥa)-cispāra-kṛttih | Paśupati-pada-śā(śē).

12-vā-dhūta-pāpō vadānyah antata-vidahit-ārthi-vāṇata-santāpe-(vahnih) || 11 Ajani  
Vijayadēvas-tasya sū-cus-(ta)rasvī (su)kṛti-sukṛta-nīsh-thō vīru-chaṛyā-dhū-

<sup>4</sup> From impressions. This is No. 159 of *A. R. Nj.*, 1902-53, App. B. I owe a few suggestions to Mr. P. R. Deane.

\* Expressed by symbol.

\* An unnumbered above this letter seems to be directed.

\* We may also read *Soldiers*.

\* There is an unnecessary depth with a uncollation mark at the end of the line. This was meant to cover a little vacant space.

\* It seems that *mabāḥ*<sup>2</sup> has been made *mabāḥ*<sup>2</sup> to have a short fifth syllable in the particular foot of the stanza. The name is found as *Mabāruḥ* elsewhere (cf. No. 145 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1953-59, App. B; above, Vol. XXII, p. 338).

<sup>1</sup> There is an unnecessary space at the end of the line to cover a little space.



- 13 rīṣaḥ | apahṛta-guṇi-duḥkṣo dig-vadhū-vaktra-śobhā-karaṇa-chaṇa-vi[śarpa]t-kīrti-karpū-  
[ra-tō]ṇaḥ || 12 Hastinā[purā-ṣaṇḍe ma]h-sujasō Vīśvala-prabhu-va(ba)lā-
- 14 nī nigūmataḥ | vaktum=asti vibhur-atra vikrama[m] yasya vaktra-śata-ś[ō]bhitaḥ phaṇi || 13  
Tatō=[bha]va[ch=chhatru]-vi[bhōda-mān] | dhar-āvatamsō='jayadēva-samjñah' ||\*
- 15 yō Mlēcchchha-ś[ō]nā-kasha-paṭṭikāyā[śi] chakrō par[īkṣ]ām nija-da[ṣṣa]-hē[m]ṇaḥ || 14  
N-ān[ī]g[ī]ṇa kēn=āpi param [spriśa]m[ī] vimukta-kāmā jagad-āka-mānyā | lōka-
- 16 trayam yasya viuddha-vēśhā kīrtiḥ paribhrāmyati tāpas-iva || 15 Tasy-ānurūpā kula-vṛtta-  
śāliḥ Saubhāgyadēvi dayitā va(ba)[bh]ūva | yayā su-chāritra-mayēna
- 17 śasva(śva)t=eva-tō[śa]śa vīśva(śva)m=akārī pūtan(tam) || 16 Āstō tayō[h\*] | sūnur-udāra-karmā  
śi-Gāṇḍōdēvō bhata-mauli-ratnam(tnam) | yōn-ā[r]j[ī]ta[m] Saikata-siṁ[dh]u-samkhyē  
yāśō=navadyam su-
- 18 bhāṭ-ātiś[ō]k[ī]yī || 17 Śai(Sai)kata-tatint-samkhyē bhūja-va(ba)le-jita-Vīravarmāṇaḥ kīrti-  
nāḥ | sa[oh][va]tāyā yāḥ prathitō Nṛivarma-sūnōr-jayadītya<sup>1</sup> || 18 Pādōnala-
- 19 ksha-vishayō chira-kāla-bhagnān=dēv-ālayān=[g]amayit=ābhinavām-ava[śb]ām[śb]ām |  
yōn-ārjitam sukritam=akshayam=apramēyam=ēkam padam tri-jagati-jana-vāmchchhī-  
(chhī)śānām(nām) || 19
- 20 Dīnāms=tōshayatō guṇas=prathayataḥ śrēyaḥ samūchinватаḥ pāpam nirddahatō dhanam  
vitaratō yasy-ānavadyam yasāḥ | pīyūshair-iva pūritam hima-karaiḥ kā(ki)ṇṇam nṛiṣā-
- 21 Il-lavaiśchchha(ś-chha)mmōḥ hāra-latābhīr-ōcūtam-īdam chakrō trilōky-antara[m](ram) ||  
20 Upāyair-itaraiḥ [ś]ūbhāḥ kalyāṇānāḥ(ṇaḥ) vilōkya saḥ | puṇyam vaddhi-  
[śb]jū tat-kurvaṇ=vaṇm-ōtām-a-<sup>2</sup>
- 22 kārayat || 21 Tāp-āpāya-paṭ-ādayaiḥ samudayatō(ch-chha)rm-ōrmi-saṁpa[oh-oh]itaiḥ [ś]au-  
rabhyam paramatā valaibhīr=amalaiḥ-āmōdibhīr=bbūribhīḥ | yā [pu]ṇyair-iva mūrti-  
tām=upagatāḥ pu-<sup>3</sup>
- 23 ōy-ām[ta]r-ār[ī]p[sa]yā pūrpā [śv]ān-vaṇaiḥ payōbhīr=amitair=varddhishṇubhī[h] | śāntatam-  
(tām) || 22 Mamas[vi]svit-ēva gaṇbhīrā sad-[vī]ttir-iva nirmalā | abh[ō]dyā śādhu-maitra-  
iva bhāsatē yā
- 24 manō-harā || 23 Kūśa(śu)ma-phala-bhar-ābhinamra-śākhair-vijapibhīr-unmada-bhṛṅga-  
kōkilai(l-au)ghaiḥ | rucīram-uparimanā vyaiḥpō(yi) tēn-āhi[ta-tō]ḥam pitṛ-dēvat-  
ādhvagānām(nām) || 24
- 25 Yāvad=vaasti Lōkēśō nābhī-vārinuḥ Harēḥ | tāvad-bhūyād-iyam vāpi śrēyasē-ya mah-  
ātmānāḥ || 25 Gōp-ādrau lāpikṛt-kulē samabhavad-Dāmōdarō Māthura[h\*] | sūnus-tasya  
vīsu(śu)-
- 26 dōha-kīrttir=anaghaḥ kōś-ādhipō Lōhaṭaḥ | putras-tasya manśhi-mānasa-mudām vīstāra-  
hētun[ī] vi(vya)dhād-ēnām śrī-Sivanōbhakō nirupamai[r\*]=vṛttaiḥ prastātin śubhām(bhām)  
|| 26 Māthu-
- 27 r-ānvaya-Kāyastha-Śāmsarā-Aṅga-janmanā | līkhitā Mahārājēna prastātir-iyam-uttamā ||  
27 Samvat 1339 Pausa-vadi 10 Guru-vāsarō || śubham=astu || chha<sup>4</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> The word seems to be used in the sense of 'victorious'. Otherwise we have to suggest that Yajvapāla Gōpāla was also known by the name Jayanta.

<sup>2</sup> There is an unnecessary *daya* here with a cancellation mark.

<sup>3</sup> This indicates the end of the writing. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218.



## 2. Narwar Inscription of V.S. 1339

Scale : One-third



## No. 5—KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.3.1938)

The Śikharēśvara temple stands on the **Kapilās** hill at a distance of about sixteen miles from Dhankanal, headquarters of a District of that name in Orissa. The name *Kapilās* or *Kapilāsa* is a local modification of Sanskrit *Kailāsa*.<sup>1</sup> There is a stone *kalāśa* or vase now lying in the precincts of the temple. It must have originally adorned the top of an older temple, on the site of which the present temple of Śikharēśvara was built at a later date. On receipt of information that the said *kalāśa* bears some writings on it, I visited the temple on the Kapilās hill in November 1937 in order to examine and copy the inscriptions.

There are three small inscriptions engraved on the *kalāśa* which measures about 27 inches from the top to the bottom excluding the projection below (about 8½ inches long) meant for fixing it up in the hole of a stone slab. The first of the three inscriptions is written in two lines incised around the side of the top of the vase. These lines are about 30 inches in length and the inscribed space is a little less than 2 inches in height. Individual *akṣaras* are slightly less than one inch high. The second inscription in six lines is engraved around the belly of the vase. As the nature of the space would permit, the lines in the central part of the epigraph are longer than the preceding and following ones. Line 3 of this record contains the largest number of letters (40 in all) and is about 43 inches long. The height of individual *akṣaras* is about one inch and that of the inscribed space a little above 7 inches. The last of the three inscriptions is written in two lines which are incised on the pedestal of the vase. Owing to the tapering nature of this part, the first line is about 28½ inches long and the second about 36½ inches. The height of the inscribed space is about 3 inches and that of individual *akṣaras* a little above one inch. The beginning and end of the lines in the case of all the three inscriptions are separated by a vertical line.

The characters of the epigraphs belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet as prevalent in Orissa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. They resemble the letters of other Orissan epigraphs of the said period such as the Sonapur inscription of Bhānudevā published elsewhere in this journal.<sup>2</sup> An interesting point of palaeography is offered by the form of *l* in the word *lāka* (Inscription No. 2, line 8) which looks like *laka* and reminds us of the diacritically marked *l* of the Oriya alphabet. It is interesting to note that Oriya *ḷ* resembles *l* of the other alphabets of the Gauḍīya class while its *l* is distinguished from *ḷ* by a diacritical mark. The use of this diacritically marked letter is noticed once in an inscription<sup>3</sup> of Narasimha II (c. 1278-1305 A.D.); but it is used in a large number of cases in later records like the Bhubaneswar epigraph<sup>4</sup> of the time of Narasimha IV (c. 1379-1403 A.D.). The rare use of the letter in the earlier epigraphs suggests the possibility of its standing for *ḷ*. Otherwise we have to suppose that it was *l* which was very rarely employed and this seems to be very unlikely especially in view of the fact that the simpler form of the letter stands for *l* in the other cognate alphabets. It therefore appears to us that originally the diacritical mark was used as the distinguishing sign of *ḷ* but that, at a later

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the personal name *Kavilāsa* occurring in the Nagpur Museum plates of the Śōmavamśi king Mahābhavagupta I Jananāyaka, line 44 (above, Vol. VIII, p. 145 and Plate). Hultzsch read it as *Kovilāsa* and suggested the correction *Kailāsa*. But the correct reading seems to be *Kovilāsa*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 127, text line 192.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 239 ff.



date, it came to be generally applied to *l* instead of *l̥* through confusion. We shall therefore transcribe the letter as *l* in the present record as we have done in the case of the inscription of Narasimha II.

The language of Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 3 is Oriya as in the Sonapur inscription referred to above, but that of No. 2 is corrupt Sanskrit greatly influenced by the local dialect. Of grammatical interest seem to be the expressions *Kailāsaśikharāśvuri* (Inscription No. 1, lines 1-2) and *Kailāsaśikharāśvurāi* (No. 2, line 5). The affixes *i* and *ai* appear to be old dative-locative case-endings. But Inscription No. 3 uses the usual old Oriya dative suffix *kaī* in *Kailāśādēvakaī* (lines 1-2). Interesting from the orthographical and linguistic points of view are words like *ja(ju)gē* (Sanskrit *yugē*), *Vaiśākha* (Sanskrit *Vaiśākha*) and *trāḍasāi* (Sanskrit *trayōḍasāi* for *trayōḍayām*) in No. 1, and *māhā* (Sanskrit *mahā*), *Gajattī* for *Gajapati* (Sanskrit *Gajapati*), *Kailāsaśikharāśvara* (Sanskrit *Kailāsaśikha*), *sarga-lōka* (Sanskrit *sarga-lōka*), *jāti* (Sanskrit *yāti*), *Narasimha* (Sanskrit *Narasimha*) and *vijai* (Sanskrit *vijayā*) in No. 2. Inscription No. 1 uses the verbal form *dhilā* (Past Tense). The expected spelling is *dhīlā*, although the said form also occurs in line 26 of the Bhuvanapur inscription of Narasimha IV referred to above. The ordinary meaning of the word is 'gave'; but it has been used in our record in the sense of 'constructed'. The verb is used in this sense also in Bengali.

All the three inscriptions refer to the reign of king **Narasimha** who no doubt belonged to the imperial branch of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa. As will be seen from our analysis of Inscription No. 2 below, the king is called in line 4 of that record the supporting pillar of the Gaṅga family. Inscription No. 2 does not bear any date; but Nos. 1 and 3 are dated. Inscription No. 1 is dated **Monday, the 13th of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 10 of the reign of Narasimhadēva**. No. 3 quotes only the **year 18** of the same king's reign without any astronomical detail. Considering the age of the records, the years have to be referred to the *śaka* reckoning. But there were four Gaṅga kings named Narasimha who ruled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and it is not easy to single out the king to whom our records belong. The Gaṅga kings Narasimha I, II, III and IV are supposed to have ascended the throne respectively about 1238, 1278, 1328 and 1379 A.D. The 10th *śaka* year or 8th actual regnal year of these kings thus corresponded respectively to about 1245-46, 1285-86, 1335-36 and 1385-87 A.D. Among these years, the details of the date as given in our Inscription No. 1 suit only the **30th April 1246 A.D.** and the king therefore may have been **Narasimha I**. Even though it is not possible to be definite on this point, this identification, as will be seen below, seems to be supported by the internal evidence of Inscription No. 2. Inscription No. 3 is dated in the 18th year of the same king's reign apparently according to the *śaka* reckoning and corresponding to his 15th actual regnal year.

Inscription No. 1 begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and states in lines 1-2 that **Narasimhadēva** constructed a temple (*dēula*) for the god *Kailāsaśikharāśvara* and that [it was a remarkable achievement] in all the four *yugas*, viz. *Satya*, *Dvāpara*, *Tṛtā* and *Kali*. In the order of enumeration of the four ages, *Tṛtā* should have properly preceded *Dvāpara*. Line 2 quotes the date when the temple was built (i.e. completed or consecrated) as **Monday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year 10** when the illustrious **Narasimhadēva** was ruling. This date has already been discussed above. If this Narasimha was the same as Gaṅga Narasimha I, it may be pointed out that the record under study furnishes the second epigraphic reference to the building activities of that king. It is well known that a stanza quoted in the records of his successors credits him with the construction of a temple for the Sun-god at *Kōpākōṣa* which is the modern *Kōpārak* in the *Puri* District of Orissa.<sup>2</sup> The god *Śiva* now worshipped in the *Kapilās* temple is called

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 123, text lines 124-25.



# KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA — PLATE I

No. 1

Left Half

वृत्तस्यैव विष्णुः शिवः नमो नमो नमो नमो  
 नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो

Right Half

नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो  
 नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो

Scale : One-Half



No. 2

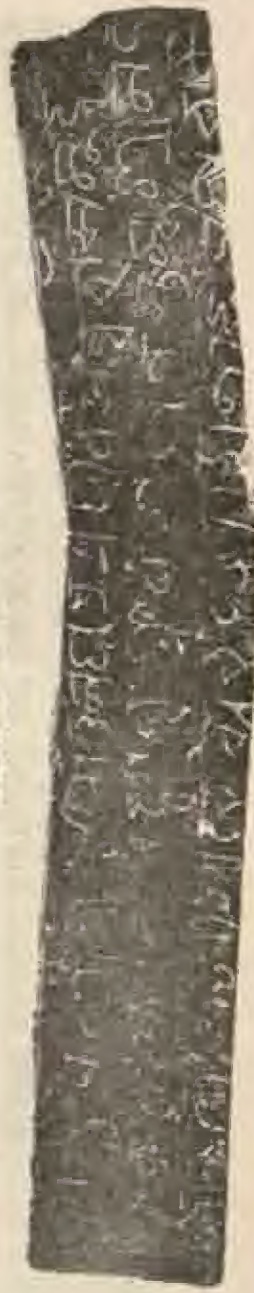
Top Part—Left Half



Top Part—Right Half



Middle Part—Left Half



Scale : One-Third



Sikharāśvara; but the earlier name of the deity was Kailāśasikharāśvara according to Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 and Kailāśa, apparently a shortened form of the same name, according to Inscription No. 3.

Inscription No. 2 is the most interesting of the three records. Its style reminds us of that of the Kanchipuram inscription<sup>1</sup> of Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.), father of Narasiṅha I, and this fact lends some colour to the identification of Narasiṅha of our records with Narasiṅha I. As a matter of fact, some of the passages are common to both the inscriptions which may have been drafted by the same person.<sup>2</sup> Our inscription begins with the word *svasti* and states in lines 1-2, in the style of the Kanchipuram inscription, that the king succeeded in subduing by the power of his arms the pride of his enemies in numerous battles at the command of the god Puruṣhōttama, the lord of the fourteen worlds. This god is no other than Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha worshipped in the celebrated temple at Puri, to whom Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated the Gaṅga kingdom and to whom that king and his successors owed theoretical allegiance.<sup>3</sup>

The above passage is followed in line 2 by the epithet *Paramamāhēśvara* (i.e. devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara or Śiva) and the imperial title *Paramabhāṣṭāraka*. It has to be noted that, although the king was a devotee of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha identified with Viṣṇu, he claims at the same time to be a worshipper of Śiva. The following two epithets of the king in lines 2-3 are still more interesting. In these he is described at the same time as the son of the goddess Durgā, called the true cause leading to the creation of the universe, and also as the son of the god Puruṣhōttama. It is clear from these statements that Narasiṅha I was devoted to Mahēśvara and his consort Durgā as well as to Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha (i.e. Viṣṇu). We know that the Gaṅgas were staunch Śaivas till the earlier part of the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1075-1147 A.D.) who became a Vaiṣṇava (i.e. a devotee of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri) after his conquest of the Puri-Cuttack region about the beginning of the twelfth century, and that, although for sometime he claimed to be devoted to both Mahēśvara and Viṣṇu, in his later years he called himself a devotee of Viṣṇu alone.<sup>4</sup> The devotion of the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga to the god Viṣṇu in the shape of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri received a great impetus at the dedication of the Gaṅga kingdom to that god by Anaṅgabhīma III. It is therefore very interesting to note that our inscription represents Narasiṅha I as *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Durgā-putra* and *Puruṣhōttama-putra* and as the builder of the Śiva temple on the Kapilāś hill. But it is not surprising in view of the fact that his father Anaṅgabhīma III himself is also called both *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Paramamāhēśvara* as well as *Puruṣhōttama-putra*, *Rudra-putra* and *Durgā-putra* at the same time in one of his inscriptions in the Śiva temple at Drakṣharāma, which records the grants made by him in favour of that Śaiva shrine in his 8th *śaka* or 6th regnal year.<sup>5</sup> These facts point to the catholicity of the religious approach of the Gaṅga kings Anaṅgabhīma III and Narasiṅha I.

The next epithet in line 3 compares Narasiṅha I with the Great Boar (i.e. Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation) that raised up the Vēdas and world from the ocean. This is followed in lines 3-4 by the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and an epithet representing the king as the pillar of support to the Gaṅga dynasty. The following passage in line 4 calls the ruler both Anantavarman and the victorious Vīra-śrī-Narasimhadēva and seems also to endow him with the title Gajapati. We know that the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga enjoyed the

<sup>1</sup> See above, XXXI, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to suggest that the Kanchipuram inscription was drafted at the Gaṅga capital. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 22 and note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 19; JIH, Vol. XXXV, pp. 75 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 240.

<sup>5</sup> SII, Vol. IV, No. 1326; JIH, Vol. XXXV, pp. 78-79.



secondary name Anantavarman.<sup>1</sup> Our inscription seems to show that the title *Gajapati* which is known to have become a distinguishing epithet of the later rulers of the Gaṅga family, was enjoyed by Narasimha I about the middle of the 13th century.<sup>2</sup>

The next sentence in line 5 contains the main purpose of Inscription No. 2. It records that the king granted the village of Nāganā-Bhīmapura in favour of the god Kailāśaīkharēśvara. This is followed in lines 5-6 by the imprecatory and benedictory statements that a person acting against the king's meritorious deed, no doubt meaning the grant of the village for the maintenance of the temple, would go to hell after death while one maintaining the grant would go to heaven. The last sentence of the inscription in line 6 again speaks of Vīra-śrī-Narasimhādēva as one who was always victorious. It seems that it was intended to write this sentence in the form of a prayer and that a word like *bhāvatu* was left out through oversight.

Inscription No. 3 also begins with the word *svasti* and records the grant of the village of Rayī-grāma, demarcated by recognised boundaries on all the four directions, in favour of the god Kailāśadēva, no doubt the same deity called Kailāśaīkharēśvara in Inscriptions Nos. 1-2. But this grant was not made by the king himself. Its donor was the *Sēnāpati* or general named Tulad who was apparently an officer of the Gaṅga king Narasimha I. The grant was made in the year 18 of the reign of Narasimha I, which, referred to the *aṅka* reckoning, would correspond to the king's 15th actual regnal year and to 1252-53 A.D.

Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 speak of two geographical names, viz. the villages of Nāganā-Bhīmapura and Rayī-grāma. There is a village called Nāganā in the Dhenkanal District, which is well-known for the temple of Nāganāthēśvara.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### No. 1

- 1 Svasti [1\*] Satya<sup>4</sup>-Dvāpara-Trētā-Kali-jagē<sup>5</sup> Narasiṅghadēva<sup>6</sup> dēula dhāla<sup>7</sup> Kailāśaīkharēśva-
- 2 ri<sup>8</sup> [1\*] Vaiśākha-sukla-traidasi<sup>9</sup> Chandra-vārē Śrāhi dasa 10 v[1]ra-śrī-Narasimhadeva<sup>10</sup> rājā<sup>11</sup> [1\*]

#### No. 2

- 1 Svasti [1\*] Cha[tu]rdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati-śrīmat-Purushōttama-charaṇ-ādēśate<sup>12</sup> [sa(sa)]maramukh-āṅka-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 3. The name Anantavarman is applied to Narasimha I in two inscriptions from Srikurmam (*SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1272, 1291).

<sup>2</sup> Bhānu I, son of Narasimha I, is called *Gajapati* or *Gajaghaṭipati* in a Deaksharama inscription (*SII*, Vol. IV, p. 361, No. 1084). For the title *Gajapati* applied to Narasimha III, Narasimha IV and Bhānu IV, see *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 731, 762, 783, 1040, 1113. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 236; above, p. 4, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> From the original and impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Satya*.

<sup>5</sup> The word intended is *jagē-yugē* (Sanskrit *yugēśhu*). Better read *Satya-Trētā-Dvāpara-Kali*.

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit *Narasimha*.

<sup>7</sup> For *dēul dēul* in Bengali, meaning 'to construct a temple', see J. M. Das, *Bhāgīrāth Bhāskār Abhidhān*, s.v. *dēul*.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *Kailāśaīkharēśvara*; Oriya *rakha*. In old Oriya, the expected form was *rakhi* or *rakhai*. But cf. *\*surai* in line 3 of Inscription No. 2 below.

<sup>9</sup> Sanskrit *Vaiśākha-sukla-trayodāśī*.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *Narasimha*.

<sup>11</sup> The intended expression may be *\*rājyē*.

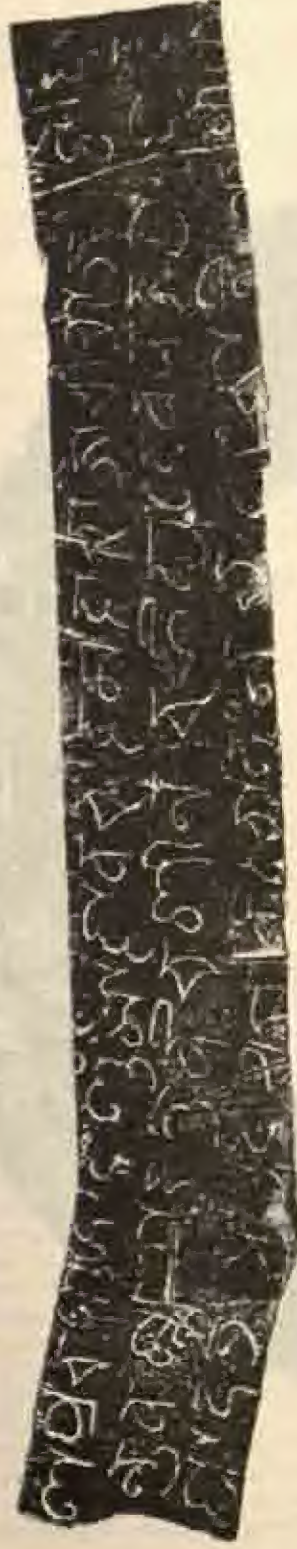
<sup>12</sup> Read *\*dēśat*. The same passage occurs at the beginning of the Kanohipuram inscription of Anāgabhīma



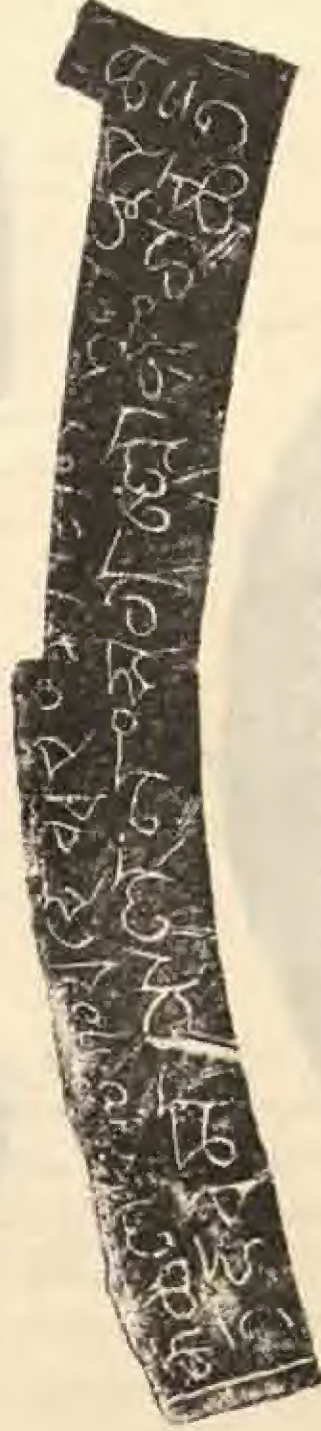
# KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA —PLATE II

No. 2

Middle Part—Right Half



Lower Part—Left Half



Lower Part—Right Half



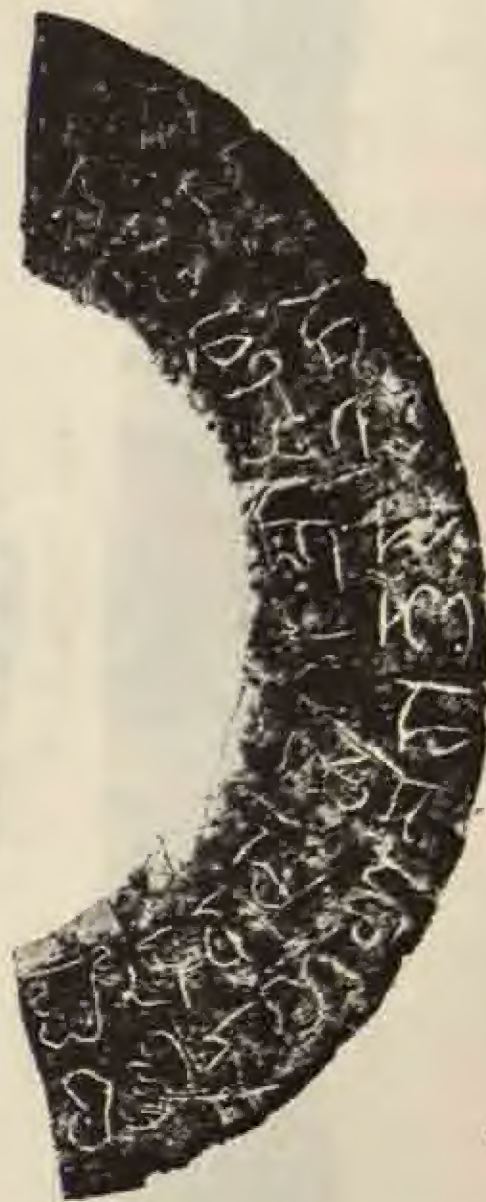
Scale : One-Third



No. 3  
Left Half



Right Half



Scale : One Third



- 2 ripu-darpa-mardana-bhujā<sup>1</sup>-va(ba)la-parākrama[h\*]<sup>2</sup> paramamāhēvara[h\*] para[ma\*]bhāṭṭa-  
raka[h\*] jagan[nu](n-nū)la-kāraṇa-śi(śri)-Du-
- 3 rgā-putra[h\*] śi(śri)-Puruṣōttama-putra[h\*]<sup>3</sup> trayī<sup>4</sup>-vasundharā -samuddharana-prachapḍa-  
dōrdapḍa-mā(ma)hāvarāha[h\*]<sup>5</sup> mahārājādhi(dhi)rāja-
- 4 para[n]ēvara[h\*] Gaṇ(Ga)ṅg-ānvay-āvalama(mba)na-stambha[h\*]<sup>6</sup> śrīmad-A[na\*]  
ntavarma-[Ga]ja[tti]-vira-śi-Narasīṅhadēva<sup>7</sup> vijay[ī] [h\*]
- 5 Kailāsaśikharēvara[ī]<sup>8</sup> Nāgaṇā-Bhīmapura mayā data<sup>10</sup> [h\*] śtada-dharma-virōrthadh  
narakam jāti<sup>11</sup> [h\*] &
- 6 tada-dharma-pālanam sarga-ḷōkam gachchhati<sup>12</sup> || vira-śi-Narasīṅhadēva sadā vijai<sup>13</sup> [h\*]

## No. 3

- 1 svasti [h\*] śrī-vira-Narasīṅhadēva-rājyē 18 srāhi Kailāsa-
- 2 dēvakai Tulasi-senāpati Rayī-grāma chātura-simā<sup>14</sup> [pra]data [h\*]

<sup>1</sup> The *akṣara* ja has been incised on another letter originally engraved.

<sup>2</sup> The same passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription of Anāṅgabhadra III; but there the follow-  
ing epithet is *paramavīrabhava*.

<sup>3</sup> The Kanchipuram inscription has *jagan-nūla-kāraṇa-śri-Puruṣōttama-putra*.

<sup>4</sup> The word *trayī* means the *Vēdas*.

<sup>5</sup> The same passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription of Anāṅgabhadra III.

<sup>6</sup> This passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading seems to be *Gajapati* for Sanskrit *Gajapati*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *vira-śi-Narasīṅhadēva*.

<sup>9</sup> In the place of *śrī*, early Oriya inscriptions generally have *śrī*, *śrī*, etc. But v.L. *śrī* is  
in line 2 of Inscription No. 1.

<sup>10</sup> In correct Sanskrit: *Kailāsaśikharēvarāya Nāgaṇā-Bhīmapuram mayā datam*.

<sup>11</sup> In correct Sanskrit: *śtad-dharma-virōrthāt narakam jāti*.

<sup>12</sup> In correct Sanskrit: *śtad-dharma-pālanāt sarga-ḷōkam gachchhati*.

<sup>13</sup> In correct Sanskrit: *vira-śi-Narasīṅhadēvaḥ sadā vijay*. The intention may have been to add a word  
like *dharmata* here.

<sup>14</sup> Sanskrit *chatur-simā-bodha*.



# No. 6—JALORE INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA CHACHIGADĒVA, V.S. 1331

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.3.1958)

The inscription which is published here for the first time was copied by me in December 1957 at Jalore, the head-quarters of the District of the same name in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan. It is engraved on a pillar in the building called *Tōṣkḥāṇā* or a shed for artillery. It is believed that this structure was originally a mosque built by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī out of the materials from the local Hindu and Jain temples and that it was later converted into a *Tōṣkḥāṇā* by the Rāṣṭhōḍa.<sup>1</sup> Three inscriptions found in this building were published by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.<sup>2</sup> The present inscription is engraved on one face of a rectangular pillar, the other three sides containing three records of Sāmāntasinhha who was the successor of Chāchigadēva.

The present inscription covers a space 5½" broad and 18" high and contains 31 lines of writing. It has suffered damage in some places, resulting in the loss or obliteration of several letters. The characters are Nāgarī. As regards orthography, it may be observed that *b* appears to have been distinguished from *v* by a minute dot inside the loop of the former (cf. *baddha* in line 5). The language is Sanskrit. The abbreviated forms *tha*\* (lines 8, 12 and 21), *dra*\* (lines 17 and 21) and *pu*\* (line 12) are found in the record. For the first two, their full forms, *thakura* (line 7) and *drummāḥ* (line 20) are also met with. And *pu*\* appears to stand for *putra*. In the Ballī inscription of Āśvāka\* dated V. S. 1200, we have *pā*\* *Mahāparvata* and Bhandarkar could not explain the contraction *pā*\*. It seems to stand for *pūjya* which is used in our inscription in *pūjya Dhandāsurasīni* (lines 18-19). Of lexical interest is the use of the *dēśī* word *vyāḥ* (line 21). It is used in the sense of 'interest' on money and is the same as Marāṭhī *vyāḥ* and Hindi *vyāḥ*.

The date is given at the beginning of the record as *Saṁvat 1331, Āśvina śu [11]*. The portion giving the *tithi* and the first *akṣara* of the week-day is badly damaged. But the second *akṣara* of the week-day can be read as *ruv* so that the word can be restored as *Guruv*. Apparently the same month, fortnight and *tithi* are mentioned again in lines 14-16 of the record, thereby supporting the reading of the *tithi* as 11 in line 1. Thus the date of the record would be V. S. 1331, Āśvina śu. 11, Thursday. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, this date would regularly correspond to the 13th September 1274 A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the *Mahārājakula Śrī-Chāchigadēva* ruling at Jāvāhpura. This Chāchigadēva is no doubt the king of the Jalore or Songira branch of the Chāhamāna.<sup>3</sup> Only a few records of this king have been discovered so far and the known dates for him are V.S. 1319, 1323, 1332, 1333 and 1334.<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar doubtfully ascribes the damaged Bhīmal inscription of V.S. 1330 to his reign.<sup>5</sup> Another record,<sup>6</sup> found in the same building as the present inscription and dated V. S. 1320, belongs to his period.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of 150 *drumina* coins to the god Mahāvīra in the Chaudāna-vihāra in the Jain monastery attached to the Nāgakiya-gachchha. Nāgakiya-gachchha, Chandana-vihāra and god Mahāvīra are mentioned in two of the inscriptions of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Archaeological Reports, Western Circle*, 1908-09, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 52-55, 60-62.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-33, No. V, text line 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar's List Nos. 581, 569, 593, 587 and 592.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., No. 581., p. 383, Table No. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., No. 583. For another inscription of the king, dated V. S. 1328, see *JBR*, Vol. XI, pp. 341-42.



time of Chāchigadēva referred to above.<sup>1</sup> The *vihāra* is called there *Mahārāja-sri-Chandana-vihāra*. This Jaina *gachchha* Nāpakīya is evidently called after the place Nāpaka or Nāpā in the Bālī District of the Jodhpur Division.<sup>2</sup> An inscription from Nāpā, dated V.S. 1290 (1243 A.D.), gives the ancient name of the place as Nāpaka<sup>3</sup> from which the name of the *gachchha* is derived. The Chandana-vihāra was apparently named after king Chandana of the Jalore branch of the Paramāra. This branch is known from the only record of Visala who was sixth in descent from Chandana. It is found at Jalore and is dated V.S. 1174.<sup>4</sup> Chandana, the son of Vākpatirāja, was the first prince of this branch.<sup>5</sup>

The occasion for the grant was the *Ashṭāhnikā* festival conducted on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Āvayuja. It is mentioned as *Ashṭāhnikapadī* in the record of V.S. 1320 referred to above. This Jain festival is usually conducted in the months of Āshāḍha, Kārttikā and Phālgua.<sup>6</sup> But the present record shows that it was conducted in the month of Āvina also.<sup>7</sup> The last eight days of these months were observed as days of *Ashṭāhnikā-parva* when special worship was conducted in the Jain temples. Since the months were *Pūrṇimānta*, Āvina su. 11 falls during the last eight days of the month.

The description of the donor and his relatives is given in lines 7-14. The name of the donor which occurs in line 11 cannot be read satisfactorily as the first letter is too much obliterated. It seems to consist of three letters, the second and third of which are *raī*. The first letter appears to be *Nā* or *Nū* so that the name may be *Nāmraī*. The same name seems to occur again at the beginning of line 22 where also, unfortunately, the first letter is damaged and lost. The inscription describes him as the son of Dēdō and the brother of Dhanasīha (Dhanasinhha) and as belonging to the Kāyastha lineage. By his charitable acts he became celebrated in his own family. He accompanied by his brothers Vishnu, [Phū]jā and Harichandja (Harichandra), his sons [Rai]-vasīha (Raivasinhha) and Bhuvanasīha (Bhuvanasinhha) and his mother, made the above-mentioned grant. The money was entrusted to the Superintendent of the monastery (*Maṭhapati*) and the members of the assembly (*gachchhikas*)<sup>8</sup> in the presence of Dhanēśvara-sūri. It is stipulated that the interest on the granted money amounting to 15 *dramma* coins should be spent on worship, offering and supervision. It may be noted that the interest works out to be 10 per cent of the principal. Apparently this interest was realised annually. The gift was made in order to promote the welfare of the donor. If the *maṭhapati* and the *gachchhikas* would not conduct the worship and failed to observe the ceremonies on the *ekādaśī* day, then they would incur the curse of Pārīva-nātha and Mahāvīra and would not obtain any merit as long as the moon and the sun would endure. The record ends with the words *śubham bhavatu* followed by *chha* written three times between double *danḍas* indicating the end of the writing.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List Nos. 563, 569. For the texts of these records see P. C. Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, Pt. I, p. 240 (Nos. 901-02).

<sup>2</sup> There are several instances in which the Jain *gachchhas* are called after the names of places in Marwar; e.g. Sandēraka-gachchha is called after Sandēra or Sandēraka, identified with modern Sāḍḍrāv near Bālī (cf. above, Vol. XI, p. 31).

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeological Survey, West. Circle*, 1907-08, pp. 48-49.

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar's List No. 194. Another inscription at Jalore informs us that Chaulukya Kumārapāla constructed a temple called Kumāra-vihāra (above, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55).

<sup>5</sup> D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 343.

<sup>6</sup> Mīrji Annarno, *Jaina Dharma* (Kannada), p. 572.

<sup>7</sup> This Jaina festival is referred to in the Halei plates of Kadamba Ravivarmān (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 20, text lines 15-17; *Soc. Sci.*, p. 271). The record states that the king ordained that the festival of Jinendra's glory, lasting for eight days, should be celebrated every year on the full-moon day of Kārttikā. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Bircar for drawing my attention to this reference.

<sup>8</sup> The expressions *maṭhapati* and *gachchhikas* should have to be taken separately. Cf. *maṭhapati* and *gachchhikas* in the record of V.S. 1320 of Chāchigadēva referred to above.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note.



The place-name Jāvālipura mentioned as the seat of the royal residence is, of course, modern Jalore where the record is found.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [1<sup>3</sup>] Sam<sup>4</sup> 1331 varshē Aśvinā<sup>5</sup> [su 11]<sup>6</sup> . \*
- 2 [ra] ady=āha śri-Jāvālipurē
- 3 Mahārājakula-śrī-Chāchiga-
- 4 dēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya--rā[jyē]
- 5 śrī-Nāṇakiya-gaṇeśha-pratibaddha-
- 6 Jin-ālayē śrī-Chandana-vihā-
- 7 rē Kāyasth-ānvayē thakkura Dēdō-
- 8 putra-tha<sup>7</sup>-Dhapaṣṭha-bhrātṛi(trā) sakala-
- 9 dharm-ārā[ma]-kuly-ātalyē[na] . \*
- 10 ja-ku[la]-nabha-tala-sasānikē[na]
- 11 tha<sup>8</sup>-[Nāṇ]vaī-nāmadhēyēna bhrātṛi-
- 12 [Vi]śṇu-[Phō]<sup>9</sup>dhān-Harichandha<sup>10</sup>-pu<sup>11</sup>-tha<sup>8</sup>-[Rai]-
- 13 va[śi]ṣha-Bhuvā[na]śiṣha-mātari<sup>12</sup>.
- 14 pramukha-sāma[saṃ]vritēna Asauja<sup>13</sup>
- 15 [mā]sē-āu[ka]lā<sup>14</sup>-pakshē śakādaśi-ti-
- 16 [thau] Aśtābhukā-mahōtsavē śrī-Ma-
- 17 .<sup>15</sup>vyradēvasya pūj-ārthan dā 150 sa-
- 18 [ma] pati[cha](śā)śad-ādihikaṁ pradattam(itam) [1<sup>6</sup>] pūjya-śrī-Dha-
- 19 [vō]śvara-ārīpān samakshō[śaka]ṁ mathapati-
- 20 [gō]śh[īk]ānā<sup>16</sup> drammaḥ samarpitōś-cha [1<sup>6</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> From inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read 11000.

<sup>4</sup> The number 11 appears to have been incised here.

<sup>5</sup> The last akshara may be restored as *śrī*.

<sup>6</sup> The last akshara may be restored as *śrī*.

<sup>7</sup> The reading of this letter is not certain.

<sup>8</sup> The intended reading of the name may be *Harichandra*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *śrī*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *Asauja*.

<sup>11</sup> It appears that the engraver first carved *sa* and then added *da*.

<sup>12</sup> This akshara can be restored as *śrī*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *śakādaśī*.



- 21 [ś]śāhā[m] drammānāh vyājēna dia lō [ha\*]  
 22 [Nān]<sup>1</sup>vaī-ārēy-ōrtham pūjā-naivēdya-prā-  
 23 [kaha]<sup>2</sup>q-ādikaṁ(kam) ā-chaṁdr-ārka[m] yāvat  
 24 kārāpaniyam(yam)<sup>3</sup> yadi tō mathapa-  
 25 ti-gōshṭi(shṭi)kāḥ pūjām na kurvvaṁti  
 26 śkādaśi-tithi-kārya-[ka]raṇā-  
 27 [ni] lōpayanti tadā śrī-Pāravanā-  
 28 [tha]-śrī-Mahāvīradēvayōr-dōshē-  
 29 ṇa dūshyam[tō] | [chha]<sup>4</sup> | tāvad ā-chaṁ-  
 30 dr-ārka[m] yāvat<sup>5</sup> [punyē]na [na\*] grihyam-  
 31 tō || śubham bhavatu || chha || chha || chha ||

<sup>1</sup> This śāhara seems to be the same as suggested in the names in line 11 above.

<sup>2</sup> The form *prāṭhakaṇṭha* occurs in the same context in two Bhammal inscriptions (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 482, 483).

<sup>3</sup> Read *brunium*.

<sup>4</sup> This damaged letter which is read as *chha* is unnecessary here.

<sup>5</sup> The order of *yāvat* and *tāvad* has been reversed here.



## No. 7.—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, DUTTACAMUND

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### 9. Creation of Rent-free Holdings

There are some copper-plate charters<sup>1</sup> which record the sale of Government land to an applicant paying the usual price and the Government's acceptance of his proposal to create a rent-free holding out of the purchased land in favour of Brāhmanas or religious institutions. In such a transaction, it was believed, according to an ancient Indian convention, that five-sixths of the religious merit for the creation of the revenue-free holding would go to the purchaser of the land and one-sixth of it to the king of the country, whose government alone could create such a holding.<sup>2</sup>

There is another kind of charters which, instead of speaking of the sale of the land that was created into a rent-free holding by the king in favour of Brāhmanas or religious institutions, merely state that the particular holding was created at the request of a certain officer or feudatory of the king or some other persons.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the absence of any reference to sale in such records, some of them appear to be based on a transaction involving sale.<sup>4</sup> Thus the Nālandā plate<sup>5</sup> of Dēvapāla records a grant of five villages by the Pāla king to a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā at the request of *Makāraja* Bālaputrādēva who was the lord of *Suvarṇadvīpa* (Sumatra) and was responsible for establishing the monastery. The five villages were apparently purchased by Bālaputrādēva from Dēvapāla as otherwise the whole of the religious merit accruing to the pious act of endowing the monastery with a rent-free holding for its maintenance would go to Dēvapāla and nothing at all to Bālaputrādēva.<sup>6</sup> This was no doubt an undesirable position for the king of Sumatra. If he really purchased the villages, as he no doubt did, five-sixths of the merit would be his and only one-sixth would go to Dēvapāla according to the convention referred to above.

But as regards the land made a rent-free holding at the request of an officer or feudatory of the king, it was no doubt in many cases lying within his *jāgṛ* or *hief* or estate. In the case of land forming part of *jāgṛ* which royal officers of ancient India enjoyed temporarily,<sup>7</sup> their occupants lost the rent of the land in question so long as they were in their possession. But the king's

<sup>1</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 337 ff., 342 ff., 346 ff., 350 ff., 359 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 344, text line 13; p. 348, text line 16; p. 352, text line 13; p. 362, text line 11. See also *Narasiṃha*, VIII, 304; *Vikramanirṇ*, III, 12-14. The same idea is also referred to in other records like the *Dāmodarapur* plates, No. 2, line 7 (above, Vol. XV, p. 136), and No. 5, line 12 (op. cit., p. 143). The texts of most of the inscriptions have often been misunderstood. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 352, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 331, 375, 421, etc.. It may be pointed out that the feudatory's name was mentioned in royal charters in this fashion only when he was regarded as of some importance. When he grew more powerful, he issued charters himself with the permission of his master (cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.). With further growth in his power, his charters were issued without reference to his master's permission but without underscoring his subordinate position or indicating it somewhat vaguely (cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 291, 296, 332; Vol. XXX, p. 159; etc.). When still more powerful, he issued his grants without any reference to his master and endowing himself with a combination of subordinate and imperial titles which could in some cases be so interpreted as to indicate either his subordinate position or independent status (cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 329; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 104, 284; Vol. XXIX, p. 186). The next stage of course is represented by his charters issued as a full-fledged independent ruler.

<sup>4</sup> The sale of land was generally represented in ancient India as a gift. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 43, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Shāntadatta's List*, No. 1013.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. R. D. Banerji, *Bāgpatra Itihāsa*, Vol. I, B.S. 1230, p. 210.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Western, *On Feroz Chāwā's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 177.



loss of revenue was greater as the land was rent-free even when the fief reverted to him or was subsequently allotted to some other officer. It therefore seems that the occupants of *jāgirs* had to compensate the king's loss at least partially for the creation of revenue-free holdings within their fiefs, as otherwise they could scarcely expect the full religious merit accruing to the pious act. We have also cases<sup>1</sup> where a king is found to ratify the rent-free holdings created in their *jāgirs* by members of the royal family.

But it appears to us that a number of grants of rent-free lands issued by the kings were really made on behalf of persons whose names are not mentioned in the documents. This seems to be suggested by the fact that, in a few cases, even though the grants are recorded in the king's name, an endorsement at the end of the documents says that they were made by others and in reality there is a contradiction between facts as stated in the charter proper and in the endorsement. An important document of this type is the Bangaon plate<sup>2</sup> of Vīrahapāla, which purports to record the grant of a village by the Pāla king in favour of a Brāhmaṇa, although in an endorsement at the end it is summarily stated that the grant was made by an officer of the king named Ghaṇṭiśa out of his own *jāgir*.

Another interesting fact is that the indication of a particular grant being actually made by one of the king's officers or feudatories but represented as one made by the king is not clear in the documents though some of them appear to suggest the fact vaguely. There are many records which introduce a person without any ostensible relation with the charter stated to have been granted by the king. Such an introduction is often found at the end of the documents exactly in the position of the endorsement in the Bangaon plate of Vīrahapāla III, referred to above. In a few cases, such an enigmatic name is also met with in the body of the charter without any justification for its introduction. Since it is inexplicable why persons without anything to do with the grants should be mentioned in royal charters at all, we suspect that they might have been the real donors of the grants in question and the fact was intended to be rather vaguely indicated in the said way. It also appears that there was an amount of reluctance on the part of the Government to admit such a fact.

The Mēhār plate<sup>3</sup> of Dāmōdara records a grant of lands in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. But at the end of the king's description in verse, there is one stanza introducing Gaṅgādhara-dēva who was the officer in charge of the royal elephant force. The introduction of this person, as we have indicated elsewhere, cannot be explained unless it is supposed that he was the real donor of the grant although the king was not eager to mention the fact explicitly in the document.<sup>4</sup>

The Andhavaram plates<sup>5</sup> of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman record the grant of a village as an *agrahāra* or rent free holding in favour of several Brāhmaṇas. The king is mentioned as the donor. But, at the end, the record is stated to have been written under orders of Śrī-Lōkārjuna-dēva who vanquished many foes. The editor of the inscription says, "These plates furnish us with a new Gaṅga name—Lōkārjuna." But he admits that the identity of this person cannot be determined without further evidence.

The charter was issued in the Gaṅga year 133. But, instead of describing it as the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* or *Gāṅgāya-vakṣa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* as we

<sup>1</sup> See the cases of such holdings created by Prince Śūryasēna and Puruṣhōttamasēna and ratified by king Vīrarōpaseṇa in his Vaṅgīya Śāhitya Parishad plate (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 147; *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 206-07).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 48 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 183 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 52-53.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37 f.





find in other Gaṅga records, the inscription in question calls it *Tumburu-vaṃśa-rājya-samvatsara*. This reminds us of the Santa-Bonmali plates<sup>1</sup> issued by a Kailamba feudatory of a Gaṅga king, which describe the Gaṅga era as *ṭāṅga-Kadamba-vaṃśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* even though the Kadambas had nothing to do with the establishment of the era. It appears to us that the grant recorded in the Andhavarani plates of Gaṅga Indravarman was really made by his feudatory Lōkārṇava of the Tumburu dynasty. Unless such was the case, it is difficult to explain why he was introduced as ordering for the writing of the document and the Gaṅga era is described only in this record as associated with the Tumburu dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

There is a stanza about the end of a charter issued by the Śailōdbhava king Sainyabhitā Mādhanavarman II Śrīvirāsa.<sup>3</sup> The inscription was edited by N. G. Majumdar who believed that the date of the grant, viz., year 50, should be referred to the Harsha era so as to yield 656 A.D. There is, however, little doubt that the inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the Śailōdbhava king. The stanza in question has been read by Majumdar as follows :

*Jayati Jayanta-pratimāḥ pravabha-samākṛiṣṭa-ripu-uripa-śrīkaḥ |*

*Śailbhava(pūṣṭi)rah kṣitipō varuḍikṛita-lōkanātha-sakhaḥ ||*

Since another verse in the inscription states that king Mādhanavarman made the grant from his camp at Mādhanapura (probably named after himself), Majumdar suggests that the expression *Śrīdhanapaura* refers to the king's stay, at the time of making the grant, at Śrīdhanapura which is identical with Mādhanapura. He also says, "It further describes him (i.e. king Mādhanavarman) as a friend of the *lōkanātha* who was graciously disposed towards him. By the term *lōkanātha* we are probably to understand the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhanavarman owed allegiance." We are sorry that we cannot agree either with Majumdar's reading or with his interpretation. In the first place, what has been read as *śrīdhanapauraḥ* and corrected to *śrīdhanapauraḥ* has been read by S. N. Rajaguru, who has recently edited the inscription without noticing that it was previously published, as *śrīrāmanāḥ*.<sup>4</sup> In regard to the reading *ra* for *da*, Rajaguru seems to be right since the *akṣara* has a clear top *mātrā* which is expected in *e* and not in *dh*. The other disputed *akṣara* looks more like *nā* or *pa* than *pā*. The reading of the expression thus seems to be *śrī-Varamāṇaḥ* or *śrī-Varama(pu)rah*. Secondly, the reference in the verse can hardly be to the Śailōdbhava king as the feudatory of a certain *lōkanātha*, 'a king'. He was no doubt a feudatory of king Śaśāṅka of Gaṇḍa in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.). But his later records including the said epigraph are dated in his regnal reckoning and most of them (including the inscription in question) describe him as the performer of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.<sup>5</sup> There is thus little doubt that these charters were issued after Sainyabhitā Mādhanavarman II Śrīvirāsa had thrown off the yoke of the Gaṇḍa king. In our opinion, *lōkanātha* mentioned in the stanza quoted above is no other than the Śailōdbhava king himself and the illustrious *Varamāna* or *Varamana* was his feudatory who was the real donor of the grant. The word *varuḍikṛita* refers to the favour shown by the king to the feudatory by agreeing to the creation of the rent-free holding recorded in the inscription no doubt at the feudatory's request.

While re-editing the Balangir Museum plates<sup>6</sup> of the 8th regnal year of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti I, we did not fully realise the implication of the endorsement at the end of it referring to Prince

<sup>1</sup> Bhambalkar's List No. 2053.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Ep., 1931-32, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 148 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Gr. Hist. Soc. Jour., Vol. II, Paris 3-4, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See IHQ, Vol. XXVII, p. 168 ff.

<sup>6</sup> JAS, Letters, Vol. XIX, p. 117 ff.



Durgarāja, described as the son of Svabbāvatūga whom we identified with Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I himself. The introduction of the prince is really inexplicable and it now appears to us that he was the real donor of the grant which was ratified by his father.

Similarly, the real implication of the enigmatic endorsement at the end of the Mahada plates<sup>1</sup> escaped us while re-editing the inscription. It appears to us now that Yaśōgaja, who seems to be described in the endorsement as a ruling chief born in the family of the issuer of the charter, i.e., king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman III, was the real donor of the grant which was ratified by the king. If this was not the case, the endorsement is quite meaningless.

#### 10. Khajjana-Khajjana-Khajjana-Khajjanaka

The word *khajjana*, also spelt *khajjaya*, *khajjāna* and *khajjanaka*, occurs in several inscriptions of the western part of South India. In the Argā (Karwar District) plates<sup>2</sup> of Kāpālīvarman, which may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, the word *khajjāna* is found in the following passage in lines 3-6: *Śivapuraka-grāmē Aditya-kṛishṭhi-Pukkollī-khajjānaḥ...dattaḥ*. We have also the following three passages mentioning *khajjana* in the Bandora (Goa) plates<sup>3</sup> of Prithivīmallavarman who seems to have flourished in the seventh century A.D.: (1) *utā grāma-simē Kapṭhī-khajjanah amai Brāhmaṇāya...sampradattaḥ* (lines 3-4); (2) *khajjana-mūḍhyasthō-pi yūpakaḥ Brāhmaṇāya-siva datta itī* (lines 7-8); (3) *khajjana-parimāṇaḥ* (line 10). The word *khajjaya* is thrice used in the Panjim (Goa) plates<sup>4</sup> of king Jayakṣin I of the Kadamba family of Goa, dated Śaka 981 (1059 A.D.), in the following three passages: (1) *Pācava-khajjaya* (line 48); (2) *Kalp-akhya-khajjaya* (line 49); (3) *Pratīva(ba)la-khajjaya* (line 50). A copper-plate grant<sup>5</sup> of Tribhuvanamalla of the same dynasty, dated Śaka 1028 (1107 A.D.), uses the word *khajjanaka* in verse 31 in lines 31-32, which runs as follows:—

*Nannapayyān=namasyaṇ cha Hōḍḍa-khajjanakam krayāt |*  
*kṛitū Nāyyēna tasmāt=tat=kṛitū prādāch=chhatais=tribhū |*

The word *khajjana-khajjana-khajjana-khajjanaka* has not yet been satisfactorily understood. While editing the Argā plates, Mr. A. M. Annigeri admits that the expression *Pukkollī-khajjāna* occurring in the record 'cannot be explained',<sup>6</sup> while Mr. P. B. Desai suggests in an editorial note that the word *khajjāna* and its variants may denote 'a specific area of cultivable land or locality'.<sup>7</sup>

There is, however, no doubt that *khajjana*, etc., are the same as the Marāṭhī word spelt both as *khājan* and *khāja*. According to Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, this word means 'a salt-marsh or meadow; land lying along the shore of the sea or of inlets, and exposed to be flooded; ground recovered by embankment from sea'. The *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōśa* also explains the word as 'the area [near the sea-shore] on which a thin layer of sand and mud accumulates after the ebb-tide coming through inlets; a rice field created out of such an area near a hillock by erecting embankments on the three other sides; a field created by reclamation of the river bed'.<sup>8</sup> It will thus be seen that *khajjana* and its variants really mean a particular type of cultivable land or a plot of land of the said type. That it does not mean a specific area of land seems to be indicated by the mention of an object standing within a *khajjana* as found in the Bandora plates and of a *khajjana* called by the name *Kalpa* in the Panjim plates, both quoted above.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 232 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 397; M. G. Dhahit, *BISMQ*, Vol. XXXI, Part IV, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 233. Annigeri reads *Pukkollī-khajjāna*.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 234, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> This meaning is clearly supported by the Bandora plates speaking of *Isava-jalan āṇaṇ nāygya kaḍḍam=upādya* (lines 3-9).







The word *paṅga-pāṅga* has not been properly interpreted. B. L. Rice while translating the Hitnasebbāgilu plates admitted his inability to interpret the expression *paṅg-āṭṭa*.<sup>1</sup> K. T. Telang while editing the Goa plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indrayarman read *sarva-paṅga-parihīta* and translated the expression as 'free from all lame people', although Kielhorn later pointed out that the correct reading is *paṅga* and not *paṅgu*.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. P. B. Desai offered several suggestions on the interpretation of this word. In a note published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, he explained *pāṅga* as 'form' or 'shape' and interpreted the passage *Bhairavāḥ pāṅgā Gadyānakāḥ* occurring in the Panjun plates as 'Gadyā-nakas (i.e. coins of that name) of the Bhairava type', although an alternative suggestion offered was that *pāṅgā* may be a mistake for *paṅgā* derived from *pon* meaning 'gold'.<sup>3</sup> But later he gave up the above interpretations of the word and offered the following suggestion: "The expression is not found in Sanskrit or Prakrit. It may, however, be connected with the Kannada *paṅgu* meaning 'obligation' or 'indebtedness'. This suggestion is supported by the context which shows that the ground for the collection of *pāṅga* or fee was obligation. The word has passed into the Marāṭhī language and is used in expressions like *pāṅga phēḍaṇem* (to discharge the debt)."<sup>4</sup>

The word *paṅga-pāṅga* as found in the inscriptions referred to above is no doubt the same as Telugu *paṅgamu* recognised in Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* in the sense of 'a tax in the shape of one-fourth of the produce collected in olden times by the government on lands in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas' (*dēva-Brāhmaṇa-vṛttula mīda pūrvapu sarkāruvāru ṭaikonē chaturth-āṁḥam-ayina kappamu*). It may be connected with Tamil *paṅgu* and Malayalam *paṅka* recognised in Wilson's *Glossary* in the sense of 'a share'. Dr. R. Narasimha Rao has drawn my attention to the use of the word in a large number of Telugu inscriptions of the medieval period.

Inscription No. 588 in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, dated Śaka 1189 (1267 A.D.), contains the passage *āya-sukṣkamu paṅga lēkumḍān=ittimi*, "we have made this grant with the exemption of *āya-śulka* and *paṅga*". No. 257 of Vol. X of the same work, dated Śaka 1133 (1211 A.D.) has similarly: *vṛtiki paṅgānu lēdu*, "there is no *paṅgā* in respect of this gift land". No. 405 (Śaka 1187-1265 A.D.), No. 422 (Śaka 1191-1269 A.D.), Nos. 449 and 450 (Śaka 1202-1280 A.D.), No. 488 (Śaka 1221-1299 A.D.), No. 492 (Śaka 1225-1303 A.D.), No. 499 (Śaka 1233-1311 A.D.), No. 520 (Śaka 1238-1310 A.D.), No. 527 (Śaka 1241-1319 A.D.), No. 539 (of the time of Kākatīya Rudra) and No. 540 (of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra) of the same volume have the following passages respectively: (1) *dunnunūrikiṁ baṅggamu lēdu* (the cultivators of this land are exempted from *paṅga*), (2) *cevari dunnunūnu paṅga-tappu paṅga-suvikamu pannu kāṇika darīṇanamu t-mēralavārūnu āmih gona-lēdu* (*paṅga-tappu*, *paṅga-śulka*, *pannu*, *kāṇika* and *darīṇa* are not levied from the cultivators anywhere), (3) *paṅgamu sarva-mānyamu* (a free holding which is *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅgu*), (4) *paṅga* (not *paṅgu* as in the printed text) *kāṇika manṇana āchāṇḍi-ārkkamugānu* (we have permanently exempted it from *paṅga* and *kāṇika*), (5) *chēṇiki paṅga-tappu-sukṣkamu aḍiginu-vāḍu(vāru)* *paṇichcha-mahāpātukāṇaṁ baḍudaru* (the collectors of *paṅga-tappu-śulka* will be committing the five great sins), (6) *paṅgamu lēkumḍānuṁ sarva-mānyamugānu mūnatimi* (no *paṅga* will be levied by us on the free holding), (7) *ellanāṣṭikini upaśhiti paṅgamu paṭi māḍulu kāṇika darīṇanamu manṇinatimi* (we exempt from *upaśhiti*, *paṅga*, *paṭṭi*, *māḍulu*, *kāṇika* and *darīṇa* for ever), (8) *paṅga-sarva-mānyamu... ichiri* (made

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, translation, p. 55. We also failed to explain the expression while discussing the inscription in the *Successors of the Sāmrājāna*, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *JBRAS*, op. cit., pp. 263-66; above, Vol. VI, p. 13, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> *QJMS*, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, p. 75; cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 236, note 2.



the grant of a free-holding as *paṅga*, i.e., exempted from *paṅga*), (9) *paṅga-mānyamu* (a free-holding which is *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅga*), (10) *paṅgamu vēttina poḍupāpālam baṣu-rāru* (the collectors of *paṅga* from the cultivators of this land will be committing all sins), and (11) *paṅga-mānyamugā vidiche* (made the free-holding *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅga*). The passage *paṅggamu lēdu* (exempted from *paṅga*) also occurs in Inscription No. 7 from Ongole in the *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, Vol. II.

In these records *paṅga* or *paṅgā*, besides *paṅga-tappu* and *paṅga-śulka*, or *paṅga-tappu-śulka* in a single compound, is in some cases mentioned along with other levies called *āya-śulka*, *pannu*, *kānika*, *darāna*, *upakāṣiṭi*, *puṭṭi* and *māḍalu*. In some cases, the word *paṅga* has been used as an adjective in the sense of 'free from *paṅga*'. The distinction between *paṅga-tappu* and *paṅga-śulka* is not clear. While *paṅga-śulka* may be the same as *paṅga* explained above, *paṅga-tappu* may indicate interest or fine on arrears of *paṅga*.

Of the seven other items mentioned in the records quoted above, *darāna* is the same as Persian *narrāna*, originally a gift or present from an inferior to a superior, a holy man or a prince. Both *āya* and *śulka* mean 'toll, tax, customs,' etc., and the compound *āya-śulka* may have been used in the records in the sense of 'customs duties'. Wilson's *Glossary* recognises *pannu* as a Tamil word meaning 'tax, tribute, custom, tent'. It is also recognised in Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* in the sense of 'a tax, rent, duties'. *Kānika* seems to be the same as Kannaḍa *kāṇike-kāga* or *kāṇike-kappa* recognised by Wilson in the sense of 'a present from an inferior to a superior, a subscription, a donation'. Brown recognises Telugu *kānika* or *kānuḱa* in the same sense. *Puṭṭi* reminds us of Telugu *puṭṭi-ḍōṣiḷlu* recognised by Wilson in the sense of 'a fee of two handfuls from each *puṭṭi* of grain paid to the village servants'. *Māḍalu* similarly reminds us of what Wilson says under *māḍa*: "a half pagoda; whence it is applied to a rate of rent or payment of 50 per cent." I am not sure about the real meaning of *upakāṣiṭi*.

The Hiṭṭababbāgilu plates of Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman use the expression *parihṛita-paṅga-utkōṣa* (exempted from *paṅga* and *utkōṣa*), in which *utkōṣa* is another allied fiscal term like *paṅga*. The Sanskrit form *utkōṣa* is not found in the lexicons; but its Prakrit form *utkōṣa*, as used in the Jain *Vyavahārasūtra*, has been recognised by H. T. Seth in his *Pāṇasaddamahārṇava* in the sense of 'things to be offered to the *rājakula* (the king, royal officers and members of the royal family)' and 'presents made to the king and others'. The same lexicon recognises *utkōṣā*, which appears to be a feminine form of the same word, as found in works like the *Dēśināmāṇḍā*, *Prāśnavyākaraṇasūtra* and *Vipākākruta*, in the allied sense of 'bribe'.

While the form *paṅga* may be a word derived from *paṅga* in the same sense, *paṅgā* may be a wrong spelling of *paṅga*. The expression *sarva-paṅga-parihṛita* (exempted from all the *paṅgas*) used in some cases would suggest that *paṅga* often indicated a levy in general and that there were various kinds of it. The use of expressions like *paṅga-śulka* and *paṅga-tappu* (cf. also *paṅga-tappu-śulka*) in the same context along with other taxes seems to suggest that *paṅga* was sometimes also used to indicate a particular group of levies.



## No. 8—BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.1.1958)

Cunningham discovered the remains of the ancient Buddhist Stūpa at **Barhut** (also spelt *Bharhut* and *Bharaut*) in the former Nagand State, of late merged in Madhya Pradesh, in 1873. The 'best and the most valuable of the sculptured remains' were purchased by him for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and are now exhibited in the Archaeological Section of that Museum. The inscriptions incised on the stones pertaining to the said collection were studied by Cunningham,<sup>1</sup> Hoernle,<sup>2</sup> Hultzsch<sup>3</sup> and Lüders<sup>4</sup> as well as by Barua and Sinha.<sup>5</sup> Some more relics of the same religious establishment, probably those rejected by Cunningham, were lying in a godown of the rulers of the Nagandh State. These were secured some years ago by Pandit Vrij Mohan Vyas for the Municipal Museum at Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh. There are altogether seven inscriptions in the Barhut collection of the Allahabad Museum. An unsatisfactory impression of one of these epigraphs reached me more than ten years ago and I published it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 113-14; but the impression was too flimsy for reproduction. About the end of 1957 I visited the Allahabad Museum and Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, kindly allowed me to copy all the inscriptions of the Barhut collection. The epigraphs are published in the following pages.

Like most of the published inscriptions from Barhut, the records under study are small epigraphs in one or two lines. The characters belong to the **Brāhmī** alphabet of about the **second century B. C.** The language of the inscriptions is **Prakrit**.

### No. 1

The pillar bearing the inscription in one line near the representation of an acrobatic scene bears the Museum number Ac/2915.<sup>6</sup> The line is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and individual *akṣaras* are about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch high. The letters are smaller in size in the present epigraph than in any other in the Barhut collection in the Allahabad Museum. This inscription was published by me without illustration in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, referred to above. But, on a careful examination of the record, it is now found that there are some errors in the observations on the epigraph contained in my article.

I then read the inscription as follows:

*Paṇḍatāye nāgarikāye bhikkhuniye* [sa].....

It was suggested that the epigraph, supposed to be fragmentary, records the gift of a pillar or rail by the nun *Paṇḍyadattā* of the city where the ancient Stūpa was situated. I also suggested that *Paṇḍyadattā* of this inscription is identical with the nun of that name mentioned in another Barhut inscription read by Barua and Sinha as:

*Paṇḍatāye nagarikāye bhikkhuniye Sakāye thabho dānam.*

<sup>1</sup> See his *Stūpa of Bharhut*, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 118 ff., 255 ff.; Vol. XI, pp. 26 ff. Cf. Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum*, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> *2D MO*, Vol. XL, pp. 58 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, above, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 687-903.

<sup>5</sup> *Barhut Inscriptions*, 1926.

<sup>6</sup> See S. C. Kala, *Barhut Vaidika*, p. 30, No. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Macron over *i* and *o* has not been used in the article.



The full text of our inscription was therefore restored as: *Pasadataye nāgarikāye bhikkuniye Sakāye sūchi* (or *thabho*) *dānam* and translated as, "[A rail (or, pillar) which is the gift] of the [Buddhist] nun Pushyadattā, an inhabitant of the city."

It is now seen that there is no trace of any letter after the word *bhikkuniye* and the epigraph is therefore not fragmentary. Of course a layer of the stone has peeled off about the end of the line; but, even if it may be supposed that there were some letters in this damaged part, they could not have been more than two in number since there is no space for more. At best therefore the word *dānam* may have been engraved after *bhikkuniye*, although I feel that *bhikkuniye* is the last word of the record. Indeed *Pasadataye nāgarikāye bhikkuniye* (i.e. "[The gift] of Pushyadattā, the nun of the city") and *Sakāye thabho dānam* (i.e. "The pillar [which is] the gift of Sakā") are two different records as read by Cunningham and do not make a single record as suggested by Barua and Sinha.

The word *bhikkhunī* is found in the Barhut records in both the forms *bhikkhuni* and *bhikkhuni*.<sup>1</sup>

### No. 2

The cross-bar bearing this inscription in one line bears the number Ac/2972.<sup>2</sup> It is incised on the stone covering an area about 10½ inches in length. Individual *aksharas* are about ¼ inch in height. The inscription reads as follows:

[Na]garakshitaśu mātu Chakamuchukaya dānam.

It may be translated as: "[This pillar is] the gift of Nāgarakshita and [his] mother Chakamochikā." But the word *śu* seems to suggest that the present epigraph was the second of a set of two inscriptions, the first recording a gift of Nāgarakshita, while the inscription under study only the gift of his mother. The gentleman and the lady mentioned in the record are not known from any other inscription from Barhut. A Buddhist monk of Pushkara, named Nāgarakṣita, is, however, known from an inscription<sup>3</sup> of about the same period; but he appears to be different from the person of the same name mentioned in the record under study.

### No. 3

The railing pillar on which this fragmentary inscription in one line is engraved bears the number Ac/2918.<sup>4</sup> The writing covers a space measuring 5½ inches in length with individual *aksharas* slightly less than an inch in height. The epigraph reads . . . *giriṇo bhānakasa bhātu*, after which there are traces of an *akshara* which may be *pa* or *ha*. The word *bhānaka* indicates 'a reciter [of sacred texts]' and a number of such reciters are mentioned in the Barhut epigraphs.<sup>5</sup> Our inscription apparently records the gift either of Ha (or Pa) . . . . ., the brother of a reciter whose name ended with the word *giri*, or of both the reciter and his brother.

This inscription reminds us of another Barhut epigraph<sup>6</sup> which reads: *Nandagirino bhānakasa Selaṇurakasa thabho dānam*. "The pillar [which is] the gift of the reciter Nandagiri, an inhabitant of Selaṇapura". It is not unlikely that the same reciter named Nandagiri is mentioned in the record under study. A person named Nandagiri is known from another Barhut inscription;<sup>7</sup> but he was not a *bhānaka*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 11, No. 19; pp. 17 f., No. 43 (1 and 3), etc.; and p. 13, No. 23; p. 13, No. 28; p. 18 (4), etc.

<sup>2</sup> S. C. Kala, op. cit., p. 33, No. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Lüders' List, No. 607.

<sup>4</sup> S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 8, No. 15; p. 11, No. 20; p. 13, No. 27; etc.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 16, No. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 27, No. 13.



## No. 4

This inscription is engraved on a pillar bearing the number Ac/2914 as a label for the representation of a Nāga offering protection to the Buddha.<sup>1</sup> It is in two lines which cover a space measuring 9 inches by 3½ inches. The letters in the first line are somewhat bigger than those of the second. Individual *akṣaras* are between 1" and 2" in height in line 1 and a little less than one inch in line 2. The inscription reads:

1 *Muckiindo Nāgarāja* [1"]

2 *Tis[ā]yā Benākā(ikāga dānā(naḥ))* [9"]

It may be translated as: "[This is the representation of] Muchalinda, the king of the Nāgas (i.e. dragons). [This is] the gift of Tishyā, an inhabitant of Benākātaka." If it is believed that *dānā* has been used in the plural number for Sanskrit *dānāni*, it has probably to be suggested that Tishyā's gift included more than one piece of stone.

The mention of Nāgarāja Muchalinda reminds us of two other Barhut inscriptions<sup>2</sup> speaking similarly of the Nāga-rājas Krāpata (Sanskrit *Airācata* or *Elāputra*) and Chakravāka. According to Buddhist tradition, when there was a great shower of rain at Uruvelā where the Buddha was spending the third week after his Enlightenment, the Nāga king Muchalinda sheltered him by winding his coils seven times round the Buddha's body and holding his head above the Buddha's head.<sup>3</sup> The expression *Benākāṭikā* (Sanskrit *Bainākāṭikā*) has been derived from *Benākātaka* in the sense of 'a female resident of Benākātaka'. The name Benākātaka seems to indicate a town (*koṭaka*) situated on the river Benā which may be a tributary of the Kṛishṇā bearing that name or the Wainganga which is a tributary of the Godāvarī.<sup>4</sup> But one of the Nasik cave inscriptions appears to locate a place called Benākātaka in the district of Govardhana around modern Nasik.<sup>5</sup>

## No. 5

This inscription in one line is engraved on a rail stone bearing the number Ac/2957. The writing covers an area of 6½ inches in length and individual *akṣaras* are between 1" and 1½ inch in height. The epigraph is both damaged and fragmentary. It reads . . . [*ye* *ha*] [*h* [*i*] *ta* *na* *thabho dānaṁ*. The first *akṣara* seems to be the remnant of a word indicating a place name in the feminine gender and the fifth case-ending. We have other cases of this type among the Barhut inscriptions; cf. *Maṇḍirima Nāgilūyā bhikkhunīyā dānaṁ thabho*, "[This] pillar [is] the gift of the nun Nāgilā from Mayūragiri."<sup>6</sup>

## No. 6

The fragment of the coping stone on which this inscription in one line is incised bears the number An/2925.<sup>1</sup> The writing covers an area measuring 2½ inches in length with individual *akṣaras* about 1 inch high. The record reads:

*Harisa-jātakaṁ.*

<sup>1</sup> S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 31-32, No. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Mahāvaṅkara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, pp. 698-99.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Do, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v. *Benā* and *Bepī*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Select Inscription*, p. 191; Lüders' List, No. 1125.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Barua and Sinha, p. 13, No. 22. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 234, No. 81.

<sup>7</sup> S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 28-29, No. 35.



This reminds us of the numerous scenes from the Jātakas on the Barhut sculptures often bearing inscriptions mentioning the names of particular Jātakas. There is actually another Barhut inscription reading *Harua-jātaka*.<sup>1</sup> Among the Jātakas mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions, we have *Maghādeviya-jātaka*, *Isimiga-jātaka*, . . . *niya-jātaka*, *Secha-jātakam*, *Nāga-jātaka*, *Sujatogahuto-jātaka*, *Lutuvā-jātaka*, *Viḍalajatarakukūṭa-jātaka*, *Uda-jātaka*, *Kimnara-jātaka*, *Miga-jātaka*, *Bhisaharaniya-jātaka*, *Chhadamtiya-jātaka*, *Isirimpīya-jātaka*, *Vinrapunakiya-jātaka*, *Yavamajhakiyam-jātaka* and *Mugapakiya-jātaka*.<sup>2</sup> It may be pointed out that the names of the Jātakas as quoted in these inscriptions are in some cases found in different forms in the Jātaka collections.

#### No. 7

The coping stone bearing this inscription has the number Ac/2910.<sup>3</sup> The record is in two parts. The height of individual *akṣaras* in this epigraph is similar to that of the letters in No. 6. The first part of the inscription reads *Ġajā-jātaka Saso*<sup>4</sup> and the second *jātaka* which, however, seems to be followed by traces of the letters *saso*. The two parts jointly mention the *Ġajā-jātaka* and the *Sāsa-jātaka*. Although the *Sāsa-jātaka*<sup>5</sup> is well known, it is difficult to identify the *Ġajā-jātaka*. Among the Jātakas, we have stories in which both the *gaja* (i.e. elephant) and the *sāsa* (i.e. rabbit) are known to have some part to play.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 81; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 153.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 80-81, 83, 87, 87-89, 91-94, 97; *Lōdars' List*, Nos. 691; 694-95, 698, 700-01, 703-04, 706, 724, 730, 769, 783-86, 802, 807, 810, 825, 897. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 233, No. 72; p. 239, No. 153. For another Jātaka, see *Ibid.*, p. 239, No. 157.

<sup>3</sup> S. C. Kala, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33, No. 7.

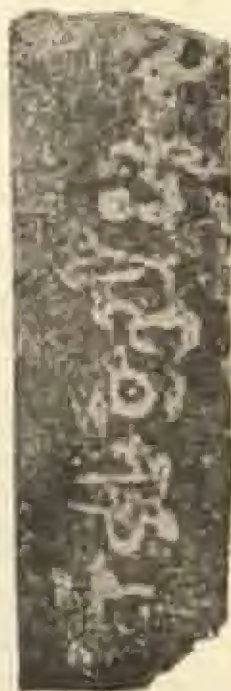
<sup>4</sup> See Jātaka No. 316.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, Jātaka No. 322 (*Daddattha-jātaka*).

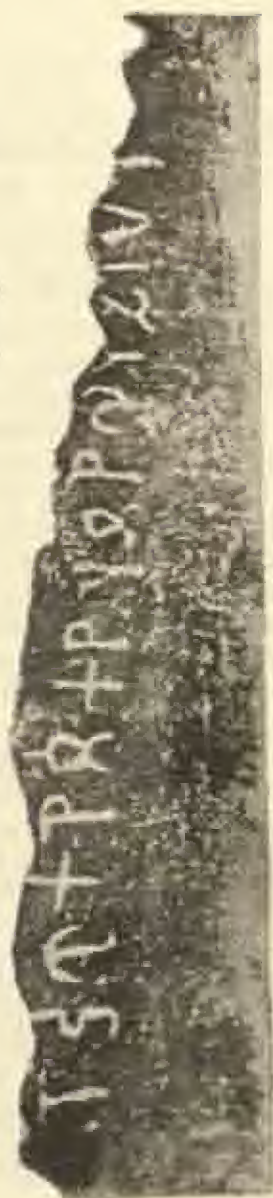




No. 2



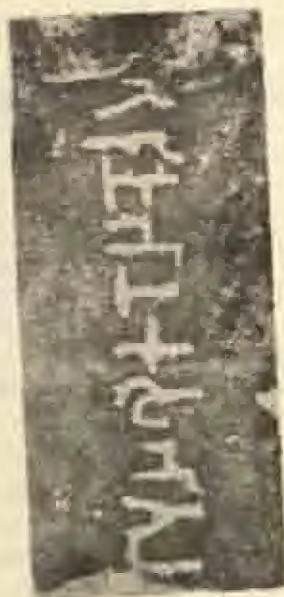
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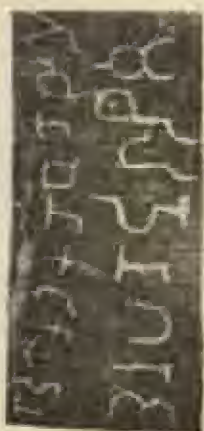
No. 3



No. 7



Scale : One-half



Scale : One-fourth



## NO. 9—TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 23.4.1958)

Photographs of the two copper-plate inscriptions published here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India were obtained in his office during 1949-50.<sup>1</sup> The plates were found somewhere in the Goa territory but the details about their discovery are not known. Both of these inscriptions, called here **A** and **B**, belong to the reign of the king **Prithivimallavarman** of the **Bhōja** dynasty. The existence of this dynasty is known from a few copper-plate grants.<sup>2</sup> In all, six inscriptions, including the two published here, have been discovered so far.<sup>3</sup> Of these, the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** are the earliest as they are assignable, on palaeographical grounds, to about the 4th century A. D., while the others belong to the 6th or 7th century A. D. The six inscriptions disclose the names of five rulers, viz. **Dēvarāja**, **Aśaṅkita**, **Aśaṅkitavarman**, **Kāpālivarman** and **Prithivimallavarman**. Unfortunately their relationship to one another cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The records refer only to the ruling kings and do not mention any of their predecessors. For this reason, it is even difficult to say whether **Aśaṅkita** of the Hiregutti plates is the same as **Aśaṅkitavarman** mentioned in the Kāpōli plates. These **Bhōja** rulers seem to have held sway in the west coast area comprising the North Kanara District, Goa and portions of the Belgaum District. Among the charters of the family, the Siroda plates were issued from Chandrapura, the Argā plates from Pāmasā-khēṭa, and the present records from Vēṣabhini-khēṭa and **Prithivī-parvata**. Of these, only Chandrapura has been satisfactorily identified with modern Chandor near the city of Goa.

### A

The set consists of two plates, each measuring approximately 6.5" by 2.2". In the middle of the left margin of each plate, there is a hole (about 1" in diameter) meant for the ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal are not known. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only while the second has writing on both sides. There are altogether eleven lines of writing, of which the first plate and the first side of the second plate have five lines each and the second side of the second plate only one line. Some letters in the third and fourth lines of the first plate are damaged. The rest of the writing is well preserved.

The characters belong to what is known as the southern class of alphabets. They generally resemble the characters of the early Kadamba grants and may also be compared with those of the Argā plates of **Kāpālivarman** and the Kāpōli plates of **Aśaṅkitavarman**. While these characters are box-headed, those of our record are what may be called hook-headed. They are definitely later than those of the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** and belong more or less to the same period as those of the other **Bhōja** grants referred to above. On palaeographical grounds, they may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A. D. Initial *a* occurs

<sup>1</sup> They have been registered as Nos. 9 and 10 of App. A., *A.E.E.*, 1949-50, and briefly noticed above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337-40. See also *Summary of Papers*, All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, 1949, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Though the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** were noticed as early as 1933 and published above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff., the record was assigned to the **Bhōja** dynasty at a later date. Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The remaining four records are : (1) Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja**, referred to above ; (2) Hiregutti plates of **Aśaṅkita**, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff. ; (3) Argā plates of **Kāpālivarman**, above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 232-34 ; and (4) Kāpōli plates of **Aśaṅkitavarman**, *ibid.*, pp. 234-36.



in lines 4, 5 and 10 while initial *v* is found in line 8. Final *m* is written in two ways; cf. the diminutive form of the letter in *Dāṭham* (line 1), *paṭṭikāyām* (line 2) and *\*vmm* (line 6) and the form endowed with only a small hook in *Bhōjānām* (line 1). Final *t* is indicated by a diminutive form of the letter without the top *mātrā*; cf. *\*khātāt* and *vachanāt* (line 1) and *kāśyāt* (line 8). The early form of *kh* may be noted in *\*khātāt* (line 1) and *\*mukh-ā* (line 10).

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the entire text is written in prose. In respect of orthography it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is invariably reduplicated.

The inscription opens with the word *dīṭṭham* which, however, is written about the beginning of the second line. This expression stands for Sanskrit *dṛiṣṭam*. The charter was issued from **Vṛishabhini-khēṭa** by king **Prithivīmallavarman** of the Bhōja dynasty. The king is not introduced with any titles, imperial or subordinative. But since the charter is addressed to subordinate officials like the *Bhājakas*, *Āyuktas* and *Sthāyins* (lines 2-3),<sup>1</sup> we may assume that Prithivīmallavarman was an independent king.

The object of the inscription is to record the king's grant of a field, probably surrounded by blue hills,<sup>2</sup> in the village of Bhāgalapallikā included in the **Kupalapakatāhāra-dēśa**. It is stated (lines 3-4) that the grant was made for the merit of the king's mother Chētasādhēvi at the request of his brother Śatrudamana. These two personages, viz. Chētasādhēvi and Śatrudamana, are not known from any other source. The donee was Mādhvārya (i.e. Mādhavārya) of the Agnivēśya *gōtra*.

The record is dated (line 2) in the first year of the king's reign and the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha. The executor of the grant was the king himself. A statement in line 10 shows that the gift was actually made by Chētasādhēvi who was the daughter of Nēllika. From this it appears that the gift land was purchased by the king's brother Śatrudamana on behalf of his mother Chētasādhēvi and that the formal donation was made by the king himself.<sup>3</sup> The charter was written by Dēvadarm-āchārya of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*.

There are three places mentioned in the record, viz. Vṛishabhini-khēṭa whence the grant was issued, and Kupalapakatāhāra-dēśa in which the village of Bhāgalapallikā was situated. I am unable to identify them. Kupalapakatāhāra-dēśa is, however, mentioned as Kupalākata-dēśa in inscription B below.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

##### First Plate

- 1 Dīṭṭham\* [1\*] Vījaya-Vṛishabhini-khēṭāt Bhōjānām Prithivīmallavarmanmaṣṭ  
vachanāt dēśe Kupala-  
2 [pa]kat-āhārē grāmō Bhāgalāpal[1]ikāyām varittamāna-bhavishyad-bhōjak-ā-  
3 yuk[t]aka-sthāy-ādayō [vaktavyāḥ] [1\*] yath-āsmābhir-asmad-bhrātuh Śatrudamanasya  
4 [vijhāpyāma] smad-amhāyāḥ Chētas[ā]dhēvyāḥ pūṇy-āpachay-ārtham-asmai Prīṭina-

<sup>1</sup> In the Sirola plates (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145, last line 2), the passage containing the names of these officers has been read as *dhāgib-āyuktas-sthāy-ādayō*. But the correct reading there appears to be *dhāgib-āyuktas-sthāy-ādayō* as in the present record.

<sup>2</sup> The expression used is *vīḷa-dēśa-ayuktāḥ*. It may also stand for the name of the field granted.

<sup>3</sup> It has been inadvertently stated that Chētasādhēvi was the queen of Prithivīmallavarman (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 339).

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>5</sup> From photographs. This is No. 2 of App. A of 1948-50.

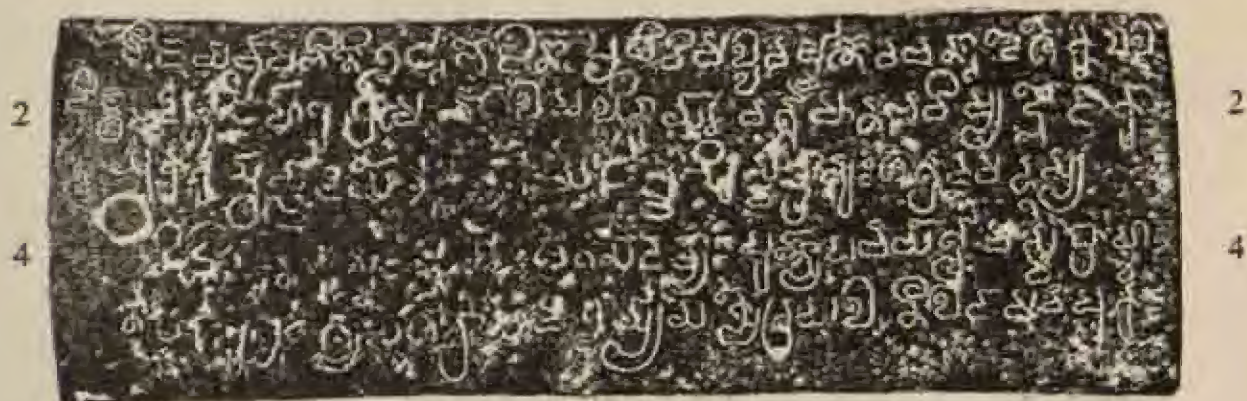
<sup>6</sup> This word is engraved about the beginning of the second line. Read *dṛiṣṭam*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vijhāpyāma*.

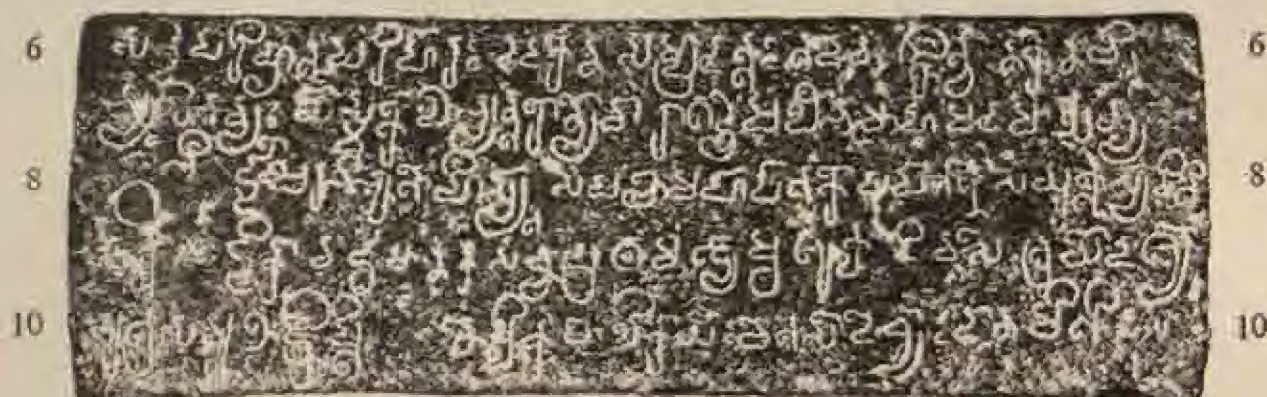


TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN—PLATE I

A



ii, a



ii, b



Scale : Five-sixths



5 pāya Agni[vā]ya-sagōtrāya Mā[dh]vāryyāya kabētra-halam(lah) ulā-dāma-vaprahah

*Second Plate, First Side*

6 antvva-parihita<sup>1</sup>-parihārah udakēna sampradattaḥ [i\*] tad-ēvam jñātvā na kēnachit

7 vyasitavyah | yō smat-kul-ābhyanarō-nyō vā rāga-dvēsha-lōbha-mōha-mada-mātsaryyā-

8 [dī]bhū[bbi]r-ādōshair-abbhūhūtō hih<sup>2</sup>-syāt sa-paṇcha-mahāpātak-ōpapātaka-saṇyukta[h\*]  
syād-iti [i\*]

9 datā parikā varddhamānaka-sarivva<sup>3</sup> prathama(mē) Jyēshtha-śukla-divasē  
trayōdaśyām [i\*]

10 atra sa<sup>4</sup>-mukh-ājñāpti[h\*] Nēlika-bālikāyāh Chōtasulōryāh dānam-iti ||

*Second Plate, Second Side*

11 Dō[va]sarim-ūchāryyōna(na) Bhadravāja-sa(na)gōtrāya<sup>5</sup> ||[kh]itam-iti<sup>6</sup> ||

**B**

The set consists of **two** plates, each measuring about 8.2" by 2.2" and having a hole on the left margin (about 1" in diameter) for the ring to pass through. The ring and the seal are not found. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The first plate contains four lines of writing, the first side of the second plate five lines and the second side of the second plate three lines only. Thus there are in all twelve lines of writing. Some letters in lines 10 and 11 are damaged while the rest of the writing is well preserved. The characters are the same as those employed in inscription A above.

The grant is issued from the victorious **Prithiviparvata**. The charter is addressed by king **Prithivimallavarman** of the Bhōja dynasty, who is introduced without any royal title as in record A above, to the present and the future *Bhōjaka*, *Ayuktaka* and *Stāyina*. The object of the charter is to record the grant of a field called *Kupōti-khajjana*, situated in the village of *Malāra* included in **Kupalākaṭa-dēsa** made by the king for his own merit. The donee was one *Dāmārya* of the *Bhūradvāja* gōtra, who is also called *Agnivāśya*. The word *khajjana* occurs in the *Argā* plates of *Kāpāliyarman* referred to above as *Pukkōlli-khajjana*. Apparently it is the same as the modern *Marāṭhī* and *Koṅkani* word *khājān* which means 'a rice-field created out of the nullah of a sea-shore by putting embankments after the ebb-tide.' The inscription further states (lines 7-8) that a *yāpaka* standing in the midst of the field was also given to the donee. The word *yāpaka* may be a mistake for *kūpaka*.

The record is dated in the year 25 (expressed in numerical figures), **Śrāvaṇa-śukla 15**. The year apparently refers to the king's regnal reckoning, thereby showing that *Prithivimallavarman* ruled for about 25 years at least. The charter was written by *Buddhadāsa* of the *Kamboja* gōtra while its executor was *Nikhivara*.

The boundaries of the gift land are mentioned in lines 10-11 as follows : in the east the rocks ; in the south also the rocky path ; in the west a locality called *Vāsimikā* ; and in the north a river.

<sup>1</sup> Better read *parihita-sarira*?

<sup>2</sup> As *syāt* is engraved inside the loop of the medial i sign of *hi*.

<sup>3</sup> Better read *sarivvāryyā*?

<sup>4</sup> Read *sa*.

<sup>5</sup> There are traces of an unnecessary *svarga*-like mark after *sa*.

<sup>6</sup> There is a *svarga*-like mark after it. It is part of the punctuation mark indicating the end of writing.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Maṭharīśvara-Saṁhitā*, s.v. See also above, pp. 52-54.



At the end (line 12), the inscription once again refers to the grant of the field made by the king in the village of Malāra.

Prithivī-parvata, whence the grant was issued, Kupalākṣa-dēśa, which included the village where the gift land was situated, and the village of Malāra are the three localities mentioned in the record. It is not possible to identify them. Prithivī-parvata seems to have been named after king Prithivīmallavarman. Kupalākṣa-dēśa is apparently the same as Kupalapakaṣhāra-dēśa mentioned in record A edited above. There is a place called Malowli in the Goa territory, though it is not possible to say whether it represents the village of Malāra mentioned in the record.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 Dīp̄tham (Dīp̄st̄am) [1\*] Vijaya-Prithivī-parvatāt Bhōjānām Prithivīmallavarmanapō  
vachanā[1] dēśē
- 2 Kupalākṣaḥ grāmē Malārē su-grāmō<sup>1</sup> varttamāna-bhaviṣhyad-bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthāyy-ā-
- 3 dayō vaktavyāb̄ [1\*] yath=āsmābhīr=asmāt-pu[ṣy-ō]pachaya-vivṛiddhy-art̄tham<sup>2</sup>=atra  
grāma-st-
- 4 mō Kapōti-khajjanam=asmāi Brāhmaṇāya Bharadvāja-sagōtrāy=Āgnivāśyāya

#### Second Plate, First Side

- 5 Dāmāryyāy=śakēna sampradattam [1\*] jñātv=āvati na kēnachid=vyamanayitavyam yō  
v=ā[tra]
- 6 rāga-dyēsha-lōbha-māda-ma(mā)tsaryy-ādibhīr=ab̄hīb̄hūt-ātmā vyamanān̄ kuryyāt=sa  
pañcha-
- 7 mahāpātaka-ōpapātaka-sadyukta[1\*] syād=iti [1\*] khajjana-maddhyasthō=pi [yū]paka[1]<sup>4</sup>
- 8 Brāhmaṇāy=aiva datta iti [1\*] dattam patrakam earh̄vva 20 5 Śrāvana-śukla divā  
10 [5] [1\*]
- 9 likhitam=ōtach=cha Kambōja-sagōtrēṣa Buddhadāśēn=ā[tra] ch=ājñāptir=  
Nādhivara[1] [1\*]

#### Second Plate, Second Side

- 10 [kha]jjana-parimāṇam s̄tavaḥ=cha [1\*] pūrvata[1] [pāshā]ṇa[1] dakṣhiṇatō=  
p̄l [pāshāṇa-vithi]
- 11 aparatō Vēsimk̄s̄ uttaratō nadī . . . kha[lā]-sthā[na]-pari[māṇam]
- 12 avya[1]<sup>5</sup>ait[ō] Malāra-śimō=asmābhīr=sampradatteti<sup>6</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> From photograph.

<sup>2</sup> This word is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Better read 'apachay-ārīḥam'.

<sup>4</sup> Can this be a mistake for k̄pakaḥ?

<sup>5</sup> Read datta iti.



# TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN—PLATE II

B



2

2

4

ii, a.



2

2

8

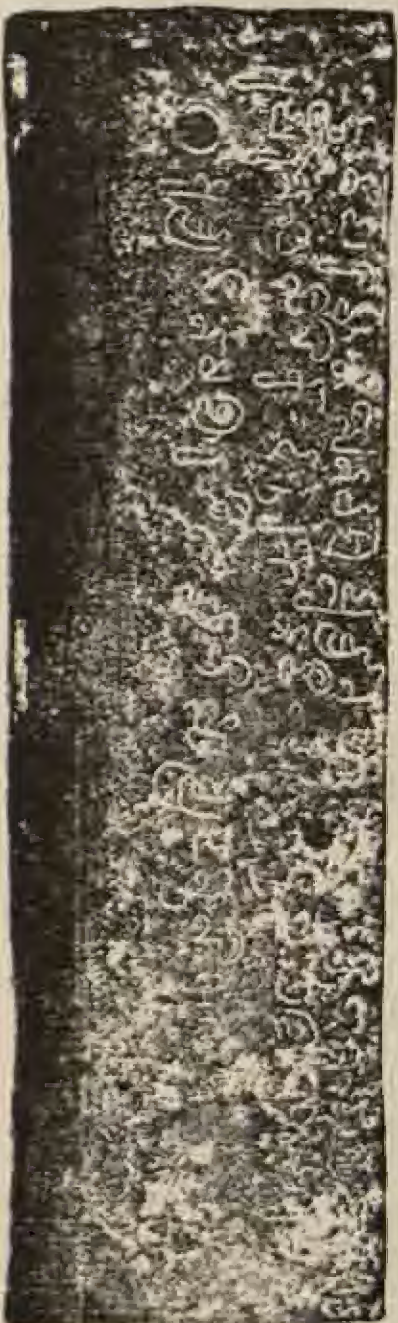
Scale : Nine-tenths



५६

11

12



10

12



## No. 10—FRAGMENTARY YAJVAPĀLA INSCRIPTION FROM NARWAR

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 14.9.58)

The inscription, preserved in the Gwalior Museum, was copied by me when I visited Gwalior about the end of 1952 for attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress. It was registered as No. 146 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, Appendix B. The record, stated to have been found at Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State, is as yet unpublished; but a short notice of it was published by M. B. Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V.S. 1952, No. 1. Garde's note was utilised by H. N. Dvivedi in his *Gwalior Rājya ke Abhilekh*, No. 704. It has been supposed that the inscription was engraved during the reign of Āsallādōva of the Yajvapāla dynasty of Narwar. Actually, however, the record belongs to the time of Āsalla's son Gōpāla whose known dates range between 1279 and 1289 A.D.

The inscription is engraved on the excavated bed of a squarish stone slab, the four sides of which are raised. There are 18 lines of writing in the record, the inscribed area covering a space about 19½ inches long and about 14 inches high. The inscription is incomplete. The last line, which contains the concluding part of verse 22, ends with the first six syllables of a new stanza; but the rest of this verse was not engraved on the stone. It may be supposed that, as in the case of the Ajmer inscription edited above,<sup>1</sup> the writing was continued on a separate slab. But there is some evidence to show that such was not the case. It is interesting to note that there is enough space on the stone below the last line of the record to accommodate several lines of writing. It is clear therefore that the original idea was to engrave on the stone a complete *prastāvi* of the type known from four other inscriptions of the Yajvapāla age, preserved in the Gwalior Museum and edited by us elsewhere in this journal,<sup>2</sup> and that, for some reason unknown to us, the engraver gave up the writing after finishing about three-fourths of the work. The reason of course may have been a sudden calamity that befell the persons concerned.

The inscription is not only incomplete but also fragmentary. A layer of stone has peeled off from a considerable area of the surface of the slab. This has resulted in the effacement of a number of letters in all the lines. The number of lost letters is the highest in lines 7-9. The record is a *prastāvi* written in more than 22 stanzas in various metres. The verses are consecutively numbered. In the absence of the concluding part of the inscription, the purpose underlying the composition of the eulogy and its incision on the stone slab cannot be determined; but, considering the fact that the record closely resembles, in all respects, the four other *prastāvis* of the Yajvapāla age recording the excavation of step-wells, it may be suggested that the present inscription was also designed to serve a similar purpose. Indeed it is possible to think that the author of the eulogy was the Māthura Kāyastha poet Śivanābhaka who is known to have composed several other *prastāvis* of the reigns of the Yajvapāla kings Gōpāla and Gaṇapati. The known dates of these rulers range between 1279 and 1300 A.D. Verses 1-2 containing adoration to the gods Murāri (Viṣṇu) and Saṃbhū (Śiva) refer to the reflection of the former on the cheek of Lakṣmī and of the latter on the ear-ring of Śivā (Kālī). The idea contained in the first of the two stanzas is actually found in verse 2 of a *prastāvi* composed by Śivanābhaka during the reign of Yajvapāla Gōpāla in V.S.

<sup>1</sup> Vm. XXIX, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 31 ff.; vol. XXXII, pp. 334 ff.



1339 (1283 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Then again the expression *saurājya-hāsura* occurs in the description of the city of Nalapura in verse 3 of another *prakāśit* composed by the same poet during the reign of the same monarch in V.S. 1336 (1281 A.D.). The word *saurājya* occurs in a similar context in verse 9 (line 9) in the present record also. These facts coupled with the other that the eulogy under study was composed during Gōpāla's reign seems to suggest that the same poet Śivanābhaka was responsible for its composition.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Devanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble those of other Yajvapāla inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The letter *ḍ* has been indicated by the sign for *r*. The orthography of the record is characterised by the occasional use of the class nasal and final *ṃ* instead of *anusvām*, and reduplication of consonants after *r*. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning, the whole record is written in verse.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the expression *siddhiḥ* and the passage *Ganapati-prasāddhāt(dāt)*. The above is followed by two stanzas in adoration of the gods Murāri (Viṣṇu) and Śambhu (Śiva), which have already been referred to above.

Verses 3-9 describe the kings of the Yajvapāla dynasty of Nalapura from Chāhaḍa to Gōpāla. (Verse 3 apparently introduces the hill-fort of Nalapura (Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapālas since the days of Chāhaḍa.) Unfortunately the passage containing the name is lost; but the reference to *Naishadha-kṣhītiya*, alluding to the epic king Nala of the Nishadina, leaves us in no doubt about the author's intention. The stanza also contained the name of the *viśhaya* (i.e. district or territory) of which the above fortress was the capital. The reference is to the Yajvapāla kingdom or the district round Narwar which seems to be mentioned as *Pādūna-lakṣha-viśhaya* in another epigraphic record.<sup>3</sup> The restoration *Pādūnilakṣha* in the present epigraph suits the metre of the stanza in question.

(The name of king Chāhaḍa in verse 4 is only partially preserved; but the name of his son Nṛivarman in the following stanza (verse 5) can be clearly read. An interesting information about Nṛivarman, which is known for the first time from the present record, is that he defeated the king of Dhārā and exacted tribute from him. Since the latest known date of Chāhaḍa and the earliest of his grandson Āsalla have both been read as V.S. 1311=1254-55 A.D., Nṛivarman, son of Chāhaḍa and father of Āsalla, may be supposed to have ruled for a few months in 1254-55 A.D.<sup>4</sup> He thus appears to have been a contemporary of the Paramāra king Jaitugi (known dates between V.S. 1292=1236 A.D. and V.S. 1300=1243 A.D.) or his younger brother and successor Jayasimha-Jayavarman (known dates between V.S. 1311=1256 A.D. and V.S. 1331=1274 A.D.) of Dhārā and Māṇḍu.<sup>5</sup> There is a passage in verse 5, which seems to suggest that the Yajvapāla monarch was helped in his encounter with the king of Dhārā by three persons named Skanda, Chandra and Parita, who were possibly his generals.

(Verse 6 introduces Nṛivarman's son Āsalla although the name is not fully preserved. The stanza appears also to have contained the name of his queen who gave birth to his son and successor

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 30, text lines 2-3, verse 2.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 34, text line 3.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 334 ff. and Plates; above, pp. 31 ff. and Plates.

<sup>4</sup> See No. 139 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1932-53, App. B; above, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> R. D. Banerji speaks of Chāhaḍa's coins of V.S. 1312 (1255 A.D.) and 1316 (1259 A.D.) and concludes, "Nṛivarman did not reign at all, because the reigns of Chāhaḍa and his grandson Āsalla or Āsala overlap" (*Num. Suppl.*, No. XXXIII, p. 53). If this is correct, Nṛivarman's achievement has to be referred to the reign of his father Chāhaḍa. The language of the inscriptions, however, seems to suggest that Nṛivarman ruled between Chāhaḍa and Āsalla.

<sup>6</sup> Bhandarkar's List, p. 397; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 140.



Gōpāla. Her name is lost; but another inscription<sup>1</sup> of the family gives it as Lāvanyadēvi. The next stanza (verse 7) refers to the person who succeeded to Āsalla's position [as king] (cf. *lābhā tasya padam*). The reference is undoubtedly to Gōpāla who was the son and successor of Āsalla. But the name cannot be traced in the extant parts of any of the three stanzas (verse 7-9) that describe the Yajvapāla monarch during whose rule the inscription was engraved.

Verse 10 introduces **Gōpagiri** (Gwalior) where the family, to which the hero of the *prāśastī* belonged, originally resided, while the next stanza (verse 11) speaks of a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from that place and belonging to the Hārita *gotra*. Verse 12 describes Śyāma of the family mentioned in the foregoing stanza. He is compared with Śyāma-vaṣa or the sacred banyan tree at Prayāga near Allahabad, U.P.<sup>1</sup> The next stanza (verse 13) speaks of Bhuvanapāla who seems to have been the son of Śyāma, although no word indicating the relationship between Śyāma and Bhuvanapāla can be traced in the extant parts of verses 12-13. An interesting information about Bhuvanapāla is that he is stated to have been seated on half of the throne of king Bhōja of **Dhārā**. The expression *mantra-bāhūt* used in this context seems to suggest that he was a minister of that monarch. It is difficult to determine whether the word *mantrika* in a damaged passage of the stanzas suggests that he was Bhōja's chief minister. As will be seen below, Bhuvanapāla's great-grandson was a contemporary of Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa (c. 1231-54 A.D.). Bhōja of Dhārā, contemporary of Bhuvanapāla, therefore cannot be identified with Paramāra Bhōja II who ruled about the close of the 13th century. He seems to be none other than Bhōja I (c. 1010-55 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty. But there is an interval of nearly two centuries between Paramāra Bhōja I and Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa. This seems to be too long a period to be covered by four generations only, even if it may not be altogether impossible.

Bhuvanapāla's son was Vāsudēva (verse 14) whose son was Dāmōdara (verse 15). The name of Dāmōdara's son is lost in verse 16; but he is stated to have been the *Kṣatradhyaksha* (treasurer) of king Chāhaḍa, apparently the Yajvapāla king of that name. Verse 17 states that Dāmōdara's son visited Kāśī, Gayā and other holy places, while the next stanza (verse 18), mentions his wife named Dharmā who was the daughter of Pithana. The lady Dharmā is stated in verse 19 to have given birth to five sons. The first of these five brothers is described in verses 20-22, verse 19 to have given birth to five sons. The first of these five brothers is described in verses 20-22, unfortunately his name is lost; but he is described as a poet and an expert in *rachita-varjans* (i.e. description of families). He is further stated to have been a servant of king Gōpa, no doubt the description of families). He is further stated to have been a servant of king Gōpa, no doubt the description of families). He is further stated to have been a servant of king Gōpa, no doubt the description of families).

Yajvapāla king Gōpāla who was the great-grandson of Chāhaḍa. It is interesting to note that, while the father was a contemporary of Chāhaḍa (c. 1231-54 A.D.), the son was serving under Gōpāla (c. 1279-89 A.D.).

The concluding part of the last line of the inscription, as already indicated above, gives us only the first six syllables of a stanza which was expected to be verse 23 of the eulogy under study. It was meant to introduce the younger brother of the eldest of Dharmā's five sons.

It seems that one of the five sons of Dharmā was the hero of the *praśasti* under study. This is not only suggested by the fact that Dharmā's sons were contemporaries of the reigning Yajvapāla king but probably also by the mention of their mother in the eulogy. In the *praśastis* composed during the reigns of Gōpāla and Gaṅgaṇpati generally the mother of the hero is mentioned and not his grandmother or great-grandmother.<sup>2</sup> But who the hero was cannot be determined. A guess may, however, be hazarded in this connection. We have seen that the eulogy was possibly composed by the poet Śivanābhaka who is described in a stanza found in several records as a member of a

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34, text line 8.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 24, text line 8.  
<sup>3</sup> For the mention of *Syllima* in literary works like the *Bhāṣya* (II.65, 23), Kālidāsa's *Maṅgavatsa* (XIII, 43) and Bhavabhūti's *Uttaradandaśālā* (Aśka I), see *ABORI* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 87 ff.

\* There is only one case of the mention of the hero's grandmother and none mentioning his great-grandmother.



Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior and as the son of *Kāśīdhya* Lōhata and the grandson of Dāmōdara. The hero of the eulogy under study belonged likewise to a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior, and he was the son of a *Kāśīdhya* (name lost) of king Chāhada and the grandson of Dāmōdara. It appears possible that the name of Chāhada's *Kāśīdhya* which is lost in our record was really Lōhata which suits the metre of the stanza in question. Thus it seems that the present eulogy was composed by Śivanābhaka in order to record a pious deed of one of his brothers or of his own self. We have seen how verses 20-22 describe the eldest of Dharmā's sons as a poet who was an expert in describing genealogies and as one engaged in the service of the Yajvapāla king Gōpāla, although the name of the person is lost. It is, however, interesting to note that the description suits very well the poet Jayasimha, son of Lōhata and the author of a *prastāva* composed in V.S. 1350 (1293 A.D.) during the reign of Gōpāla's son Gaṇapati.

Pithana, maternal grandfather of the hero of our *prastāva*, cannot be identified. The name, however, reminds us of Pithana of the Gaudahara Kshatriya community, who was the father of Dēvadhara, the chief minister of Āśalla according to a *prastāva* of Gōpāla's time, composed by Śivanābhaka in V.S. 1336 (1279 A.D.). The identification of the two Pithanas is possible if it can be believed that the Māthura Kāyasthas and the Gaudahara Kshatriyas intermarried between themselves.

Among geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kāśī and Gayā are famous holy places. As already indicated above, verse 3 seems to refer to the hill-fort of Narwar as the capital of the territory called Pādōnalaksha-vishaya which may have been the name applied to the dominions of the Yajvapālas.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres : verse 1 *Upajāti* ; verses 2, 4, 6-7, 9-12, 15-20 *Anuśṭubh* ; verses 3, 5 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 8, 13-14, 21 *Arjū* ; verse 22 *Gāthā*]

1. Siddham<sup>1</sup> || Siddhiḥ || Gaṇapati-prasādhāt(dāt) || N[ī-ān]ru(bu)la-syā(syā)[mā-ru]chih  
kapōḥ punā[tu] Lakṣmī[my]āḥ prativih(hih)vi(h)ṭṭo vah | sphuran-mayūkhē [vi]malā Murā<sup>2</sup>

2. [rīp-u] ——— [ṛḍa]m-ināḥ || {1} .1<sup>3</sup> tamasā [vā(bā)]ḥmā sphuranti [sthiti-ā]jñā  
[kum]ḍalē vas-tanur-va-āpi Śivāyā [dis(āa)tām] śi[va]n(vam) || 2

3. [Pā] ——— [vishay-aika]-vibhūshagaṃ y[ō] yō N[ai]śhadha-kah[i]tipa-kīrtti-vikāśa-hētuḥ |  
yaḥ śrēyaśm cha vibhavasya cha pātram-akam-āṣ(t)ā sa [ś]rīṅga<sup>4</sup>-kha-

4. ch[ī]ta ——— d[ī]h<sup>5</sup> || 3 Tasmān-abhūta-pūrvō-bhūch-Chā . . . . i-patī<sup>6</sup> | bhūja-sa-  
(sau)śrīya-nirddhūta-prat[ī]pa-bhaṭa-pauro[ḥ]ḥ || 4 Tasmād-abhūd-ama[ī]a<sup>7</sup>

\* Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 237, text lines 20-21, verse 22.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions. This is No. 146 of *A.B. Ep.*, 1932-33, App. B.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> There is an unnecessary *doṣa* here together with a cancellation mark intended to cover a little blank space at the end of the line.

<sup>5</sup> The word lost here seems to be *śamōkari* qualifying the word *tanu*.

<sup>6</sup> The name may possibly be restored as *Pādōnalaksha*.

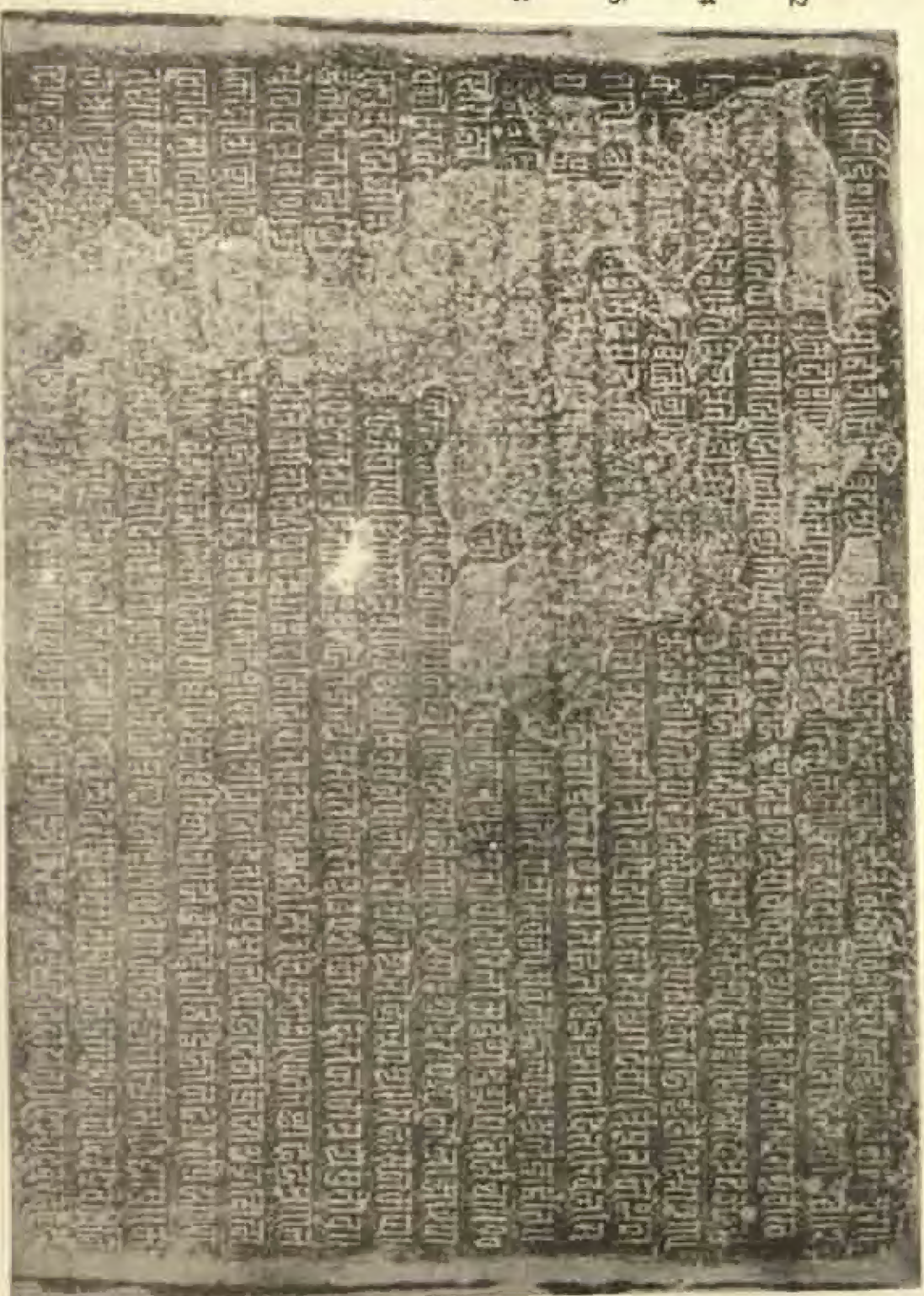
<sup>7</sup> There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.

<sup>8</sup> The passage may be conjecturally restored as *\*chāśa-sa Nal-abhūch-adrī*.

<sup>9</sup> The damaged passage may be restored as *\*Chāśaśā prithivī-patī*.



# FRAGMENTARY YAJVAPALA INSCRIPTION FROM NARWAR



Scale : Two-fifths



- 5 k[rtir-]—[h] śrīmā]n=Nrivarmma-nripa[ti]h] ..... [1\*] [tri]-Śka[m]da-  
Chandras-Paritah] [acirih[ū]ya yēna Dhār-ādhipād=api karō jagrīh-<sup>1</sup>tidriptāt || 5
- 6 Tat[ō-bhū]ch-ehhri ... [1]ah<sup>2</sup> sūhīh-sa[ū]hāra] ... [1\*] ... [pa]vitr-ābhūd-yasya kīrtir-iva  
priyā || 6 Lābhō tasva padam kīrti-pūta-nihē<sup>3</sup>.
- 7 aha ... h<sup>4</sup> | ..... [1\*] ... jal-ū[r]dra-kar-āgrah pratihata<sup>5</sup>-vigraha[ghna] sad-ōdit-  
ākhila-si-
- 8 ddh[ū]h | asti] ..... [1 3\*] ... Itim nīti-sampannām sa-vanām-ava-ō[va]vā[ī]vā[ī]lām  
| alamkurva[rvva]ti<sup>6</sup>
- 9 saurāja ..... [1 2\*] ... [ās] ..... [sa]rvvamahgalah | asti Gōpagirir-nāma durgō  
Durgāpatir-yathā || 10
- 10 Vainō dhar-āvata[m]h<sup>7</sup> ..... uēna [cha | tēhāt] Hār[ta]-gōtrāp[ā]h] Māthurāpām  
yasō-rthinām[nām] || 11 Ōngah āchir api svāmō nāmnā Śyā.
- 11 mō va[ō] yathā [rū] ..... [yō] h[ri]ta-tāpō-rthinām-ahūt || 12 Adhyāsta Bhuvanapālō Dhār-  
ādhiśasya Bhōja-bhūpaśya | sūhāsana[m]-apy-a<sup>8</sup>
- 12 rddham uachit[r]a-va(ha)lān mukh[y]a ..... || 13 Va(Ba)lavān-uddh[ri]ta-gōtrah [pa]ra-  
hita-kriyā[ah]n samatam niratah | upasamit-āhita-nāgas-tasya sūtō Vā.
- 13 sudēvō-bhūt || 14 [Kri] ..... prītir-gōtr-ānandī v[ri]sha-sthitih | Dāmōdarō-bhavat-tasmād-  
apūrvvō-mita-vikramah || 15 Tataś-Chāhaḍa-bhūpāla-
- 14 kōś-ādhyakabō viśu ... [1\*] ... [e-ta]nayō jajdō kutumva(ha)-bhara-sāsahih || 16 Kāśi-  
Gay-ādi-tiribhāshu māna-pūmō-ōdaka-kriyāh | k[ri]tv-ātma[tmā]
- 15 mōchitō yēna [tri] ..... [māt] || 17 T[ē]na] Dharm-ābhidhā dharmyā sādhi Pithana-  
putrikā | upayēnō kutumvā(h-ā)rthi-dvij-ānanda-parā priyā || 18
- 16 Tasyāh samāna-ā<sup>9</sup> ..... [tō]-rthinām[nām] | utpādītāh sūtāh prājñāh pañcha Pad-  
chēshupā samāh || 19 Tēhām-ādyah k[ri]t-ābhīyāsō vidyāsu saka-

<sup>1</sup> The damaged passage may be restored as śrīmāc-Asullāh.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the queen is lost. But No. 141 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1932-33, App. B., gives it as Lārapadēvi (cf. above, p. 34, line 8). There is, however, no space for five syllables here. The passage may be conjecturally restored as Lārapadēvi-patir-ā<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading may be dīa-mūhāh.

<sup>4</sup> The word has here may be dāna.

<sup>5</sup> There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.

<sup>6</sup> There is an unnecessary double danda here together with a cancellation mark.

<sup>7</sup> The expression appears to be āhar-ānandīna. The passage may be conjecturally restored as "mānāh  
va-bhāh-āh-ānandīna.

<sup>8</sup> There is an unnecessary danda here with a cancellation mark.

<sup>9</sup> The expression may be conjecturally restored as "uddha-dhāh.

<sup>10</sup> The name is lost here. It may be Lāhāh.

<sup>11</sup> The damaged word may be restored as "śūhāh.



- 17 kṣav=api | ayy=a ..... [t-āgraṇi] || 20 Mānita-mārggaṇa-vṛiṇ[da]ḥ kavir=aamin vanhā-  
 varṇṇaṇḥ nīpuṇaḥ | śiḥyair=iva pravah(bam)dhair=ni-  
 18 rdōshair-yō yaśa[e-tēnā || 21]..... kāryāṇu Gōpa-bhūpasya | śāstrē āstrē nīpuṇaḥ  
 ju[chi]r-anu[kūla]ḥ priyamvadō datā || 22 Tad-avarajō hpi<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the *prashasti* was not engraved although there is space for several lines after this. The last closure of the line (i.e. *hpi*) may have begun a personal name like *Hrishikēśa*, *Hridayān*, etc. The metre of this stanza cannot be determined.



## No. 11 NOTE ON KALYANA INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1248

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.4.1958)

The inscription under study was originally found in the locality called Yellanagar in Kalyāṇa, the ancient capital of the Chālukyas and Kalachuris in the Gulbarga District of the former Hyderabad State. It is now preserved in the Husaini Bārgāh in the fort at Kalyāṇa. The inscription has been twice edited, once by Mr. R. M. Joshi in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, 1936-37, pp. 43-45, and again by Mr. P. B. Desai in the pages of this journal, above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 165-70 and Plate. Unfortunately the writing and engraving of the inscription are both very careless and some of the letters are damaged. There are moreover numerous errors in the language.<sup>1</sup> The text is thus very difficult to decipher and interpret. It is therefore no wonder that both the published transcripts of the epigraph are full of errors and consequently the text has not been properly understood. The readings of the verses in the second half of the record are particularly unsatisfactory in the published transcripts and the editors have disregarded both the metre and the sense.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī; but the letter *ā* has been written in line 30 in its early Southern form. It seems that *ḍ* has been indicated by the sign for *s*.

The inscription is written in both prose and verse. Lines 1-14 contain a document in a few sentences in prose, and verses 1-4 in the *Śārdūlavikrīṭa* metre in lines 14-29 record the main object of the epigraph. This part is in continuation of the prose section referred to above. There is also a fifth stanza in *Anuśṭup* in lines 29-30 mentioning a new fact. The last two lines of the record (lines 31-32) are damaged.

The introductory part in lines 1-8 gives the date: **Saka 1248, Kṛhaya** (called Akahaya in verse 2), **Kārttika-śudī 15, Monday (November 10, 1326 A.D.)**, when *Mahārājādhirāja Suratīya(Sultān) Mshamada* (Muhammad ibn Tughluq Shāh of Delhi, called *Suratrāja Mahimada* in verse 1) was the reigning monarch, his *Mahāpradhāna* Malikā Kāmādina (Malik Qivāmaddin Qutluq Khān) was the viceroy of *Mahārāshṭra-maṇḍala* and the latter's subordinate Khōjā Ahamada (Khwāja Ahmad) surnamed Jagdamalanantara was the *Sydrumallika* (Persian *Sār Malik*, Collector of Taxes) at *Kalyāṇapura*. The office of the viceroy is indicated by saying that the *Mahāpradhāna* was conducting the affairs associated with the imperial seal (or, carrying the imperial seal, according to verse 1).

The purpose of the inscription is introduced in the following sentences. It is stated, that, during the troubled days associated with [the rebellion of] Vāhavaddina (Bahāuddin Gurahāp, son of the Sultān's father's sister), the people of Kargāta discontinued the worship of the god Madhukāśvara, installed in a temple at the city of Kalyāṇa as indicated more clearly in verse 1 below. The reason behind this discontinuation of the god's worship is not stated in the record. It may have been due to the priests and devotees of the deity having fled from the city in trouble. It is difficult to ascribe it to the desecration of the god by the Muslims as in that case the Śivaliṅga would have most probably been broken to pieces. The language of the record seems to suggest that the old Śivaliṅga was re-installed for worship which had been stopped.<sup>2</sup> Obviously when

<sup>1</sup> We are amused at Joshi's remark that 'the language is grammatically correct'.

<sup>2</sup> If the expression *pranāś-pratāpita*, used in this connection, may be taken to mean installation of another Śivaliṅga in the place of an old one, the passage *anulāpaga-śivadeva . . . śamāhā* in verse 1 may suggest that the old *Līṅga* called Madhukāśvara had been broken and that the attempt was for its replacement by a new one. But the statement of fact in the passage *śivamāśa śamāhāśivam* (cf. lines 9-10) merely speaks of the stoppage of worship and not of any damage to the *Līṅga*.



better days returned to the Kalyāṇa area after the revolution, there was a controversy among the citizens on the restoration of the god's worship. Some of them (probably the local Hindus) argued that the god should be purified at his place [for the re-introduction of his worship]. But there was another group of citizens (probably Musalmans) who were opposed to the re-installation of the deity.<sup>1</sup> Then *Thakkura Mālā* (Malla), son of *Thakkura Naipapāla*, went to the *Khōjā* (i.e. *Ahamada*) and represented the case. The *Khōjā* granted his request saying that the worship of the deity was the religious obligation of the supplicant and the members of his community (*kula-dharma*) and that therefore the deity could be re-installed. *Mālā*, son of *Naipapāla*, is mentioned in the versified part of the record as *Malla*, son of *Naipāsīṇha*. The word *naipa* in the name *Naipapāla* or *Naipāsīṇha* stands for Sanskrit *naṣaṇa* while *Mālā* is the same as Sanskrit *Malla* or *Mallaka*.

The interpretation of the above section of the record offered by us here requires some elaboration since both Mr. Joshi and Mr. Desai have read and interpreted the text differently. Some of their views are quoted in the following analysis while their readings have been quoted generally in the foot-notes to our transcript of the inscription.

As regards the latter part of the above section of the inscription, Joshi's transcript contains several errors while his faulty translation runs as follows: "When at Kalyāṇa, Khwāja Ahmad... (Shahābuddin, etc.) appointed by him (i.e. Kāmadīna), in Karpātaka, during the rebellion, the vicinity of the god Madhukēśvara was awaiting consecration. Efforts were being made (!) ; desires as to why the deity should not be installed were whispered (!)". What he has understood from the text is given elsewhere in the following words: "Due to a mutiny, the local temple was defiled. Attempts were made to find out the image and re-install it in the former place. Nāpāl, the son of Thākura Malapo, perhaps out of hesitation consulted the local Qāzī who spoke as follows: 'That is your religious and family duty and you should act upto it' ....". These statements are not all correct. Desai's interpretation of this part of the record is equally erroneous. Thus he says, "It seems that, in connection with the revolution (*viparyaya*) caused by Bāhabadīnu, the officer of Kalyāṇa, along with Janḍamala, went to Syāra Mallika. This gave room for confusion which was taken advantage of by the unruly elements who seem to have caused serious damage to the temple of Madhukēśvara and even broken the Śivaliṅga. Soon after this, some devotees of the god from the Karpāja section of the population appear to have made a premature offer to embellish the temple. The text of the relevant passage after correction stands as *Kārnāja-Bhakti asṭjana-buddhiḥ kṛtā*. But this move was not encouraged by the trustees of the temple. After sometime when the governor of the town returned, a representation was made to him in the matter of re-installing the deity and resumption of ceremonial worship as usual by Thakkura Malla (Māla), son of Vaināsīṇha or Vainapāla, who was in charge of the management of the temple. The request was granted by the governor in consultation with his secretary (named Janḍadāsa, probably the same as Janḍamala)." Most of these statements appear to be unsupported by the language of the record as read by us.

In the first place, lines 7-8 appear to read *Kalyāṇapurē tam(tan)-nīrō(rū)pitā-Skō(Khō)jā-Ahamada-Janḍamalantārē Syāramallika(ten)m gata(tē)*, 'when Ahamada-Janḍamalantara, appointed by him (i.e. Kāmadīna), was the Syāramallika at Kalyāṇapura.' *Janḍamalantara* seems to be the surname or designation of Khwāja Ahmad, while *Syāramallika* seems to be derived from the Persian words *sūr*, 'tax' and *malik*, 'a master' in the sense of 'Collector of Taxes'. Thus there seems to be no reference to Ahmad having gone to Syāra Mallika in the company of Janḍamala. Secondly,

<sup>1</sup> It is not altogether impossible that the controversy was between the local Śaivās and the members of some other Hindu community such as the Vaiṣṇava. But normally a Hindu community is not expected to object to the re-introduction of the worship of a deity by another Hindu community.



the next sentence in lines 8-10 reads: *Vāha[va]dīnu-viparyayē Madhukēśvarādēva-sam(sām)-vaddhī[or sannidhau] Kārṇāja-lōka(kaiḥ) aṣṣana[ṣi] vudhikṛitam*. Desai's emendation of the last portion as *aṣṣana-buddhī[ḥ] kṛitā*, 'made a premature offer to embellish [the temple]', is unsatisfactory in view of the passage *Madhukēśvarādēva-sānnidhyē* (or 'sannidhau'), 'before Madhukēśvarādēva (i.e. the god Madhukēśvara)', occurring in the same context, although he reads it wrongly. In our opinion, the intended reading for *vudhikṛitam* is *buddhikṛitam* in which *buddhu* means 'stopped'. The root *aṣṣ* means 'to celebrate', 'to honour', and *aṣṣana* may indicate 'celebration', 'worship'. It therefore seems to us that all celebrations in the presence of the god Madhukēśvara were stopped by the people during the troubled days of Bahāuddin's rebellion. This necessitated the purification and re-installation of the god in his old temple and that is exactly what is referred to again not only in the following section of the prose part but also in the versified section that follows:

The third sentence reads: *jalpanṭa : dēva[ḥ\*] [śā]dhanīya[ḥ\*] tatra kiṁ : na hi*. In this, *jalpanṭa* is apparently a mistake for *jalpanā*, '[the people] are talking'. This means to say that there was a talk or controversy among the people. The conflicting views in the controversy were: *dēva[ḥ] śādhaniyā[ḥ] tatra kiṁ ? na hi*, "Should the deity be purified [for re-installation] there [in his temple]?" "Certainly not." As already indicated above, it is possible to think that, in this controversy, the Hindu citizens of Kalyāṇapura were in favour of the re-installation of the god while the Muslims of the place were opposed to the idea. This state of affairs, apparently referring to the time after the *viparyaya*, led to the efforts of Malla or Mālā, son of Naiṣaṇḍha or Naiṣasinhā, for the re-installation of the god.

The following section of the prose part reads: *tatra tasmīn [nī\*]ja-sthānē pūjar-āpi dēva-sthāpana-pūjana-vīdhayē* (or '*viśhaya*') *sah(saḥ)-[bhakṣa(kṣa)]ra-Naiṣapāla-suta-ṭhākura-Mālā[ḥ](bhakṣura-Mallēna) Shō(Khō)jā-samkṣha(samakṣham) udyāsaḥ [kṛi]ta[ḥ]\*] Khōjā[na\*] prasādum(daḥ) dattam-(tataḥ) | yuvamākaśa kula-dharmō vartatē | tat-karagīyam(yam) |* The meaning of the section is quite clear. Mālā (Malla) appeared before the Khōjā and made an effort in regard to the re-installation of the god in his old temple and the re-introduction of his worship. The Khōjā favoured him with his permission. In case the controversy was really between the local Hindus and Muslims, the Khōjā was on the side of justice and fairplay in giving this permission against the feeling of the local Muslims. Praise is certainly due to him for this act of courage in those days of bigotry and religious fanaticism.

As regards the contents of the versified portion following the prose part discussed above, Joshi says, "... Kalyāṇa, with its increasing glory, had the chariot of Śambhu moving freely. Naiṣasinhā's son, the best of the Kāyasthas, who was perhaps a worshipper of Viṣṇu, did not like the idea. In 1248 Śaka, cyclic year Kāhaya, on the full-moon day in Kārttika, when at Śāhūchala god Ṭhākura is generally worshipped, Madhukēśvara was installed." These statements are based mostly on wrong readings of the text. Desai on the other hand thinks that verses 1-2 summarise the main facts stated in the prose part. This is also based on misunderstanding.

The first four of the five stanzas in the second half of the inscription repeat only a part of what we have in the prose section analyzed above and record the result of the Khōjā's permission accorded to Mālā (Malla) in respect of the re-installation of the god Madhukēśvara and the re-introduction of his worship in his old temple. But the Khōjā is not mentioned and there is only an indirect reference to the stoppage of Madhukēśvara's worship. Verses 1-2 state that, in the night of the day of the moon (i.e. Monday) which was the full-moon day of Kārttika in the cyclic year Akāhaya (the same as Kāhaya mentioned in the prose part), when the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇī, in the Śaka year counted by 8, the 4 seas, the 2 *ayanas* and 1 (i.e. 1248), when *Suratāṇa Mahimada* (the same as *Suratāṇa Mahamada* of the prose part) was ruling the earth and Kāmudīn was his viceroy, the god Madhukēśvara was re-installed at Kalyāṇanagara by Kāyastha



Naipasaṁha's son Malla who had become ashamed at the [possible] calamity of Śambhu (i.e. the Śivaliṅga called Madhukēśvara) being broken away [in the state of neglect from which he was then suffering]. It may be pointed out that it was not the intention of the author to repeat in this part anything from the prose section excepting the date and that the mention of the reigning monarch and his viceroy is in the same connection. The installation ceremony took place at night, which fact is of course not mentioned in the date of the record given in the prose part. The verses give the additional information that the *nakṣatra* on the date in question was Rōhiṇī.

Verse 3 is in praise of the god Mahāśvara (i.e. Śiva in the form of Madhukēśvara) who received re-installation. There is no mention of king Mahāmada or Mahamada in this stanza as suggested by Mr. Desai. The next stanza (verse 4) prays for Madhukēśvara's favour in granting the desires of Malla's heart. Verse 5 speaks of a *dāsana* or grant (probably of land) which was made in favour of Madhukēśvara by a person named Vaijāditya and states that this grant was honoured by certain rulers including one named Uśyatasīṁha who was probably a local chief. Mr. Desai considers this stanza to be a passage in prose and speaks of Vijāditya 'who wrote (i.e. drafted) the charter' and was 'respected by Syara Sīhādārāja'. He further identifies Syara Sīhādārāja with Syara Mallika of line 3.

The last two lines of the inscription, which are damaged, appear to contain some personal names. These persons may have been witnesses to the grant made by Vaijāditya in favour of the deity.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> || evastī śrī-ŚA[k]ṣ 1248 Kshaya-samvatsarē || Kārttikē
- 2 śudī 15 Sōmē || ady-ēha samasta-rāj-āvalī-māl-ālah-
- 3 kṛita-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-suratāpa-Maha-
- 4 madah(da)-rājyē tat-pāda-padmāpajlvirtasarnā<sup>3</sup>-bhāra-{nirū}
- 5 pita-mahāpradhāna-Mallika-Kāmadina(nē) Mahārāshtra-mah-
- 6 dālē samaste-mudrā-vyāpā[rā\*]n paripamthayati [i\*]ty-ēvati kā-
- 7 lē varttanānē Kā(Ka)lyāṇapurē tannirōpita<sup>4</sup>-Shō(Khō)jā<sup>5</sup>-Ahama-
- 8 da-Jaṇḍamalamātarē Syāramallika(tva)ṭh gata(tō)<sup>6</sup> | Vā(Bā)ha[va]ddinnu<sup>7</sup>
- 9 viparyayē Madhukēśvaradēva-sarh(sāh)nidhyē<sup>8</sup> Kārṇāṭa-lōkē(kaiḥ) amja-
- 10 na[dī] vudhikṛitah<sup>9</sup> | jalpamta<sup>10</sup> dēva[h\*] [ś]ōdhanṭya[h\*] tatra kin na hi<sup>11</sup> | ta-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *padm-āpajlvirta-sarnā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *tan-nirōpita*.

<sup>5</sup> Śundhī has been avoided here.

<sup>6</sup> Joshi: Kāṭya Ahamaḍa Jandā [Makhalat] Sōrī Malibatranga; Desai: Ahamaḍa(h\*) Janḍamala(lah) sa(rhō(hā)) [Syā]ra-Mallikarāṭh(h-ārtham or 'h-antikam) gata(hau). The errors in Joshi's transcript have not been noticed in all cases. His readings have often been quoted after removing teleprints and inserting discritical marks. Some minor differences with Desai's transcript also have been left unnoticed.

<sup>7</sup> Joshi: Syāha Sadina; Desai: Sāhadedina. I have doubts whether the letter ś has been used in the name. The mark inside the loop of the letter preceding dī may be a flaw in the stone.

<sup>8</sup> The reading may also be *annidhye*.

<sup>9</sup> Read Śoddhikṛitah. Joshi: sannidhau Kārṇāṭa-lōkē anjamaḥ kṛitah; Desai: anah(nijō(hā)hāyān) Kārṇāṭa-lōkē(kaiḥ) anjama-vudhī(buddhīḥ) kṛitah(nā).

<sup>10</sup> Read *jalpamta*.

<sup>11</sup> Joshi: [patam] na dēva āhāntyaḥ tatra kinmahā; Desai: jalpamta-dēva(tō dāh nī) gata kin na hi (jal. dāhantyaḥ tatra kin mahā).  
śāhantyaḥ tatra kin mahā.







layā pratipadaṁ la[kahmy]ā cīraṁ chī[hn]itā[ḥ\*] [S]ūryā-[Chandra]maṇu Satakra-  
tu-mukhā dēvā labhaṁ[t]ē padaṁ[dam]\* | sō-yam [sarva]-sur-śavarō=pi mahatīm  
daśvā[drishtvā] pratishṭā[m](āh[āhām]\* nijā[ḥ\*] dēva[ḥ] śrī-Madhukēśvarō vitanutān-Ma-  
lasya chītai[tt-ai]śhapāṣ[ḥ(nam)\*] | 4 Śrīma[d-U]ṣyara-si[ḥ\*]h-ādā[dyā]-rāja-pūjita-dai-  
va[vava(vat)]\* | Vaijādityasya likhita[m\*] āśanam\* Ma(Mā)dhukēśvara[m\*] || chha ||  
shakura-Rēdhūnu Viśvatīpa Madhukē[śva]rā\*

\* Joshi : . . . layā pratipadām taryam cīraṁ chīhita; Desai : sathatān ulakā mīhā pratipodam lakhamā cīraṁ chīhitaṁ.

\* Joshi : . . . Sathra(possibly Satakra)tu-mukhā dēva labhamā padaṁ; Desai : kala-ripu-mānu sathatā tūmakkā dēvā labha[m\*]tā padaṁ.

\* Joshi : vāhātā m[āhā]hīm pratishṭā mījā; Desai : mahatām dātā pratishṭā[m\*] mījā[m\*].

\* Joshi : vitanut sarvasya viś-śhapam; Desai : vitanutān-māya viś-śhapam.

\* The intended reading may be dāivatom. Joshi : śrīmatē amaraśīha śhīya prajāta dā (T) . . . ; Desai : śrīmatē ūyara Sūdhāt-rāja-pūjita-(dā)ya(vachā).

\* The word āśana here seems to mean a gift of land. This gift was made by Vaijāditya. The intended word for *likhita* may be *vāhita*. In any case, the writer of the document does not appear to be mentioned in the stanza. If the word *āśana* is taken in the sense of the present document, its epithet in the first half of the verse would be unsuitable.

\* Joshi : īyatā[dityasya] likhita āśanam Madhukēśvara; Desai : Vijādityasya likhita[m\*]m-āśanam Madhukēśvara. In *likhita[m\*]*, the letter *kh* is of the early Southern type.

\* Joshi : . . . Kurur . . . Madhukēśvara; Desai : . . . shakura rēdhānu Viśvatīpa Madhukēśvara . . .

\* Joshi : . . . pūdarūna . . . ; Desai : . . . [vāhita] . . .



# No. 12—NOTE ON MADAKASIRA INSCRIPTION OF DILIPARASA, SAKA 370

K. V. RAMESH, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.2.1958)

The slab which bears this inscription<sup>1</sup> was found in the Chōlacāja temple at Madakasira in the Taluk of the same name in the Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh. The text of the inscription was first published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, Sl. No. 35, and again in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 25.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing occupying an area about 6 feet 10 inches in length and between 2 feet 3 inches and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There is a rectangular space in the centre measuring about 2 feet in length and 1 foot and 3 inches in height, which contains a sculpture in relief depicting a warrior being attended upon by two damsels bearing chowries. The inscription is written in **Kannada** characters and language.

The date of the record is quoted as **Saka 370** (written in words), **Kilaka-sarivatsara** which corresponds to **948-49 A.D.** It refers itself to the reign of the Nolambha-Pallava ruler Diliparasa.

The inscription opens with the word *svasti* followed by the date mentioned above. It records the death of Ponnayya, a servant of Ballaha, in the battle of **Ipili**, in which he is said to have fought with great bravery against **Gajāñkuśa-chōla**. The scene in the rectangular space obviously suggests that, on his death, he was welcomed by celestial damsels in heaven. The epigraph further states that Ponnayya was the son of Chikkayya and Achalaba and the younger brother of Śivaya and Bikiyappa. Śivaya is eulogised as the foremost archer in the 32000 country, no doubt meaning Nolambavāḍi. It is also stated that the Nolambha-Pallava chief Diliparasa joined the army of Ponnayya when it was on the march.

Diliparasa has been called *annadhipati-pāṇḍu-mahāśabala*, *Prithivī-rallabha*, *Pallava-kala-tilaka*, *Iyana-nolamban*, etc., like the other rulers of his family. The title *Pallava-Rāma* attributed to the chief in this record is interesting in that it is not known to have been assumed by any other Nolambha-Pallava ruler. The title *Śkarāṅga* was enjoyed both by Diliparasa's father Ayyappa and by Iriva-Nolambha Nollipayya.

Iriva-nolambha Diliparasa was the younger son of Bira-nolambha Ayyappa and ascended the throne on the death of his brother Anniga. The exact date of Diliparasa's accession is not known. On the strength of the Deoli copper-plate inscription<sup>2</sup> of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, dated Saka 862 (940 A.D.), which is the last known inscription to refer to Anniga and in which Anniga is said to have been defeated and reduced to a miserable plight by the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch, and the Hemavati inscription<sup>3</sup> of Diliparasa, dated 912-13 A.D., which is his earliest known inscription, we can only say that Diliparasa occupied the throne sometime between 940 and 942-43 A.D. He was apparently a feudatory of Kṛishṇa III, mentioned as Ballaha in the inscription under study.

A point of interest in the inscription is the mention of a certain **Gajāñkuśa-chōla** against whom the battle of **Ipili** was fought. The epigraph itself does not help us to identify this person. Basing their arguments on the fact that Kṛishṇa III led a expedition against the Chōla country about the time our inscription was set up, scholars have suggested that **Gajāñkuśa-chōla** may have been the Chōla king Parāntaka's eldest son Rājāditya.<sup>4</sup> We know that this Chōla prince was killed in the

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1910, No. 728.

<sup>2</sup> According to some scholars (cf. *Karpatākāḍi Anantamahārāyaṇa*, pp. 217-18), Nollipayya was the son of Diliparasa. Mr. N. S. Rao, however, suggests that Diliparasa and Nollipayya were one and the same chief (*QJMS*, Vol. XLVIII, 1957-58, p. 30).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *QJMS*, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *SI*, Vol. VI, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, Parts II, p. 106; *Karpatākāḍi Anantamahārāyaṇa*, p. 217



famous battle of Takkōlam by Gaṅga Būtuga in the year 949 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, within a few months after the issue of the record under discussion, which seems to have been engraved soon after the battle of Iṭṭi. The battle of Iṭṭi must have been fought at a place to the north of the Gaṅga territory,<sup>2</sup> possibly in the present District of Anantapur. It is thus possible that the modern Ippēru in the Anantapur Taluk was known in early times as Iṭṭi.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to believe that Rājāditya was at this time camping anywhere near Anantapur. On the other hand, we learn from inscriptions<sup>4</sup> that he was stationed with a huge army for a number of years at Tirunāmanallūr in Tirumunaiippāḍināḍu, situated in the present District of South Arcot, obviously with a view to protecting the kingdom from the Gaṅgas.

Following in the footsteps of his enterprising father Āditya I, the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I extended his dominions upto Nellore. But the death of Gaṅga Prithvipati II, his strongest ally in the north, started a series of troubles from which the Chōḷa kingdom suffered throughout Parāntaka's reign. The foremost among the difficulties was created by the usurpation of the Gaṅga throne by Būtuga of the main Gaṅga line. As a result of this, Parāntaka not only lost his hold on the Gaṅgas but had to count them among his enemies.<sup>5</sup> The Vaidumbas, Bāpas and Nolamba-Pallavas were no doubt already in the enemy's camp. But the Gaṅgas were the nearest among Parāntaka's enemies and their king Būtuga was closely related to the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Kṛishṇa III. It is therefore no wonder that Rājāditya was given the task of safeguarding the north-eastern boundaries of the kingdom against the Gaṅgas. It is also apparent from this that Rājāditya could not have been in the Nolamba-Pallava Kingdom unmindful of the more powerful neighbour, Gaṅga Būtuga, who had no reason to be friendly with the expanding power of the Chōḷas.

Who then was this Gajāṅkuśa-chōḷa, if he was not of the family of the Imperial Chōḷas? It is not possible to say anything definite regarding his identity without further light on the subject. But a suggestion may be offered.

The name Gajāṅkuśa seems to indicate that this Chōḷa chief belonged to the family of the Telugu-Chōḷas, probably of the Rēnāḍu branch. In the Velurjālayam plates<sup>6</sup> of the Pallava king Nandivarman III, mention is made of Chōḷa-mahārāja Kumarāṅkuśa. It has been said that this Kumarāṅkuśa belonged to the family of the Rēnāḍu Chōḷas.<sup>7</sup> Balliyachōḷa, the Telugu-Chōḷa chief of Rēnāḍu, who flourished in the ninth century, also enjoyed the title *Kumārāṅkuśa*,<sup>8</sup> and this seems to strengthen the suggestion that Kumarāṅkuśa of Pallava Nandivarman's epigraph belonged to the family of the Rēnāḍu Chōḷas. If this is accepted, we may further conclude that names ending in *āṅkuśa* were popular in the family of the Chōḷas of Rēnāḍu. On this basis, Gajāṅkuśa-chōḷa may be said to have belonged to the same family. The attack on him led by Nolambas Dilhvarasā and the army of Kṛishṇa III seems to have been part of the Rāshtrakūṭa offensive against the Imperial Chōḷas.

<sup>1</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, 1st ed., pp. 157-58.

<sup>2</sup> There was an intervening stretch of Gaṅga territory between the kingdom of the Chōḷas and that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. If the battle was fought further in the south, probably the Gaṅgas and not the Nolamba-Pallavas would have been involved in the conflict.

<sup>3</sup> This village is situated to the north-east of Chōḷasamudram and was within the territory of the Rēnāḍu Chōḷas. It may be that the invading army hurriedly retreated after an intensive encounter and that, on reaching Madakavra within the Nolamba-Pallava kingdom, a hero stone commemorating the death of Ponnayya was erected.

<sup>4</sup> Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.

<sup>5</sup> No doubt the descendants of Prithvipati II continued to be loyal to Parāntaka I and his successors. But with the bulk of the territory, which Prithvipati II had been ruling, now under the control of Būtuga of the main Gaṅga line, their power declined and they counted for nothing in the long period of trouble during which the very foundations of the newly-built Chōḷa empire were so rudely shaken.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 507-10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XV, p. 258.



## No. 13—BHAIRAVAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 17.3.1953)

**Bhairavakonda** is a hill in the Eastern Nallamalai, which extends over a part of the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. Its highest point is about 3000 feet above sea level. At a level about 100 feet down from this point, amidst thick jungle, is an unpretentious temple enshrining a small *liṅga* called Bhairava. The nearest village from which the temple could be reached is Mohidnupuram, a hamlet of Bōgōla, and the temple is situated at a distance of about 5 miles from it. There is a small pond in front of the shrine and, close to it, a much weather-worn image of Gaṇeśa. Another sculpture by the side of this depicts a seated figure with four hands, holding a staff in one of its right hands. Among the other sculptures lying scattered near the temple and mutilated beyond recognition may be mentioned a stone tablet about 2' long and 8" broad depicting labelled images, in relief, of the Seven Mothers (*Saptamātṛikā*) with their characteristic *vāhānās*. The epigraph<sup>1</sup> published here is on a slab near these images.

The inscription, occupying a rectangular area about 11 inches by 23 inches, is engraved on the dressed surface of the slab. The letters are neatly incised and the entire inscription runs to just 10 lines.

The language of the record is Telugu and it is written in archaic characters which may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century. Medial *i* is formed by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter. For this loop formed by an anticlockwise flourish, cf. *li* (line 2) in which the left end of the loop has not been fully extended so as to join the main letter; see also *adi* (line 4) in which the flourish starts from the top of the shaft over *na* and, after sweeping over it in a circle, descends on the other side of it a little further down than where it started, and *ācā* (line 6) in which the sign commences almost with an upright stem over which the loop is formed. A further sharp inward bend of the left end of this loop marks the sign of medial *i*. The vowels *ā* and *e* occur in the words *ācāyā* (line 6) and *Eyuvā* (line 7). Attention may be drawn to the archaic forms of *b* in *bō* showing the tendency to the formation of the open *b*, of *r* formed by a horizontal stroke inside a flattened loop, and of *ā* indicated by an elongated upright curve with its ends opening towards the left and its lower end bent inside. Among orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the use of *s* for *ś* in the names Nandīvara and Daṇḍīvara (lines 4-5) and the use of *r* in place of *ṛ* in the expression *ācārā* (line 8).

The inscription records the setting up of the images of Gaṇapati, Nandīvara and Daṇḍīvara by Kallī-bō. It mentions [Mu]nasaṅga, the son of Eyuvā-ācārā, probably as the sculptor, and ends, with a short sentence in Sanskrit attributing [the engraving of] the document to the same person.<sup>2</sup>

The main interest of the epigraph lies in establishing the identity of the ruler Vikramāditya and the deity Daṇḍīvara mentioned in it. In the absence of any *pradātā* and distinguishing titles or epithets in the epigraph, it is difficult to identify the king. But the internal evidence of the inscription offers some help.

The first sentence of the record states that during the reign of Vikramāditya, Kallī-bō had the [images of] Gaṇapati, Nandīvara and Daṇḍīvara made. In the name of Kallī-bō, the

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep., 1949-50, No. 251.

<sup>2</sup> The Turinella inscription of Vikramāditya I also ends with a sentence in Sanskrit although the main part of the record is in Telugu. See above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160 ff.



suffix *bōḷ*, is the honorific plural of *bōya* and it is found both as *bōḷ* as in the record under review, and as *bōyūḷ* or *bōya*. Generally, in the formation of such names, the prefix indicates a place name, e.g., in *Ātakuru-bōya*, *Kumunūru-bōya*, etc., and the expression as such is construed to stand for the person who held the office of the *bōya* of the place. Sometimes such names are followed by the names of the persons themselves, e.g., *Nāḍukuri-bōya Sarvaśarman*, *Kanpar-bōya Maṇḍaśarman*, etc.<sup>1</sup> It may therefore be suggested that in the expression *Kaḷḷi-bōḷ*, the word *Kaḷḷi* stands for the name of the village of which Gaṇapati was the *bōya* or *bōḷ*.<sup>2</sup> If this were so, a person named Gaṇapati may have caused the images of Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara to be made. But it has to be noticed that there is actually an image of the god Gaṇapati near the inscribed slab. It is therefore more probable that this is one of the images mentioned in the record and that *Kaḷḷi-bōḷ* himself was the author of this and the other two.

Lines 7-9 of the text mention a person named [Mu]ḥasaṅga as the son of Eyu[va]-ścharḷu. This statement is followed by the last sentence of the record, in Sanskrit, attributing the writing (or rather the engraving of the epigraph) to this individual. That this person himself was the sculptor of the images is not ruled out, since his father is referred to by the epithet *ścharḷu* (i.e., *śchāryulu*) which is indicative of the artisan class to which he belonged. The term *śchārī* is the common designation of an artisan, either a carpenter or a mason.

All the three images mentioned in the inscription, viz., Gaṇapati, Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara are lying near the inscribed slab and two amongst them have already been referred to above. About a foot high, in the usual seated posture, with the *māṣaka* as his characteristic *vāhana*, is a much worn-out image of Gaṇapati. By the side of the aforementioned image, there is an equally worn out image of the bull Nandin, which is invariably associated with any temple of Śiva. This is indeed the Nandīśvara referred to in the record. The third image, viz., that of Daṇḍīśvara, is a seated figure with four hands, holding a *daṇḍa* or staff in one of its right hands, the objects held in the other three hands being too worn out to be recognised. However, the seated posture of the image and the unmistakable *daṇḍa* are enough indications for identifying the image as of Daṇḍīśvara referred to in the inscription. It may be recalled that the Māḥapāḍu and Domnara-Nandīyāla plates of the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Puṇyakumāra quote an invocatory verse in praise of Lakuṣṭapāṇi (Lakuṣṭa).<sup>3</sup> *Lakuṣa* or *laguḍa* being a synonym of *daṇḍa*, the identity of Lakuṣṭapāṇi with Daṇḍapāṇi, Daṇḍīśa or Daṇḍīśvara is obvious. As Lakulīśa appears to have been the family deity of a branch of the Telugu-Chōḍas of Rēnāḍu, Vikramāditya to whose reign the record purports to belong was, in all probability, a member of this branch of the family. It has been shown that there was a branch of this family, the members of which bore names ending in *āditya*, such as Vikramāditya, Uttamāditya, Satyāditya, etc. Among them are two kings who bore the name Vikramāditya<sup>4</sup> and were related to each other probably as grandfather and grandson. Judging from the similarity of the names and the provenance and palaeography of the records,<sup>5</sup> it is very likely that Vikramāditya of the record under review is identical with either of these two rulers (more probably the second of the two) of this branch of the Telugu-Chōḍa family the relationship of which to the main branch is, however, still unknown.

If the identification suggested above is accepted, the present epigraph adds one more to the two known lithic records<sup>6</sup> of Vikramāditya. The sculpture of Daṇḍīśvara, identified with Lakuṣṭa, appears to be the earliest known representation of the deity in South India.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 72, text lines 36-40.

<sup>2</sup> The word *bōya*, said to be a derivative of *bāpīya*, stands for an office. *A.H. Ep.*, 1921-22, Part II, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 337 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 288 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 246.

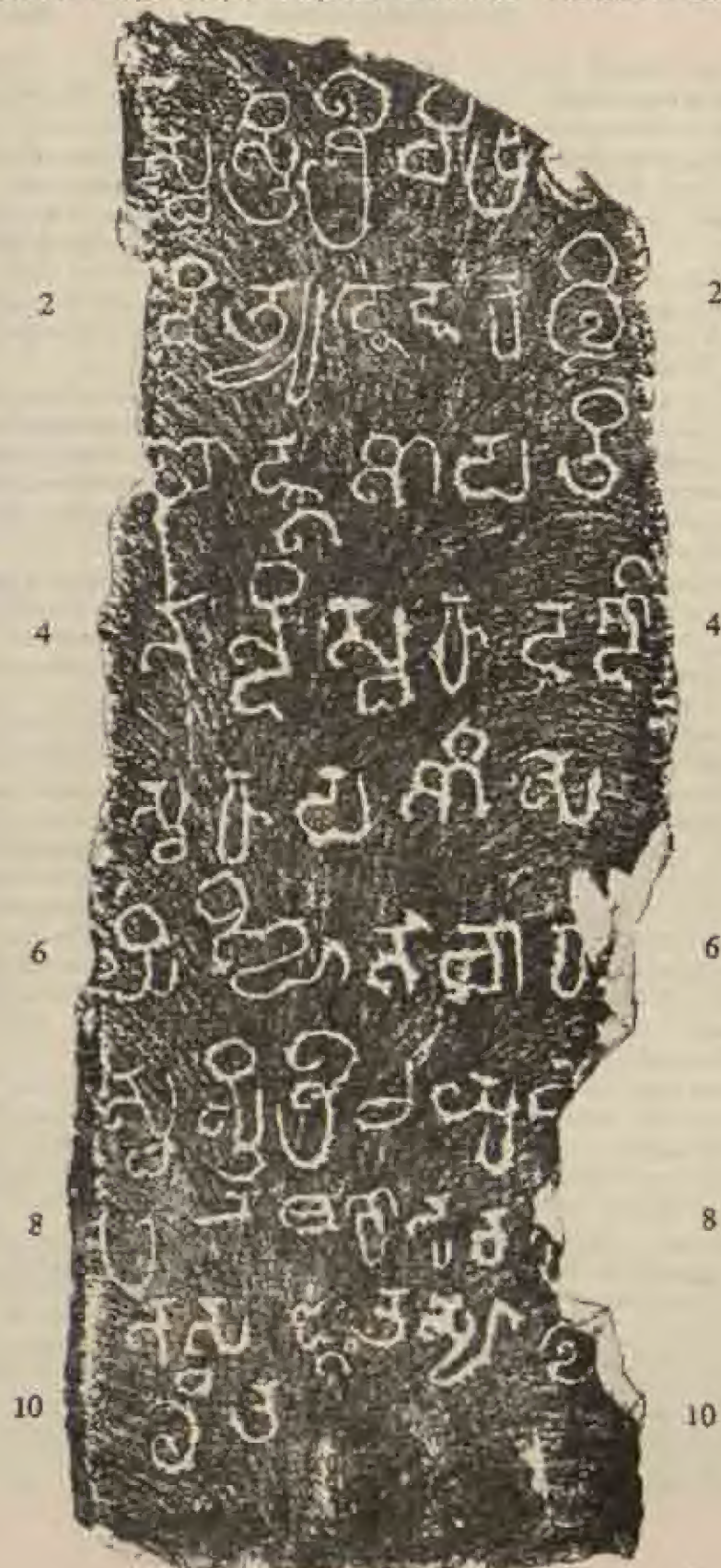
<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Plate facing p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> Loc. cit. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 236.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 249, note 1.



# BHAIRAVAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA



Scale : Three-eighths



## TEXT

- 1 Svasti āri-Vikra[mā-]
  - 2 dityu[-ā] Kalli-
  - 3 bō[-Ganapati]
  - 4 Nandi(ndi)sva(śva)ru Daṇḍi(ṇḍi)-
  - 5 śva(śva)ru paṇi(ṇi)ś-
  - 6 yīśohinavāru [i\*]
  - 7 Svasti āri-Eya[va]-
  - 8 āchara koṇuku [Mu]-
  - 9 nasaṅga [i\*] Tasyā(aya) li-
  - 10 khita[du [i\*]
-



## No. 14—THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CUTTACKMUND

(Received on 30.8.1957)

There is a small stone pillar preserved in the Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa. The pillar is four-sided and measures about  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, 5 inches in breadth and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in thickness. Three of its faces bear each an inscription in three lines. Sometime before the year 1915, the inscribed stone was brought to Baripada by Mr. Kamakhya Prasad Basu, then an officer of the former Mayurbhanj State, from the village of **Pādāgaḥi** in the Udala Sub-division of Mayurbhanj, lying about 4 miles from Udala. There is a temple of the goddess Bhīmā or Bhīmādevī in the forest adjoining the village<sup>1</sup> and the internal evidence of the records would suggest that the stone was secured from the area of the said shrine.

The inscriptions were recently published by Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru in *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, July 1952, pp. 178-79, with Plates. While going through Pandit Rajaguru's article, I felt that most of his views on the inscriptions, including their reading and interpretation, are unacceptable. Thus, in the first place, he assigns the three inscriptions on palaeographical grounds to different periods ranging from the ninth to the eleventh century and apparently considers the record mentioning Dhruvarāja to be the latest amongst the three. I, on the other hand, have no doubt that Dhruvarāja's epigraph is the earliest of the three records and that they may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 10th century A.D. The three sides of the slab bear votive records of three different rulers; but the king, who was responsible for fashioning the stone into a pillar for the definite purpose of incising his record on it, is expected to have used one of the two broader faces (5 inches wide) of the pillar and not one of the narrower side faces ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide). It has to be noticed that Dhruvarāja's inscription occupies a broader face of the pillar, the opposite side at its back remaining blank and the left and right faces bearing the two other inscriptions. It appears that the stone was so placed originally in the temple of a goddess that only the three inscribed faces were visible to the visitors and that at first there was inscription only on its front face, the two side faces being inscribed at later dates. This is also suggested by the fact that, of the three records, Dhruvarāja's inscription is the most neatly and carefully engraved apparently because, as already indicated above, the stone was dressed for the special purpose of engraving his record. Its characters also appear to be somewhat earlier than those of the other two epigraphs. Secondly, according to Pandit Rajaguru, the two other records speak of *Kumāra Dharmarāja* alias *Durgarāja* and *Śatrubhaṇja* respectively. In my opinion, what has been read as *Kumāra-Dharmarāja* is very clearly *Kumāramanjanīya*, so that the person referred to is a king named Kumāravarmān and not a prince named Dharmarāja. Moreover, I do not find the name *Durgarāja* in this record nor the name *Śatrubhaṇja* in the other. Thirdly, I do not agree with Pandit Rajaguru's reading and interpretation of the purport of any of the three epigraphs, even though it has to be admitted that, excepting Dhruvarāja's record, the two other inscriptions are very carelessly engraved and are therefore extremely difficult to read and interpret especially because both of them are damaged, a few letters being lost at the end of the lines.

Such being the case, I requested Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, to be so good as to send me a few inked impressions of the inscriptions for study. Although Mr. Acharya could not send me the impressions required by me, he was very kind to place

<sup>1</sup> See N. N. Vasu, *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, 1911, p. 85.



the inscribed stone at my disposal for examination when I visited the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar in January 1956. The stone was brought from Baripada to Bhubaneswar for me and I am extremely thankful to Mr. Acharya for his kindness.

The characters of the records belong to the East Indian alphabet of the tenth or eleventh century and resemble those in the early inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the Bhañjas of Khijjāṅga-kōṭṭa (modern Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District at 21°55' N., 85°50' E.) who call themselves Ādi-Bhañja and are known to have ruled in the eleventh century. The language is only seemingly Sanskrit. It is extremely corrupt in all the three records. But their object is fairly clear and it is to record certain gifts of land made in favour of a deity, called by the name Durgā in Inscription No. 3. She seems to be none other than the goddess Bhīmā now worshipped at Pēḍāgaḍhi, findspot of the inscribed stone. No date is quoted in any of the epigraphs.

The first of the three inscriptions covers an area about 13½ inches in length and 4 inches in height. There is no doubt about its reading and interpretation even though a few letters are broken away from the end of the lines and the first letter in both lines 2 and 3 is damaged. The inscription records the grant of the localities called Vanagrāma, Arapapadā and Bharāḍīhu made by Dhruvarāja as an *agrahāra* (i.e. rent-free holding) for the *balī* and *naivēdya* (*naivēdya*) apparently of a deity whose name, however, is not mentioned no doubt because the inscription was exhibited in the shrine of the said deity. As indicated above, the deity seems to be no other than the goddess Bhīmā of Pēḍāgaḍhi. Pandit Rajaguru, who could not decipher some of the letters and read some of them wrongly, translates the record as follows: "(It is a grant made) by Śrī-Dhruvarājādēva for the purpose of *balī* and *naivēdya* of (the goddess) Bharāḍī of Arachhupadā". But he admits that the letters *hāra* in line 3 are unintelligible to him. Unfortunately he does not make it clear as to what the object granted by the king was and apparently fails to realise the absurdity of his interpretation of the record. As it stands, his translation would suggest that it was the inscribed stone which was granted by Dhruvarāja in favour of a deity for *balī* and *naivēdya*. Since the stone has no cash value at all, the interpretation is absolutely unwarranted, even if Pandit Rajaguru's reading is accepted as correct. The goddess Bharāḍī of Arachhupadā is no doubt imaginary.

The second inscription records a grant made by Kumāravarmarāja. The facts that the epigraph is carelessly engraved and that a few letters are lost at the end of lines 1 and 2 make it difficult to read and interpret the record. But it apparently records a grant of land just as Inscription No. 1 noticed above. Possibly it mentions two gift villages as Duśākhi situated in Dūga . . rayēa and Dātiā lying in Lōhthaja . . rya. Pandit Rajaguru translates the record, as he has read it, as follows: "(It is) a grant made by Kumāra Dharmarāja (who is also called) Durgarāya in favour of Pinākipati, for the fulfilment of his desires." But his reading of many of the *akṣaras* in the passage Kumāra-Dharmarājēna Durgarāyēna Pinākipatē abhiṣṭajavai is imaginary. I do not find any mention of Durgarāya and Pinākipati in the record. His interpretation of *pinākipati* as Śiva, called Pināki or Pinākin, is not happy while *abhiṣṭajavai* is meaningless. Moreover, in this case also, Pandit Rajaguru fails to realise that his interpretation of the record involves the absurd suggestion that the donor re-granted the same stone previously granted by Dhruvarāja. Of course he seems to place Dhruvarāja's inscription in the eleventh century and the present epigraph in the ninth century. But the inherent impossibility of a king making the grant of a stone and a later ruler granting it once again still remains.

The third inscription records the grant of a king whose name ends with the word *bhañja*. It was a grant of land made in favour of the goddess Durgā who, as suggested above, may be the same as the modern Bhīmā of Pēḍāgaḍhi. The gift land seems to have consisted of three localities called Tōlērpa, Bhujā and Rai . . which were all situated in Nāmī-grāma in the Maḍāhā vishaya (district). The grant was made to last as long as the sun and the moon would exist. The passage

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. above, Vol. XXV, Plate facing p. 160; N. N. Vasu, op. cit., Plates 79 ff., etc.



containing the name of the donor at the beginning of line 2 seems to read *[[ôdhabhāṣjēna]*. If it may be believed that the letters *Śrīma* are broken away from the end of the previous line, we may suggest *Śrīma-[[ôdhabhāṣjēna* and in that case the name of the donor may be *[[ôdhabhāṣja* even if it sounds rather peculiar. But it is equally possible that one or two of the letters broken at the end of the previous line actually formed a part of the donor's name. Strange enough Pandit Rajaguru finds a stanza in the *Aṁśakubh* metre in the inscription, the first half of which is read as *Maṣārdā-vishayē ti(tī)re Sa(Sa)trubhāṣjēna dātāh(tta)(tā)(tā)* while the third foot is supposed to read *Līlābhadrā Durgāyā*, the first five syllables at the end of line 2 and the remaining three at the beginning of line 3. His translation of the record runs as follows: "This grant is made on the border of the *Maṣārdā viśhaya* by Śātrubhāṣja in favour of Līlābhadrā Durgā (in perpetuity) as long as the sun and the moon exist." Unfortunately both the reading and the interpretation are in most part imaginary and unwarranted. It is impossible to read the names Śātrubhāṣja and Līlābhadrā in the inscription, while the emendation *dātāh* is quite meaningless in the context. The translation 'on the border of the *Maṣārdā viśhaya*' of what has been wrongly read as *Maṣārdā-vishayē ti(tī)re* is equally unsound. Moreover, it would involve the impossible suggestion that the inscribed stone, raised on the border of a district, was granted in favour of a goddess. In case a plot of land on the border of the district was meant to be the object of the grant, it is impossible to believe that the record gives only its location without any other details. Indeed there is scarcely any such instance in the whole range of Indian epigraphy. Pandit Rajaguru fails to notice that a few letters are lost at the end of lines 1 and 2 and that the record is in prose. The fact that his interpretation leaves it uncertain as to what the gift really was renders both his reading and translation of the inscription unacceptable.

The importance of the inscriptions lies in the fact that they mention three rulers, apparently petty chiefs of the Mayurbhanj region, who flourished about the 10th century A.D. The same area was under the rule of the Ādi-Bhaṣjas of Khijjiāga-kōṭṭa from about the beginning of the eleventh century. Some of the earliest records of this family, which originally owed allegiance to the Imperial Bhauma-Karas of Orissa, bear dates in the Bhauma-Kara era.<sup>1</sup> This era seems to have started from 931 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The dates in this era found in the inscriptions of the Ādi-Bhaṣjas have been read as the years 288 and 293; but, as we have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> the intended reading of the symbol taken to be 200 is really 100. Thus these dates actually stand for 188 and 193 respectively and therefore they appear to correspond to 1019 and 1024 A.D. The three rulers mentioned in the records under study appear to have flourished sometime before these dates apparently as feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas.

It seems that the Bhaṣja ruler mentioned in No. 3 of our inscriptions belonged to a branch of the Bhaṣja family of Khijjiāga-kōṭṭa; since, however, his name is not mentioned in the records of the family among its earlier rulers, we may suggest that the branch represented by the Bhaṣja ruler of our inscription was overthrown by the Ādi-Bhaṣja dynasty known from inscriptions. That the Bhaṣjas of Khijjiāga-kōṭṭa called themselves *Ādi-Bhaṣja* or 'Original Bhaṣja' would suggest that there was at least another (probably, earlier) Bhaṣja ruling family in the area, which was regarded by them as of a more recent origin than their own dynasty and may have been overthrown by them. It also seems that kings Dhruvarāja and Kumāravarmanrāja belonged to a dynasty that flourished in the region before the rise of the Bhaṣjas. This dynasty appears to have been overthrown by the Bhaṣja family represented by the Bhaṣja ruler mentioned in No. 3 of our inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, p. 221. *CL IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 160; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1457; above, Vol. XXV, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184; cf. Vol. XXVII, p. 227, note 1.



Whether the rulers mentioned in the records under study had their capital at Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa, i.e. modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj, cannot be determined. Considering, however, the facts that there is no other site in the area, which can be compared with Khiching in regard to antiquity and that some of the sculptures found at the place are earlier than the eleventh century when the Ādi-Bhaṇḍjas flourished,<sup>1</sup> it seems very likely that the pre-Ādi-Bhaṇḍja rulers of the region had also their capital at Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa. Indeed it is possible that Khiching was originally the centre of a big kingdom comprising the northern part of Mayurbhanj and the adjoining areas of Manbhum and Singbhum. But whether the Mānas, possibly of Ōḍra origin, also ruled from here in the sixth century<sup>2</sup> cannot be decided without further evidence. But it is not altogether impossible.

The geographical names mentioned in Inscription No. 1 are Vanagrāma, Arāṇapadā and Bharāḍilhu. Nos. 2 and 3 also mention several localities; but the reading of the names is not beyond doubt in all cases. I am not sure about the location of any of them, although they appear to have been situated in the present District of Mayurbhanj in Orissa.

## TEXT\*

## No. 1

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [i\*] Śrī-Ddh[r\*]juvarāja<sup>5</sup>dāv[ē]na Va[na].<sup>6</sup>
- 2 [grā]ma-Araṇa[ṇa]padā-Bharāḍi[hu]...<sup>7</sup>
- 3 [gra]hāra va[ba]li-nivēḍya sa[ma].<sup>8</sup>

## No. 2

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [i\*] Kumāravarmarājēna Dāga...<sup>9</sup>
- 2 rayē[ṣē]<sup>10</sup> Du<sup>11</sup>śākhi Dāṭiā<sup>12</sup> Lōsh[tha]ja.<sup>13</sup>
- 3 <sup>14</sup>[ryē] data<sup>15</sup> [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the architectural monuments and sculptures of Khiching, see R. P. Chanda's notes in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, pp. 124 ff., Plates XLI-XLII; 1923-24, pp. 86 ff., Plates XXXII-XXXIV; 1924-25, pp. 111 ff., Plate XXXV. I do not agree with Chanda's view that the earliest antiquities from Khiching should be assigned to the eleventh century and to the age of the Ādi-Bhaṇḍjas. In his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd. ed., J. N. Banerjee assigns some of the sculptures roughly to the tenth century (pp. 378, 440) and some others vaguely to the early medieval period (pp. 390, 431). At least the following illustrations in Banerjee's work appear to me to be earlier than the Ādi-Bhaṇḍja age: frontispiece; Plate XX, figures 1-2; Plates XXX, figures 2-3; Plate XXXV, figure 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, December 1959, pp. 263 ff.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading may also have been śrīmaḍ-Dāruvārāja.

<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to determine if a letter is broken away after the damaged sa which may possibly also be read as la. But Vanagrāma makes a good name for a village and many localities of this name are known in Eastern India.

<sup>7</sup> The traces of this lost letter at the end of the line suggest sa, so that the expression is "rājāvanagrāma".

<sup>8</sup> The intended word was apparently *śamarpita*. In correct Sanskrit, we should have *Vanagrām-ārāṇapadā-Bharāḍiḥ-śama-grantā aprakṛtaḥ lōśh-śākhi-ārtham śamarpitāḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> There were two letters here, which are now damaged beyond recognition.

<sup>10</sup> Of the triangle forming the left limb of *l*, only the base can be seen now.

<sup>11</sup> The letter *d* resembles its form in *Dāga* in line 1. The *śākhi* may also be read as *dra*. It does not appear to be *pra*.

<sup>12</sup> The *ś-māṇṛ*-like part of the vowel is not quite neat on the impression.

<sup>13</sup> At least one letter is lost here.

<sup>14</sup> The three letters of this line are engraved about the middle of the space.

<sup>15</sup> The intended word is *data*; but, in correct Sanskrit, we should have [*śama-grāma*] *data*.



## No. 3

- 1 [Siddham]<sup>1</sup> . .<sup>2</sup> Maḍāhā-vishay[ā] [Nā]mi-grāmā . .<sup>3</sup>
- 2 †-Tō[ḍha]bhañjāna data[ā]<sup>4</sup> Tālā[n]ā<sup>5</sup>(rā)-Bh[u]ā-Rai . .<sup>6</sup>
- 3 Du[r]gāy[ā] yāvatā chandr-āka varittati<sup>7</sup> [l]

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>2</sup> There are traces of two damaged letters here. Probably the word *le-nasti* followed by a double danda.

<sup>3</sup> The aliskara *grāmā* are considerably rubbed off. Two or three letters have broken away after this word. They may be conjecturally restored as *śāma*.

<sup>4</sup> The word intended is *śāma*, although in correct Sanskrit we should have *śāma*.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *n* seems to be imperfectly formed. The aliskara may possibly be read as *dd*.

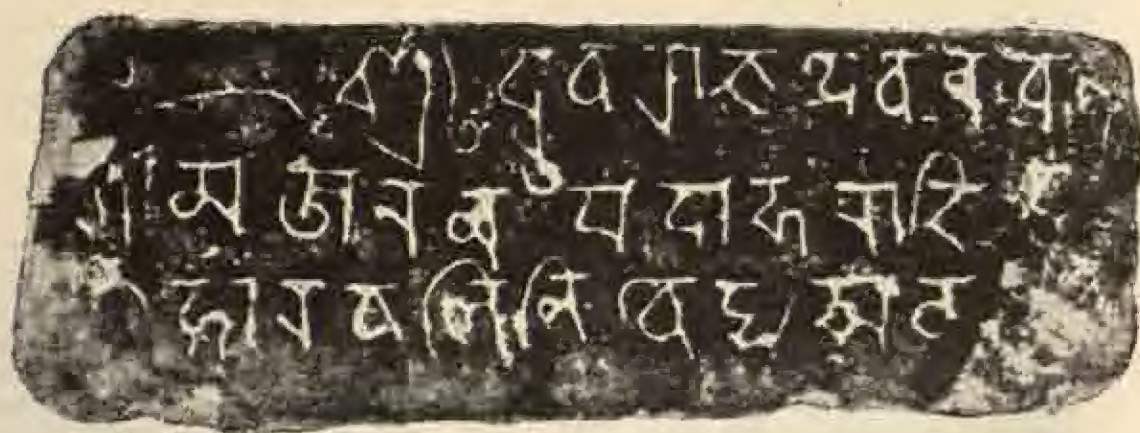
<sup>6</sup> About two letters are lost after *rai*.

<sup>7</sup> In correct Sanskrit, we should have *Durgāyā yāvat chandr-āka varittā*.



# THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM

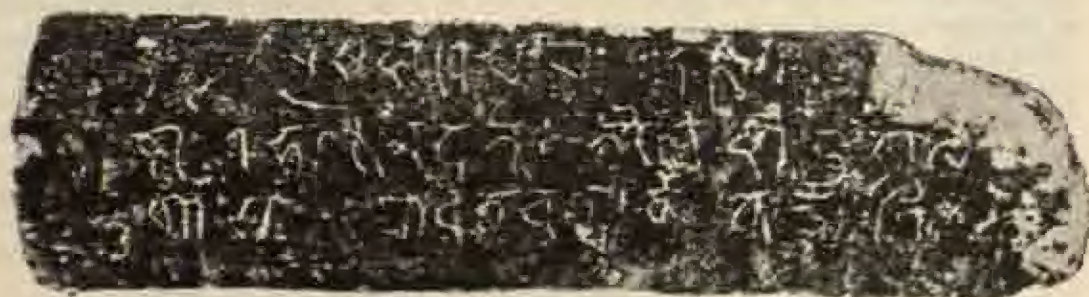
No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



Scale : Two-fifths



# No. 15—DAVANGERE PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 34

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.4.1958)

A set of three copper plates strung on a ring bearing a seal was received by the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, quarter of a century ago, from Mr. Nadiga Basappa who was a lawyer of Davangere in the Chitaldurg District of Mysore State. It was edited with illustration in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1933*, pp. 109-16, Plate XXII. Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the published transcript and translation of the record. The most serious defect in the treatment of the inscription is that the grant portion has been wrongly read and translated and consequently the very name applied to the record, viz. 'Kōramaṅga grant of . . . Ravivarman,' seems to be a misnomer.

The editor of the inscription says, "The lands granted are said to be situated near Kōramaṅga, Samaga and Āsandi. Kōramaṅga is probably the same as Kōramaṅgala, a village situated about eight miles from Hassan and about 40 miles from Āsandi. Āsandi is a village in the Kadur Taluk of Kadur District near Ajjampur, and Āsandi or Āsandi-nāḍu or the province of Āsandi is often referred to in inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The extent of the lands granted seems to be three *avartanas* . . ." There are several mistakes in this statement. In the first place, of the four plots of land granted by the charter, three were situated around a *setu* or embankment in the southern part of Āsandi and the fourth in a locality called Vēṭṭirkōḍa apparently within Āsandi or in its neighbourhood. Secondly, what has been read as Kōramaṅga (line 17) seems to us to be Kōmaṅga which was moreover a locality where the above-mentioned embankment was situated. It was therefore a part of Āsandi and does not appear to be a place 40 miles away. Its identification with Kōramaṅgala is thus extremely doubtful. Thirdly, what has been read as Samaga (line 19) appears to us to be samayaḥ and the passage *samayaḥ setu-bandhasya* means 'at the extremity of the embankment'. The inscription therefore does not refer to a village called Samaga. Fourthly, as our analysis below will show, the area of the four plots of the gift land, excluding the site of the embankment, was six *avartanas* and not three *avartanas* only. Besides these, there are numerous other errors in the published transcript and translation of the inscription. Under the circumstances, no apology is needed for re-editing the inscription in the following pages.

The three plates measure each 7½ inches by 3 inches. The seal fixed to the ring on which they are strung does not show any representation. The characters closely resemble those of other Early Kadamba charters, especially those issued by king Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.) of Vijayanṭi (modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District).<sup>2</sup> The record also resembles other Early Kadamba epigraphs in respect of language and orthography. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription, with the exception of the auspicious word *Siddham* at the beginning, is written entirely in verse. The orthography is characterised by the reduplication of some consonants following *r* and the use of both the *anuvāsa* and the *claus* nasal without discrimination. Final *m* has been invariably employed at the end of the halves of stanzas. The *jīvaṃśīṭṭa* has been used once in line 3.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Kadur, No. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. VIII, pp. 146 ff.; Vol. XVI, p. 264; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 21-26, 28, 29-30.



The date of the grant is quoted in line 15 (verse 14). It is the 34th regnal year of the Early Kadamba king Ravivarman, the day referred to being one in the bright half of the month of Madhu (Chaitra) when the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini. We know that Ravivarman began to reign about 490 A.D. His 34th regnal year thus fell about 524 A.D. The exact date of the charter, however, cannot be calculated as neither the *tithi* nor the week-day is mentioned.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *saddham* and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the *Sarvajña Sarvalōkanātha*. Since both Sarvajña and Lōkanātha are well-known names of the Buddha, we prefer to identify the deity referred to in the stanza with the founder of Buddhism, even though the editor of the inscription was inclined to associate the verse with Jainism. As will be seen from our discussion below, the objects of the grant were the maintenance of worship in the *Siddh-āgama* and the increase of the *Saṅgha*. The editor of the epigraph regarded these as Jain religious institutions. But *Saṅgha* is well-known in the sense of the Buddhist church. As will be shown below, a *Siddh-āgama* is also known to have been associated with the worship of the Buddha. We know that the Early Kadambas were Brahmanical Hindus. Although they had Jain leanings and many of their charters contain Jain adorations and were issued in favour of Jains or Jain institutions, they claimed to be devotees of the god Mahāśeṇa and the Mothers. This claim is found in the records of Ravivarman, one of which proudly mentions the Kadamba family as having performed the typical Brahmanical sacrifice known as the *Aśvamedha*.<sup>1</sup> If it is believed that the charter under study was really issued in favour of Buddhist religious institutions, it shows that, in spite of their Brahmanical faith, the Early Kadambas not only favoured the Jains but also the Buddhists. This points to the catholicity of their religious policy.

Verses 2-4 speak of the following four Kadamba kings: (1) Raghu, (2) Kākustha (correctly *Kākutaha*), the younger brother of Raghu, (3) Śāntivarman, the son of Kākustha, (4) Mṛigēśa, the son of Śāntivarman and (5) Ravi whose relationship with Mṛigēśa is not specified, although from other records we know that king Mṛigēśa or Mṛigēśavarman was the father and predecessor of Ravi or Ravivarman. The description of the predecessors of Ravi is short, but that of the reigning monarch Ravi continues in the following eight stanzas. Verse 8 speaks of the city of *Vajjayanti* indirectly as the capital of Ravi's kingdom.

An interesting point in Ravi's description is offered by verse 7 which states that the land as far as the *Narmadā* (i.e. the people of that region) sought refuge in the Kadamba king and rejoiced. This no doubt refers to Ravi's claim of a sort of suzerainty over the whole of South India as far as the *Narmadā* in the north. The claim is of course conventional and merely means that Ravi was an independent or imperial ruler. As we have shown elsewhere, powerful monarchs of ancient and medieval India generally claimed to be rulers or conquerors of the whole of India which was regarded as the conventional *chakravartī-kṣētra* or sphere of influence of an emperor; but sometimes a South Indian monarch speaks of similar possession of the land between the Vindhya and Cape Comorin and a North Indian emperor of that between the Vindhya and the Himalayas.<sup>2</sup> It may be pointed out here that the editor of the record read *narmadānta-tam mahi* instead of *Narmadānta-mahī* and thereby missed an early and interesting reference to the southern *chakravartī-kṣētra*.

Among other conventional claims of the Kadamba king, reference may be made to verses 10-11. The first of these stanzas states that the whole earth wanted Ravi to be its lord while the second says that his coronation ceremony was performed by the goddess Lakṣmī herself. But

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 148 ff. Cf. *Soc. Sci.*, pp. 255, 260 ff., 269 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *JRSSB*, Vol. V, 1938, pp. 407 ff.; *Sarāpa Bhāratī*, pp. 315 ff.



verse 12, the meaning of which is rather obscure, seems to refer to a historical fact. It states that a hillock or hill-fortress called *Kuṇḍa* resisted (*adhārayat*) the missile (*ili*) let down upon it by Raghu but that it submissively obeyed Ravi's command. This appears to mean that the Early Kadamba king Raghu failed but his descendant Ravi succeeded in capturing a hill-fort called *Kuṇḍa-giri*. This incident is not mentioned in any other record of the family. The identification of *Kuṇḍagiri* is also uncertain unless it is *Kūḍgure* in the Shimoga District.

Verse 13, with which the grant portion of the record begins, states that a certain *Haridatta* made a request to the king (in respect of the grant to be recorded in the charter) with a view to obtaining religious merit and that the king was pleased to reply to it (i.e. complied with it). This fact suggests that the real donor of the grant was *Haridatta*.<sup>1</sup>

Verses 14-15 record the grant proper. The first of these stanzas gives the date of the grant which has already been discussed above. The other four stanzas state that the following plots of land were granted by the king at *Āsandī* for the maintenance of worship at the *Siddhāyatana* and the extension or prosperity of the *Śaṅkha*: (1) a piece of land (*maḥī*) covered by the stone of an embankment (i.e. by an embankment made of stone) at *Kōravēgā* together with an additional area measuring one *nivartana*; (2) a plot of land measuring one *nivartana* according to the royal measure in the area under water (*kēḍāra*) near the said embankment, which lay in the southern part of *Āsandī*; (3) one *nivartana* of land at the extremity of the said embankment; and (4) a plot of three *nivartanas* according to the royal measure, which was situated at *Vādirkōḍa*. The first three plots of the gift land are mentioned in connection with the embankment apparently in the southern part of *Āsandī*. It is not quite certain that *Vādirkōḍa* was also situated within *Āsandī*; but it is not improbable that it was a locality within *Āsandī* like *Kōravēgā* where the embankment was situated. The expression *Siddhāyatana* seems to indicate a Buddhist temple associated with the name of a *Siddha* like *Nāgārjuna*. It reminds us of the mention of the *Pūrva-Siddhāyatana* associated with the worship of the lord *Pitāmaha Samyakambuddha* (i.e. Buddha) in an early inscription from *Kosam*.<sup>2</sup> The exact area of a *nivartana* of land is unknown since it was not the same in all parts of the country and all ages of history.<sup>3</sup>

Verse 19 states that the plots of land were granted by the king in the presence of all the *śāmanas* together with the *śamādhi* or *śamādhis* and that they should have to be exempted from *uśchha* and other dues. It is difficult to say whether the word *śāmanas* here means a feudatory of the king or an inhabitant of the neighbourhood of the gift land. The mention of *uśchha* in this context reminds us of the passage *uśchha-kara-bhar-ādi-vivarjita* used as an epithet of the gift land in the *Halai plates*<sup>4</sup> of *Ravivarman*. It possibly meant a sort of tolls. The word *śamādhi* means 'storing of grains' and may indicate in the present context 'a granary'. The lands thus appear to have been granted together with the royal granaries in it.

Of the last four stanzas of the record, three are the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory verses often found in copper-plate grants. The first of these is, however, a new stanza.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the river *Narmadā* and the city of *Vaijayanti* are well-known. *Āsandī* has been identified with a village in the *Kadur District* of *Mysore*. The hillock called *Kuṇḍa-giri*, as indicated above, cannot be identified.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 80 E.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 149 E.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 243, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 23.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres :-verse 1 *Prāharshipi* ; verses 2-19, 21-23 *Anuakṣubh* ; verse 20 *Vasantatilaka*.]

*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham\* [1\*] [Sū]ry-ānku-dyuti-parishikṣa-paṅkajānām śobhān yad-vahati sad-āśya pāda-padmam [1]
- 2 dēvānām-makuta-maṇi-prabh-ābhishikṣamḥ Sarvva-jñān-sa jayati[ti] sarvva-lōka-nāthah || [1\*]
- 3 Kīrtiā dig-antara-vyāpi Raghur-āśit-na<sup>2</sup>śādhīpaḥ [1\*] Kākustha-tulyah-Kākusthō<sup>3</sup> yavīyā-dis-tasya bhūpatiḥ [1] 2\*]
- 4 Tasy-ābhūt-tanayaś-ārimān-Śāntivarmma<sup>4</sup>-mahīpatiḥ [1] Mṛigēśa-tasya tanayō mṛigēśvara-parākramah || [3\*]
- 5 Kadamb-āmala-vamś-ādri[r-mmau]\*[tām-ā]gatō Raviḥ [1] Uday-ādri-makut-ātōpa<sup>5</sup>-dīpr-ānśur-iv-ānśumān || [4\*]
- 6 Nṛipa-chchhalāna kin<sup>6</sup> Viśhṇu-uddaitya-jiahṇu-ayam svayam [1\*] hiraṇmaya-chalan-mālam tyaktvā cakram vibhāvita[m]\* || [3\*]
- 7 Sāmrajyē varttamānō-pi<sup>7</sup> na mādyati pataṁtapaḥ [1\*] Śrīr-ēhā madayaty-anyān-atīpti-śva vārugi || [3\*]

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 8 Na[rma]d-ārita<sup>8</sup>-[ma]hī prītyā yam-āśrity-ābhinandati [1\*] kaustubh-ābh-āruṇa-chchhā-yam vakahō Lakṣmīr-Harēr-iva || [7\*]
- 9 Ravāv-adhijayant-tyadi Śurēndranagarīn śrīyā [1\*] Vaijayantī chalaṇ-chitra-valjayanti virājatō || [8\*]
- 10 Ravēr-bhuj-āḍgaḍ-ā[śhāṭa]<sup>9</sup>-chandana-prīta-mā[na]śō [1\*] tathā Śrīr-on-ānavat<sup>10</sup>-prītā Murārē-aspi vakahasi || [9\*]

<sup>1</sup> From the illustration in *A.R. Mss. Arch. Surv.*, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> In the left margin near the beginning of line 2.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'śāntima' which is the reading in *A.R.*

<sup>4</sup> *A.R.* reads *tulpa*=Kākusthō and suggests the correction *tulyah Kākusthō*. The correct form of the name Kākustha is Kākustha.

<sup>5</sup> *A.R.* reads 'varmad'.

<sup>6</sup> *A.R.* reads *vamś-dāś mā*.

<sup>7</sup> *A.R.* reads *makuta/ōpa* and suggests the correction *makut-ātōpa*. There is a metrical defect here.

<sup>8</sup> *A.R.* reads *nṛipa-chchhalana* and suggests the correction *nṛipa-chchhalana* which is meaningless in the context.

<sup>9</sup> *A.R.* reads *vibhāvita* which does not suit the context.

<sup>10</sup> *A.R.* reads *nandamānōpi*.

<sup>11</sup> *A.R.* reads *narmmadam tam*.

<sup>12</sup> *A.R.* reads *hāj-ōpa-dāśa*.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'śhānti' which is *A.R.*'s reading.



- 11 Viśvā vasumatī nāthan-nāthatē naya-kōvidam ||[\*] dyaur-iv-Rudram. jvalad-vaṣṭa-dīpti-kōrakut-āṅgadam || (10\*)
- 12 Yasya mādhanī svayantī Lakṣmī<sup>1</sup>-hēma-kumbh-śāra-śyantaḥ ||[\*] rāḥy-ābhishāṅka-akarōḥ-ambhōḥa-lalalair-jalūḥ || (11\*)
- 13 Baghupā lambitām=||[b]h\* Kuṇḍō girir-adhāravat ||[\*] Ravōc=ā||fādi vahaty-adya mālam-iva mahādharaḥ || (12\*)
- 14 Dharmm-ārtham Hari[da]\*ttēna sū-yaṁ vijñāpitō nṛpāḥ ||[\*] emita-jyōtan-ābhishiktēna vacasā pratyabhāṣata || (13\*)

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 15 [Chatu]stri[r]jāttarnī<sup>2</sup> śrīmad-rāḥya-viddhi-samā samā ||[\*] Madhur-mūṣas-tithiḥ puṇyā ||[\*]ukla-pakṣas-cha Rōhīṇī || (14\*)
- 16 Ye[dā] tadā mahā-bāhur-Āsamdyām-aparājitaḥ ||[\*] Siddh-āyatana-pūj-ārtham Saṅghasya paṭividdhaye || (15\*)
- 17 [Sātō]raupalakasy-āpī Kōra[vō]g<sup>3</sup>-āśritāḥ mahīm ||[\*] adhikān-nivarttan-ānyēna<sup>4</sup> dattavāsa-tām<sup>5</sup>-arindamāḥ || (16\*)
- 18 Āsand-dakṣiṇā-sy<sup>6</sup>-ātha sātōḥ kōḍāram-āśritam ||[\*] rāja-mānēna mānēna kṣhētram-śka-nivarttanam || (17\*)
- 19 Sama[vy]\* sātū-ba[r]jāsya kṣhētram-śka-nivarttanam ||[\*] tach-oh-āpī rāja-mānēna Vēlikōḍā<sup>7</sup> tri-nivarttanam || (18\*)
- 20 Uśchē-ādi-paribarttavyya(vya)-samādhi-sahitāḥ hi tam ||[\*] dattavāś-ārī-mahārāja-sarvva-samanta-samūhāḥ || (19\*)
- 21 Jñātvā cha puṇyam-abhiḥālayitūn-viśālān tad-bhaṅga-kāraṇa-mitsaya cha dāhāvattām ||[\*]

*Third Plate*

- 22 [varṇ-ā]krām-[ā]kṣhalita<sup>8</sup>-sa[r]jya(ya)man-aika-chittāḥ saśrakṣaḥ<sup>9</sup>-sya jagatīpatayaḥ pramāṇam || (20\*)
- 23 Babulihir-vvasudhā bhuktā rāja[bhīṭ]-Sagar-āllbhīḥ ||[\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīn-tasya ta[sya] tadā jhalam || (21\*)

<sup>1</sup> A.R. reads Lakṣmī.

<sup>2</sup> Better read ūm. A.R. reads mūḥ and suggests the correction mūdau.

<sup>3</sup> An unnecessary subscript t is noticed with da.

<sup>4</sup> A.R. reads \*lud.

<sup>5</sup> A.R. reads Kōḍāśy.

<sup>6</sup> A.R. reads adhikān-samantant-syaḥ which is grammatically wrong and meaningless.

<sup>7</sup> A.R. reads daktāśy read.

<sup>8</sup> A.R. reads daktāśy.

<sup>9</sup> A.R. reads Samant.

<sup>10</sup> A.R. reads Vāṣṭavī and takes it to be a word of doubtful import. There is a metrical defect here.

<sup>11</sup> A.R. does not read the first two characters and reads the following letters as āraṇa-ābhāṣa.



DAVANGERE PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 34

2  
4  
6

2  
4  
6

II, a

8  
10  
12  
14

8  
10  
12  
14

II, b

16  
18  
20

16  
18  
20

III

22  
24

22  
24



- 24 Adbhīr-ddattān tēb' i[r-bhu]ktān sabbhīś-cha paripālita[m] [I\*] #tāni na nivartantē  
pūrvva-rā[ja]-k[ri]tān/cha # [22\*]
- 25 Sua-dattān para-dattān vā yō harēta va[su]bh[ī]dharā[m] [I\*] sabbhūm vāreba-sabbacrāpī narakē  
pachyatē tu saḥ || [23\*]
-



## No. 16—GYARASPUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHAKUMARA TRAILOKYAVARMADEVĀ

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.4.1958)

Gyaraspur, a town in the former Gwalior State, lies at a distance of 24 miles from Bhilsa on the road from Bhilsa to Sagar. Cunningham gave an account of the antiquities of the place in his Reports.<sup>1</sup> He noticed two fragmentary inscriptions engraved on a plain pillar built into a platform near what is known as the Hindola Tolan.<sup>2</sup> The first of these records is dated V. S. 936. The second inscription, which is of a much later date, forms the subject of this article. It is published here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The language of the inscription, which is fragmentary, is Sanskrit and the characters employed are Nāgarī of about the 12th century. There are only four lines of writing, the concluding part of all of which is broken away and lost. The inscription refers to the consecration of an image of the god Chāmruṇḍasvāmīdēva and records the grant of a village, excluding the lands already in the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas, with a view to provide for the god's worship. The donor's name is given as *Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarma*dēva who made the grant from his camp at Harshapura. The passage containing the other royal epithets enjoyed by the ruler is insufficiently preserved. In connection with the date, the *vīthī savamī* is mentioned in the extant part. But the other details of the date and the grant are lost due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The record is important inasmuch as it is the only stone inscription of *Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarma*dēva who no doubt belonged to the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. The Bhopal plates of the Paramāra *Mahākumāra* Harischandradēva (Harischandradēva) published in this journal<sup>3</sup> revealed to us for the first time that the said Paramāra ruler acquired sovereignty through the favour of *Mahākumāra* Trailōkyavarman who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds. It is also stated in that record that Trailōkyavarman meditated on the feet of the illustrious Yaśovarmadēva, the well-known Paramāra king of that name. The late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti suggested that Trailōkyavarman, if he was not identical with Harischandra's father Lakshmiavarman, may have been a son, or more probably a brother, of Lakshmiavarman<sup>4</sup> and that he was possibly ruling as a regent during the minority of Harischandra with the full power of a chief. Though the present record does not throw any light on the position of Trailōkyavarman in the genealogy of the Paramāras, it confirms the fact that he ruled for sometime as a *Mahākumāra*.

The Bhopal plates, dated in V. S. 1214 Kārtika śuk. 15, lunar eclipse, corresponding to Saturday, the 19th October, 1157 A.D., were issued when Harischandra was ruling. He seems to have ascended the throne sometime before that date. Thus Trailōkyavarman, the donor of our record, ruled as a *Mahākumāra* about the middle of the 12th century. The grant under study is stated to have been made by Trailōkyavarman when he was encamping at Harshapura which is no doubt the same as Harsaudā, mentioned as Harshapura in an inscription<sup>5</sup> of Paramāra Dēvapālādēva, dated V. S. 1275. Harsaudā is a village in the Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh. This suggests that the tract over which Trailōkyavarman ruled extended from the Gyaraspur region in the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. Vol. X (Report of Tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77), pp. 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Ep., 1952-53, App. B, No. 151. The stone bearing these inscriptions is now deposited in the Gwalior Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.



Bhilai District to the District of Nimar. Lakshmi-varman, father of Hariśchandra and the earliest known Paramāra Mahākumāra, claims to have appropriated a portion of Mālwa sometime before V.S. 1200, the date of his Ujjain plates.<sup>1</sup> It seems that, after Lakshmi-varman, Trailōkyavarman and Hariśchandra ruled successively over the tract referred to above, while members of the main line of the Paramāra dynasty were ruling over the territory around Dhārā.

The only place mentioned in the record is Harahapura, the location of which has been indicated above.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> [I\*] Svasti || Śrī[r\*]=jayō-bhūdayas-cha || Ady-śha śrī-Ha[r\*][śha]pura-asthitā  
samasta-rājā<sup>4</sup> . . . . .
- 2 to-samasta-prakriyā-virājamāna-mahākumāra-śrī-Trailōkyavarmmadēvēna . . . . .
- 3 navamyātri śrī-Chāmuṇḍasvāmīdēva-kārta-pratiṣṭhāyām<sup>5</sup> pūjā-nimittē . . . . .
- 4 bhōjy-āya-sahitam dēva-Viś(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukti-va[r\*][śa] grāmō-yath  
śrī-Chāmuṇḍasvāmī[nō] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vols. XVI, pp. 254 ff. See also above, Vol. XXI V, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> There is a letter after jā; but its reading is doubtful. The rest of the line as of the other lines is broken away.

<sup>5</sup> The language here is faulty though the sense is clear.



## No. 17—COPPER COIN OF HARIGUPTA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.2.1938)

A copper coin of a king named **Harigupta**, stated to have been found at Ahichchhatrā (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District, U. P.), was published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India*.<sup>1</sup> Its weight is given as 41 grains and size .6 inch. The obverse of the coin contains the representation of a *pūrṇa-kumbha*<sup>2</sup> on a pedestal while the legend in two lines on the reverse was read as [śrī]-mahār[āḍa]-[Ha]riguptasya. Allan who entered the coin in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*,<sup>3</sup> however, observed that the reading of the legend is very uncertain, *guptasya* alone being clear. But, as regards the reading, we are inclined to agree with Cunningham. Elsewhere in the same work,<sup>4</sup> Allan admits his inability to offer any suggestion regarding the identity of the king who issued the coin, but observes<sup>5</sup> that the palaeography of the legend suggests a date in the fifth century A.D.

Assuming the correctness of the reading of the name Harigupta in the legend, we have to see what relations the ruler might have with the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha. It has to be pointed out that the Ahichchhatrā coin of Harigupta is not without resemblance with the copper coinage of the Imperial Guptas in type and style. One type of copper coins issued by the Gupta emperor **Chandragupta II** (circa 376-414 A.D.) shows a *pūrṇa-kumbha* (with flowers or leaves hanging down its sides) within a dotted border on the obverse and the legend *Chandra* beneath a crescent within a similar border on the reverse.<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere Allan suggests that, this type was probably struck in Malwa in imitation of the Mālava tribal issues just as Chandragupta II imitated the coins of the Śaka rulers in his silver coinage meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Śakas.<sup>7</sup> The vase within a dotted border is a well-known feature of the coins of the **Mālavas**.<sup>8</sup> It has to be admitted that the weight of the seven coins of this type of Chandragupta II in the British Museum cabinet varies between 3.3 and 18.0 grains, while the weight of the Ahichchhatrā coin of Harigupta is 41.0 grains. But a number of copper issues of the Gupta monarch are known to weigh between 40.5 and 49.5 or more grains.<sup>9</sup> Now we have to determine whether Harigupta imitated the copper coinage of Chandragupta II or whether he ruled over a tract near about the Malwa region and imitated the tribal issues of the Mālavas.

In this connection we have also to see whether Harigupta of the Ahichchhatrā coin was related to another ruler of the Malwa region who bore a name ending with the word *gupta* and some of whose coins have been discovered in East Malwa. Some years ago, six copper coins of a ruler named **Rāmagupta** were discovered in a locality near Bhilsa (near the capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśārṇa country comprising East Malwa) and were published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.<sup>10</sup> Their obverse exhibits, within a dotted border, a lion sitting, facing left, with its tail raised and curled, while their reverse shows the legend *Rāmagupta* or *Rāmagupta* beneath

<sup>1</sup> See p. 19, Plate II, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> This is often described as a flower-vase.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 152, No. 819; Plate XXIV, No. 18.

<sup>4</sup> See p. lxi.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. cv.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60; Plate XI, Nos. 21-26. Allan describes the *pūrṇa-kumbha* as a flower-vase.

<sup>7</sup> *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. cvii.

<sup>8</sup> See Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 171 f.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Allan, *Cat. (Gupta Dynasties)*, pp. 52 ff., Nos. 141-45, 147-48, 152-53, 160-61.

<sup>10</sup> Vol. XII, pp. 103 ff.



a crescent within a similar border. The weight of these coins varies between 3.6 and 31.3 grains. It may be pointed out that lion is a familiar device on the Mālava coins, although generally they exhibit the animal in a standing posture.<sup>1</sup> The palaeography of the legend on Rāmāgupta's coins suggests that they were issued sometime in the fourth or fifth century A. D. Another group of four copper coins, similar to the above six, also found at Bhilāra, have been published in the same journal.<sup>2</sup>

There has been a controversy whether Rāmāgupta of the Bhilāra coins was a local ruler of the Bhilāra region or should be identified with the Gupta king of the same name who, according to literary traditions, succeeded the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) but was ousted by his younger brother Chandragupta II.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to be definite on this point without further evidence, although the Prakritic form of the name *Rāmaguta* found on some of the coins would suggest a date earlier than the time of Samudragupta who is the first Gupta monarch to have extended his supremacy in the Malwa region.<sup>4</sup> Another point which can scarcely be ignored in this connection is that, if Rāmāgupta really belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty and ruled as an emperor even for a short period, we would have by now discovered at least a few of his gold coins, since the largest number of Gupta coins so far found are gold issues, the Gupta silver and copper coinage being by far less copious. The genuineness of the literary tradition regarding the existence of a Gupta emperor named Rāmāgupta has not yet been proved by any other evidence. The problem to be solved now is: if Rāmāgupta is regarded as a local ruler of the Malwa region unconnected with the Imperial Gupta house and assigned to a date somewhat earlier than the expansion of Gupta supremacy in the said area about the middle of the fourth century A. D., should Harigupta of the Ahichohhatrā coin, on which the reading of the name has been doubted by Allan, be regarded as a scion of Rāmāgupta's family or of any other local ruling house and as flourishing before the middle of the fourth century? The problem of this ruler is, however, rendered more complicated by two factors. In the first place, a newly discovered copper coin of the king not only gives the name quite clearly as Harigupta but is also a very clear imitation of a type of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II. Secondly, we have an inscription testifying to the fact that a king named Harirāja, who claimed to have been a scion of the Gupta dynasty, ruled over the region comprising the present Banda District of U. P. sometime in the fifth century and it is very probable that he is identical with the issuer of the Ahichohhatrā coin.

A copper coin, now exhibited in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, was examined by me when I visited Allahabad in December 1957. Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, was kind enough to allow me to take a plaster cast of the coin. There can be no doubt that the prototype from which this coin was imitated is the second variety of the second type of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II described and illustrated by Allan in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*.<sup>5</sup> The prototype may be described as follows:

*Obverse*: King standing to left (three-quarter length), apparently casting incense on altar with uplifted right hand (as on similar gold coins of the Chhatra type); left hand behind on hip; behind the king a dwarf attendant holding the parasol over him.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>4</sup> One of Samudragupta's inscriptions has been found engraved on a pillar at Eran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh (i.e. in East Malwa) and his Allahabad pillar inscription refers to his success against the Aryāvarta king Rudrasena who is apparently the Saka ruler Rudrasena III of Western India. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 257, 260 ff.; *Proc. IHO*, Madras 1944, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 63, Nos. 144-47: Plate XI, No. 4.







COPPER COIN OF HARIGUPTA



(from Photographs)



*Reverse*: The bird Garuda (the emblem of the Guptas) standing, facing, with outspread wings (without human arms with bracelets as seen on the first variety of these copper coins); legend below the above reading *Mahārāja-śrī-Chandraguptaś* in one line.

The size of the coins is about three quarters of an inch and weight between 36.5 and 101.5 grains. On the coin under study, the obverse does not clearly show the parasol in the hands of the attendant and the proper right side of the bird on the reverse is blurred, while the legend beneath the bird reads *Mahārāja-śrī-Hariguptasya* in two lines in characters similar to those of the legend on the Ahichchhatrā coin. The size of our coin is .85 inch and its weight 49 grains, although its exact findspot seems to be unknown. We have no doubt that the same *Mahārāja Harigupta* also issued the Ahichchhatrā coin, even though Allan doubted the reading of the name on it.

An inscription on a bronze image found in the ruins of Dhaneswar Kherā in the village of Ichchhāwar or Nichehāwar in the Banda District, U. P., was published by Smith and Hoey as early as 1895,<sup>1</sup> although they could not decipher the record satisfactorily. The correct reading of this record in two lines is as follows:—

1 Dēya-dharmṣa-ya[m\*] Gupta-vaśo(varṣa-ṣ)ditā-śrī-Harirājasya ra(rā)ḥ Mahādēvyā[b\*]  
[ ] yad-attā punya[m\*] tad-bhavatu

2 an(rvva)-sa(tvā)(ttvā)nā[m\*] māta(tā)-pitṛi-pū(rvva)ḥgama(mā)na anuttara-pada-jñāna(n-ṣ)-  
vāptayṣ [ ]<sup>2</sup>

It seems that the ruins of Dhaneswar Kherā referred to above represent the site of the headquarters of *Harirāja* mentioned in the inscription. We know that, about the fifth century A.D., the title *Mahārāja* was enjoyed by the subordinates and feudatories of the Gupta *Mahārājādhirājas*.<sup>3</sup> Our *Harirāja*, called *Mahārāja* in the legend on his coins, thus appears to have been a subordinate of the contemporary Gupta emperor. The first question now is: if *Harirāja* belonged to the Imperial Gupta family, why was he called *Harirāja* and not *Harigupta*? We know that from the assumption of imperial status by Chandragupta I about 320 A.D., his descendants assumed names ending in the word *gupta*. But we also know that the second name of Chandragupta II is sometimes quoted as both *Dēvagupta* and *Dēvarāja*.<sup>4</sup> Thus mere mention of the ruler's name as *Harirāja* instead of *Harigupta* does not prove anything. The second question to be answered then is: if *Harirāja-Harigupta* was a scion of the Imperial Gupta family even from his mother's side, why is his family relationship with the contemporary Gupta emperor not specified in the inscription? The answer to this seems to be that the relationship was not a very close one.

Thus, even if the problem of the Ichchhāwar inscription can be solved, the Ahichchhatrā and Allahabad Museum coins offer yet another difficult problem. The king enjoyed the feudatory title *Mahārāja* and there is no doubt that he imitated a type of the copper coins of Chandragupta II. The question now is whether a subordinate ruler was allowed by his Gupta suzerain to issue coins of his own. This seems to be extremely doubtful in the present state of our knowledge. As we have already seen, *Mahārāja Harigupta* of the Ahichchhatrā and Allahabad Museum coins cannot be assigned to an age earlier than the expansion of Gupta supremacy in Malwa and Central India since he certainly imitated one of the types of the copper coins issued by Chandragupta II, the obverse design of which was itself a copy of the well-known Chhatra type of the same monarch's

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 159 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> See *JOR*, Vol. XVIII, 1940, pp. 185 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.

<sup>4</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 273, 420.



gold coinage. But when did Harirāja-Harigupta issue his copper coin of the same type? The answer to this question may be that Harigupta issued the coins on the decline of Gupta power about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. He seems to have selected some of the popular types of Imperial Gupta coinage prevalent in the area over which he ruled. Considering the problem of local conservatism in ancient Indian numismatics, it does not appear necessary to think that Harirāja-Harigupta's coins were issued shortly after the issue of their prototypes.

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## No. 18—BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DAMAMITRA

(I Plate)

D. C. ŚIRCAR, Ootacamund

(Received on 20.1.1958)

Dr. A. S. Altekar has recently published, in the pages of this journal<sup>1</sup>, a brick inscription in Brāhmī characters of about the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. Its language is Prakrit which is, however, considerably influenced by Sanskrit. It is a fragmentary record in one line referring to the performance of the horse-sacrifice by Āśvavātāyaniputra Devimitra.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Altekar has wrongly taken the name of the performer of the sacrifice to be Devamitra. This inscription was discovered in a mound near the village of Musānagar in the Kanpur District, U.P.

In December 1957 I visited the Lucknow Museum where I noticed another brick inscription<sup>3</sup> of the type of the Musānagar epigraph published by Dr. Altekar. It is also a fragmentary record, the left portion of the brick ( $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$ ) being broken away exactly as in the case of the other inscription. The two records may have been originally of the same length; but the extant part of the present inscription, engraved in one line on a side face of the brick and covering an area of about  $7\frac{1}{2}''$  in length, is smaller than that of the Musānagar epigraph. Individual akṣaras in our epigraph are between  $\frac{3}{4}''$  and  $1\frac{1}{4}''$  in height. Dr. Altekar suggests that the inscribed brick originally formed a part of the platform built round a sacrificial post or pillar.

The resemblance between the two inscriptions is striking. In the first place, both the present epigraph and the Musānagar inscription are incised on a narrow side face of the bricks in question and not on a broad face of them. Secondly, our record refers to a horse-sacrifice performed by Dāmamitra, a name ending in the word *mītra* as in the case of Devimitra of Musānagar inscription. Thirdly, the size, style, characters and language of the two epigraphs are similar. Fourthly, both the records end with a symbol standing midway between a cross and the so-called Ujjayinī symbol found on early Indian coins. Fifthly, although the exact findspot of our inscription is unknown, the inscribed brick is stated to have been presented to the Lucknow Museum by Mr. F. S. Fanthome, when he was Additional District Magistrate of Kanpur and thus appears to have been discovered in a locality in the Kanpur District if not at Musānagar itself. There is an old mound at Musānagar and ancient coins have occasionally been found there after the rainy season.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore not impossible that both Devimitra and Dāmamitra belonged to the same family of rulers having their capital at Musānagar or its neighbourhood.

As already indicated above, the characters of our record closely resemble those of the Musānagar inscription. But there are some indications which appear to suggest that our epigraph belongs to a slightly later date. In the first place, the triangularity of the lower part of *m* and of *n* is more pronounced in the record under study. Secondly, the *i-mātrā* in *mi* is a prolongation of the right upper limb of *m* while the other inscription exhibits the said vowel-mark as a distinct addition to the consonant. Thirdly, while both the left and right limbs of the lower part of *t* are of the same size in the Musānagar epigraph, the right stroke is considerably elongated in the present record.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. XXX, pp. 118 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.

<sup>3</sup> A photograph of the inscription was published in *Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, Plate LXIX, C.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 118.



On palaeographical considerations, the inscription of Devimitra may be assigned to the close of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. and that of Dāmamitra to a date in the first half of the first century A.D.

The Language of the record is Prakrit; but the influence of Sanskrit is indicated by the use of *śva* (for *śa-śva*) in the word *aśvamedha*. It may be pointed out here that, in the Muśānagar inscription, Dr. Altekar read this word as *aśvamerdha* while we suggested the reading *aśvamedha* or *aśvamedhaṃ*. The present record makes it clear that the intended reading of the word in the Muśānagar inscription is neither *aśvamerdha* nor *aśvamedhaṃ* but *aśvamedha*.

Our inscription begins with the *ākṣara śa* which is, however, not fully preserved. Since this is followed by the expression *Dāmamitasa* (Sanskrit *Dāmamitrasya*), it may be regarded as the remnant of a metronymic like *Aśvanāyāyaniputasa* (Sanskrit *Aśvanāyāyaniputrasya*) qualifying *Devimitasa* (Sanskrit *Devimītrasya*) in the Muśānagar record. The last word of the inscription is *aśvamedha* (Sanskrit *aśvamedhaṃ*). This is followed by the symbol referred to above, which indicates the end of the writing. Although no regal epithet is applied to Dāmamitra's name, the attribution of the performance of the *Aśvamedha* to him suggests that he was a ruler of importance.

The two early rulers of the Kanpur region of U.P., viz. Devimitra and Dāmamitra known from their brick inscriptions, do not appear to be known from any other source, although coins of many kings with names ending in the word *mitra* have so far been discovered from various sites in that State. Their relations with other known rulers of the said region, especially with the Mitra kings of Kauśāmbī and Ahichchhatrā, can scarcely be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But our inscription adds one more name to the list of the performers of *Aśvamedha*, who flourished in the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history.<sup>1</sup> The name Devimitra points to the influence of the cult of the Mother-goddess on the royal family in question.

#### TEXT

.. [śa]<sup>2</sup> D[ā]māmītasa aś[va]medha [ ]<sup>3</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

The horse-sacrifice of (i.e., celebrated by) Dāmamitra, the...

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sundarum Pillai Com.* Vol., pp. 88 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From *Imprēmema*.

<sup>3</sup> This is apparently the last *akṣara* of an epithet of Dāmamitra in the sixth case-ending. This stop is indicated by a symbol.



BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DAMAMITRA



Scale : Actual Size







## No. 19—NOTE ON ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN III

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 19.7.1957)

Some time ago I examined the dates of the Gaṅga era, which contain details necessary for calculation, and showed that the epoch which suits them all is Śaka 419 (497-98 A.D.) for a current year and Śaka 420 (498-99 A.D.) for an expired year.<sup>1</sup> Later I examined two more dates of the era, which were discovered subsequently.<sup>2</sup> I have shown that both of them corroborate the epoch which I had fixed and that none of the other epochs suggested by other scholars is applicable in their case. Recently we have another date of this era, viz., Gn. 133, furnished by the Andhavaram plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman III.<sup>3</sup> It provides me with another opportunity of testing the epoch fixed by me.

The plates record a grant made by the king on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of the month of Śrāvapa. Further, in lines 19-20, the plates record the date in the following words: *tri-pravarddhamāna-Tumuru(bu)ru-tohā(vānā)-rājya-samva(mva)śarāṇām satī trīśaty(trīśat)-adhikī samva(samva)śarāḥ 100 30 3 Śrāvapa-māsa-amāvāsyā-dīndni cha*, i.e., in the augmenting dominion of the Tumburu family, in the year hundred increased by thirty—133—on the new-moon day of the month of Śrāvapa. It will thus be seen that the date given in words does not agree with that expressed in numerical symbols. In the indifferent facsimile of the inscription published previously in *JAHRS*, Vol. XX, the unit symbol appeared to denote 2, as it consisted of two curved horizontal strokes with a dot between them which appeared accidental. Taking the date as expressed in numerical symbols to be correct, I showed, in an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, pp. 271 f., that according to my epoch, the date Gn. 132 (as I read it then) was quite regular. The new-moon day in *amānta* Śrāvapa in the expired Gaṅga year 132 corresponds to the 13th August 630 A.D., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the Andhavaram plates. The excellent facsimile published in this journal, however, shows that the unit symbol of the date denotes 3 and not 2. The date as expressed in numerical symbols must, therefore, be read as 133 and not 132. It does not agree with that expressed in words; but it has been suggested that the engraver seems to have omitted *trayaś* before *trīśat* through carelessness.

Dr. Subrahmanyam appears to accept the epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me. Says he, 'The grant is said to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Śrāvapa. Calculating from the starting point fixed by Prof. Mirashi, i.e., Śaka 420 plus 132 expired years of the era, we get Śaka 552 (630 A.D.) as the date of the grant. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, on the 13th August of that year there was a solar eclipse; but this was in the month Bhādrapada'.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Subrahmanyam's words appear to imply either that the date is irregular according to my epoch, or that the epoch does not suit it exactly. I propose to show that neither of these suppositions is correct.

In the detailed ephemeris given by Pillai in Vol. I, Part II, and the subsequent Volumes of his great work, the lunar months are shown according to the *amānta* scheme; but while giving the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 192; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 37 ff. In his article on the Andhavaram plates, Dr. R. Subrahmanyam has not numbered this Indravarman though there were several kings of this name. Indravarman I was ruling in Gn. 39 and Indravarman II ruled at least from Gn. 87 to Gn. 97. So this king must be named Indravarman III, for whom we have dates ranging from Gn. 129 to Gn. 154.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.



New Moons and Eclipses in Vol. I, Part I, Pillai has adopted the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar months. This has misled Dr. Subrahmanyam. Table II gives the solar eclipse on the 13th August 630 A.D. under Bhādrapada. As stated before, this month was *pūrṇimānta*. The same eclipse may, therefore, be said to have occurred on the new-moon day of *amānta* Śrāvaṇa, as stated in the Andhavarām plates. The date is thus perfectly regular. It further corroborates the epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me. It may, again, be noted that this is one of the few dates of the era in a current year and that the scheme of lunar months here is *amānta* as in several other records of the Gaṅga era as shown already.<sup>1</sup>

Let us next see if the date would be regular according to any of the other epochs suggested by other scholars. Leaving aside such epochs as 349-50 A.D., 741 A.D., 772 A.D., and 877-78 A.D. which, on the face of them, appear to be impossible, I shall examine those that approximate to the one fixed by me. They are as follows: 494 A.D. proposed by Mr. Subba Rao, 496 A.D. by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, 497-98 A.D. by the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and 504-05 A.D. by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. Mr. Krishna Rao was previously of the opinion that the Gaṅga era began on *amānta* Bhādrapada-suk. 13; but he now says that it began on *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika-ba. 1 in the expired Śaka year 419 (28th September 497 A.D.). From the equivalents of some dates given in his recent article, he seems to take the epoch of the Gaṅga era as 497-98 A.D.<sup>2</sup> As the Gaṅga year, according to him, began in Kārttika, we shall get the Christian year corresponding to Gn. 133, for the month of Śrāvaṇa, by adding 498 to 133. The years of the Christian era corresponding to Gn. 133, according to these epochs, would thus be as follows:—

*Gaṅga Year 133, Śrāvaṇa amānta*

Proposed Epoch of the Gaṅga Era.	Corresponding year of the Christian Era.	Was there a solar eclipse on this tithi?
494 A.D.	627 A.D.	No solar eclipse in <i>pūrṇimānta</i> or <i>amānta</i> Śrāvaṇa.
496 A.D.	629 A.D.	Do.
497-98 A.D.	631 A.D. <sup>3</sup>	Do.
504-05 A.D.	637 A.D.	Do.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar as recently suggested that the Gaṅga era started some time between 540 and 556 A.D.<sup>4</sup> As he has not, however, stated the exact epoch of the era as well as the beginning of the Gaṅga year and the scheme of its lunar months, it is not possible to test its correctness by means of this date.

The Andhavarām plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman III thus prove the correctness of my view that the Gaṅga era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra suk. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March 498 A.D.). Thus the epoch of the era for a current year is 497-98 A.D. and for an expired year 498-99 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.

<sup>2</sup> *JPRS*, Vol. XLII, Part I. Curiously enough, he regards all these years of the era as current. For an examination of his view, see *ibid.*, pp. 309 f.

<sup>3</sup> [This should be 629-30 A.D. according to Mr. Krishna Rao who regards the years of the Gaṅga era to be current.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 46 ff.



## No. 20—INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.5.1958)

We have elsewhere suggested that inscriptions set up at well-known *tirthas* by visiting pilgrims sometimes mention kings of distant lands not because the holy places in question formed parts of their dominions but merely because the pilgrims were their subjects or subordinates and that pious people including kings often sought to secure the merit of visiting *tirthas* of their choice by sending others to those localities at their own cost as their proxies.<sup>1</sup> The four inscriptions edited in the following pages come from *Gayā* which is one of the most celebrated *tirthas* of India and they throw welcome light on the said question. The holiest shrine at *Gayā* is the *Vishṇupāda* temple and all the records are found within the precincts of that temple.

*Gayā* is regarded as the most suitable place for the celebration of the post-funeral ceremony called *śrāddha* for the salvation of the spirits of dead ancestors. *Gayā-śrāddha* (i.e. the performance of *śrāddha* at *Gayā*) can be celebrated by anybody for any deceased person at any time of the year, although the fortnight ending with the *Mahālayā-Amāvasyā* (i.e. the new-moon day in *amānta* *Bhādrapada* or *pūrṇimānta* *Āśvina*) is regarded as the best time for it and lakhs of pilgrims from all parts of India visit the holy place on that occasion.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Inscription of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra I

The inscription<sup>3</sup> is engraved on a black slab of stone fixed into the eastern wall (right side) of the shrine of *Śiva* in front of the *Vishṇupāda* temple. There are in all 31 lines of writing. The preservation on the whole is satisfactory, though some letters are damaged here and there. The inscribed space measures 31 inches in height and 11 inches in breadth. Beneath the writing, there are the representations of the *Chakra* (discus) and *Śaṅkha* (conch-shell), the latter on a pedestal, and below these there is *K. 1848* incised in English. The English writing apparently refers to the utilisation of the stone slab some time in 1848 A.D.; but it has nothing to do with the inscription. The *Chakra* and *Śaṅkha* are the well-known emblems of the god *Vishṇu* and appear to point to the *Vaiṣṇava* leanings of the person who set up the record under study.

The characters are Nandī-Nāgarī of the twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of a passage in prose at the end. There are altogether 12 stanzas, the metre employed being *anuṣṭubh* in all cases. The author's command over the language was, however, not quite satisfactory. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of *unusṛa* in the place of final *a* and class nasals. The

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-101.

<sup>2</sup> For the importance of *Gayā* as a holy place especially for the performance of *śrāddha*, see the *Yagu Purāṇa*, chapters 105 ff.; Kane, *History of Dharmashāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 643-79. For the antiquity of *Gayā*, see *JIB*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 283 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This is No. 132 of *A. B. Ep.*, 1957-58, App. II.

<sup>4</sup> The name Nandī-Nāgarī is usually associated with the Nāgarī alphabet used in the South Indian records of the Vijayanagara period (cf. Ojha, *Palaeography of India*, p. 69; Renou et Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, Tome II, p. 492). But the development of the Nandī-Nāgarī alphabet can be traced to earlier times. We have applied this name to the characters of Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 edited in the following pages because they exhibit the Nandī-Nāgarī forms of some letters. Cf. \* in both the records and initial; in Inscription No. 2, line 18.



name *Mallikārjuna* (lines 11 and 19) has been spelt with *kā* instead of *k* as in Telugu inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The inscription bears no date.

Verses 1-4 in lines 1-9 describe a king named *Pratāparudra*. The first of these stanzas speak of him as *nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lasat-pada* and *rāja-hīra-maṇi* which may indicate that he was an independent or imperial ruler. The suggestion seems to be supported by verse 3 which represents the king as bearing the burden of the entire earth. Verse 2 refers to his capital as excelling *Amarāvati*, the city of the gods, but does not mention its name. This reference to the capital, which has no direct relation with the purpose of the inscription, seems to indicate that king *Pratāparudra* was ruling from the unnamed city when the inscription was inscribed.

The following five stanzas (verses 5-9) in lines 9-20 describe the preceptor of *Pratāparudra*. Verse 5 states that the name of the king's preceptor was *Mallikārjuna* who enjoyed the title *Tribhūvanavidyachakravartin*.<sup>2</sup> He is also called *śārī* in the same stanza and *bhūda* in verse 9 and was apparently famous for his learning. The name of *Mallikārjuna* is repeated in verse 9, while verse 7 represents him as a great devotee of the god *Śiva* as it says that *Indusākhara* (*Śiva*) liked his stay in *Mallikārjuna*'s mind better than his residence on Mount *Kailāsa*. Verses 8-9 state that a locality called *Mantrakūṭa* lying on the southern border of the *Vindhya* mountain range (*Vindhya-ādri-dakṣiṇa-prāntā*) and on the bank of the river *Gautamī* (*Gautamī-tapti*) was studded with numerous *śiṅgas* and that the city called *Simhādri-nagarī*, situated in the said locality, was beautified by *Mallikārjuna* with many buildings. *Gautamī* is another name of the river *Gōdāvarī*, while *Mantrakūṭa* appears to be the same as *Manthani* (also called *Mantenna*), the headquarters of a Taluk of the same name in the Karimnagar District in the former Hyderabad State but now in Andhra Pradesh. A chief named *Guṇḍa* is described as the lord of *Mantrakūṭa-nagarī* in the *Hāhūmakonda* inscription<sup>3</sup> (Śaka 1094-1169 A.D.) of *Kakatiya Pratāparudra I*, while the same chief is called *Manthanya-Guṇḍa* in the *Palampet* inscription<sup>4</sup> of Śaka 1135 (1213 A.D.), and *Mantenna-Guṇḍa* in the *Ganapeevaram* inscription<sup>5</sup> (Śaka 1153-1231 A.D.) of the *Kakatiya* king *Gaṇapati*. Thus the same place is called *Mantrakūṭa-nagarī*, *Manthani* and *Mantenna*. A *Śiva* temple built at the same place, called *Mantrakūṭapura*, by *Gaṅgādhara*, a general of *Kakatiya Pratāparudra I*, is mentioned in the *Karimnagar* inscription<sup>6</sup> of Śaka 1092 (1170 A.D.).

Verse 10 in lines 21-23 states that *Mallikārjuna*'s wife was *Gaurī* who caused to perform the *Gayā-śrāddha*, apparently of her husband *Mallikārjuna*, even though the husband's death is not clearly referred to in the inscription. As already indicated above, *śrāddha* performed in honour of the departed spirits of dead relatives at *Gayā* is regarded as specially efficacious especially during the dark half of the *amānta* month of *Bhādrapada* or the *pūrvamānta* month of *Āśvina*. Verse 11 in lines 23-26 speaks of *Gaurī*'s daily entry through the gate of *Gayā*<sup>7</sup> and to her securing the salvation of the foremost of her relations (i.e. her husband).<sup>8</sup> Apparently she was performing what is called *nitya-śrāddha* for the emancipation of her husband *Mallikārjuna*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telugu Districts*, Part III, 1936, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Mallikārjuna*'s title *Tribhūvanavidyachakravartin* reminds us of the title *Salala-vidyachakravartin* enjoyed by several scholars at the court of the kings of the *Hoysala* dynasty of *Dōraṇamudra*. It has been suggested that the title was conferred on the court pandits by the *Hoysala* kings (see above, Vol. XXXI, p. 227). It is thus not impossible that the title *Tribhūvanavidyachakravartin* was conferred on *Mallikārjuna* by his royal disciple *Pratāparudra*.

<sup>3</sup> P. Sreenivasachar, op. cit., Part II, p. 19, text line 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Arch. Ser.*, No. 3, p. 3, text line 49.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 83, text line 15.

<sup>6</sup> P. Sreenivasachar, op. cit., p. 173, text line 142.

<sup>7</sup> *Gayā-dakṣiṇa-mūlakaṇṭhī* and *dakṣiṇa* seems to refer to *Gaurī*'s daily visit to the *Gayā* temple.

<sup>8</sup> The expression *paridhānāṁ cā śandhānām* has been used to indicate 'the husband.'



Verse 12 in lines 26-29 gives some interesting information about Gauri, wife of Mallikārjuna. It is stated that formerly she had been passing her days playfully at the feet of the god Gōpinātha described as the lord of the **Kandammaṭi** family, but that at the time being her residence was **Maṇikarpikā**. As regards her later residence, the place appears to be the same as the famous Maṇikarpikā Ghāt at Banāras.<sup>1</sup> But the location of the deity Gōpinātha worshipped by the members of the Kandammaṭi family is difficult to determine, although Kandammaṭi seems to be the name of a locality from which the family derived its name. Gauri's relationship with the said family is not stated in the inscription. We may conjecture that she was born in the Kandammaṭi family. It is, however, very interesting to note Gauri's devotion to the god Gōpinātha, undoubtedly a form of Viṣṇu. Thus she was a Vaiṣṇava,<sup>2</sup> while her husband Mallikārjuna was a staunch devotee of the god Śiva. The document ends with an adoration of the god *Gōpijanavallabha*, the same as *Gōpinātha*. But, while the latter is described as the lord of the Kandammaṭi family, the former is called Mantrakūṭa-Gōpijanavallabha, apparently meaning 'Gōpijanavallabha of Mantrakūṭa', even if the two appear to be one and the same deity. It is possible to think that the Kandammaṭi family, which originally hailed from the village of Kandammaṭi and to which Gauri seems to have belonged, was at a later date living at the locality called Mantrakūṭa. In that case, *Kandammaṭi-kul-ādhiṣṭa* Gōpinātha may of course be safely identified with Mantrakūṭa-Gōpijanavallabha.

There is no obvious clue in the inscription to help us in identifying king **Pratāparudra** and his preceptor *Tribhuvanī-vālyā-chakravartin* **Mallikārjuna**. As regards the king, who appears to have been an imperial ruler, we can only think of Pratāparudra I (generally called Rudra) and Pratāparudra II of the Kākatya dynasty, who flourished respectively in the periods 1163-95 A.D. and 1231-1330 A.D., and the king of the same name who belonged to the Sūryavarṇī (Gajapati) family of Orissa and ruled in the period 1496-1539 A.D. Of these three rulers, Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa was a great devotee of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri and was therefore a devout Vaiṣṇava. It is thus extremely doubtful if he could have had a staunch Śaiva teacher like Mallikārjuna of our inscription as his preceptor. On the other hand, we know the Śaiva leanings of most of the Kākatya rulers who are described as *paramamāhēśvara* in the records of their time and some of whom are known to have received initiation from Śaiva religious teachers.<sup>3</sup> This fact leads us to the suggestion that king Pratāparudra mentioned in the inscription under review may be identical with either of the Kākatya monarchs bearing that name.<sup>4</sup> Of the two Kākatya kings of the same name, viz. Pratāparudra I and Pratāparudra II, the former is described in several records<sup>5</sup> as *paramamāhēśvara* and *Śaivasambhū-pāda-padm-ārādha* and there can be no doubt that he was a devout Śaiva. Kākatya Pratāparudra II has not, however, been called a *paramamāhēśvara* in any of the numerous records<sup>6</sup> of his time and does not appear to have been

<sup>1</sup> For the importance of Banāras as a holy place, see the *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapters 181-83; Kane, op. cit., pp. 618 ff. Maṇikarpikā is one of the five holiest spots at Banāras, the others being Dattāśvamedha, Lohārka, Kāśava and Bindumādharva (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapter 185, verses 65-66).

<sup>2</sup> The inscription does not say that Gauri was devoted to both Viṣṇu and Śiva.

<sup>3</sup> Rāja II and probably also his grandson Prōṭa II claimed Rāmēśvara-puṇḍita of the Mallikārjuna-mattha on the Śrīśaila as their *gītāśāstra* (*Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 13, p. 25, Ins. No. 7; p. 35, Ins. No. 12; cf. *Bhārati*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 194). Mahādēva is known to have learnt the Śaiva *siddhānta* from his preceptor Dhruvaśāstra-miśra (*Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 13, p. 62, Ins. No. 15) while his son Gajapati was a disciple of a celebrated Śaiva teacher named Vidyāvarṇambhu who was also revered by his daughter Rudrāmbā (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 395, p. 207; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> The Kākatya queen Rudrāmbā was often mentioned as Rudradēva in the masculine; but she was not called Pratāparudra.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., *SII*, Vol. X, p. 122, No. 241, text lines 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Talespurāṇa Inscriptions*, Nos. 46 ff. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 319 (p. 281) apparently belongs to the reign of Pratāparudra I.



a staunch devotee of Śiva. The possibility therefore is that king Pratāparudra of our inscription is identical with the Kākatiya monarch Pratāparudra I.<sup>3</sup>

There is a tradition<sup>4</sup> that the great Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhyā was the preceptor of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (1199-1260 A.D.) who was the brother's son of Pratāparudra I. This, however, is clearly wrong since the Malkapuram inscription<sup>5</sup> represents the great Śaiva teacher Viśvāvarasāmbhu, hailing from Pūrvagrāma in the Rādha division of Gauḍa, as the *dīkṣā-guru* of king Gaṇapati. But, confused even if it is, the above tradition seems to be based on the fact that a Kākatiya monarch was amongst the disciples of the great *Paṇḍitārādhyā*. If such was the case, the Kākatiya disciple of Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhyā was probably none else than Pratāparudra I since the contemporaneity of the Śaiva teacher and the Kākatiya king has been admitted by scholars.<sup>6</sup> Under the circumstances, it may not be unreasonable to identify Pratāparudra and Mallikārjuna, mentioned in the inscription under study, respectively with the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra I and the Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhyā at least tentatively for the present till further light is thrown on the subject by new discoveries.

A number of legends grew around the celebrated name of Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhyā, the details of many of which may not have any foundation in facts. But, as indicated above, the traditions representing him as a contemporary of Kākatiya Pratāparudra I appear to be genuine. Dr. P. Sreenivasachar identifies the *Paṇḍitārādhyā* with the Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna mentioned in an inscription<sup>7</sup> of Śaka 1109 (1187 A.D.) from Kudavel-Saṅgamāvaram about 10 miles from Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. Two inscriptions<sup>8</sup> from the Kurnool District of the same State, dated respectively in Śaka 1154 (1232 A.D.) and 1167 (1235 A.D.), speak of a disciple of Mallikārjuna who may be no other than Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhyā. The language of our inscription seems to suggest that the royal disciple Pratāparudra was still on the throne when his preceptor Mallikārjuna died. This may suggest that Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhyā died before 1195 A.D.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the mention of king Pratāparudra I of the Kākatiya dynasty of Warangal in the inscription under study, there is certainly no reason to believe that the Gayā region in South Bihar formed any part of his dominions. We know that South Bihar lay in the empire of the Palas of Bengal and Bihar from the eighth to the twelfth century and in the dominions of the Muslims from the end of the twelfth century till the British conquest in the eighteenth century. Even in the absence of any reference in the present inscription to the ruler whose dominions comprised Gayā, king Pratāparudra mentioned in it cannot be regarded as having ruled over the Gayā region.

<sup>3</sup> After the preparation of this paper, we have examined an inscription of about Śaka 1121 (1199 A.D.) from Manthani (ancient Mantrakṣṭa), which states that Mallikārjuna's son Gōpāla received a big plot of land at Mantrakṣṭa from Kākatiya Rudradēva (i.e. Pratāparudra I) and that the township called Simhagiri-pura (the same as Simhādri-nagara of the Gayā inscription) was built by him on the said plot. This epigraph settles the identity of Pratāparudra of the Gayā inscription beyond doubt. The Manthani inscription is being published in the pages of this journal.

<sup>4</sup> See a poem entitled 'Kākati Prōṣarāśādula prasādana' in the *Kākatiya-samśikha*, ed. by M. Rama Rao, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> *RII*, Vol. X, No. 395, p. 207, text lines 70-80.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Kākatiya-samśikha*, pp. 26, 34, 212.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> Rangachari's List, Nos. K1. 14 and 19; *A. R. Ep.*, 1925-26, para. 52 (pp. 116-17).

<sup>9</sup> The death of Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhyā has been assigned to 1109-70 A.D. (*Kākatiya-samśikha*, p. 212) on insufficient and doubtful grounds.



Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the holy *śrīthas* of Gayā and Maṇi-karpikā (called Maṇikarpika in the record) at Banāras, the mountain range Vindhya and the river Gautamī (Gōdāvarī) are well-known. Kandammatī cannot be satisfactorily identified. The location of Mantrakūṭa has been discussed above.

## TEXT:

- 1 Śrīmaṇ(maṇ)-nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lasa-
- 2 t-padaḥ | asti Pratāparudr-ākhyō rājā rāja-
- 3 śrōmaṇiḥ || 1\* | Yat-[pu]ri turag-ākṛṣṭā maha-
- 4 t-kari-ghaṭ-ākulā | paṇya-sta(śtri)-muktā-vyājña hasa-
- 5 nt-ly=Āmarāvatin(tūn) || 2\* | Yad-bhujō-nihit-āsēcha-ratna-
- 6 garbhā-mahā-bhu(bha)raḥ | śithilika(ku)rutō nūnash Pha-
- 7 n[ā]drō=pi phagā-kulash(lam) || 3\* | Guṇ-ślavāla-niya-
- 8 tā babu-māna-phal-āṇkitā | vyāptā yat-kirtti-
- 9 [la]tikā gagana-sthala-maṇṭapaṇ(pam) || 4\* | Tasya tribhu-
- 10 vanīvidyāchakravartī-ti viśrutāḥ | guravaḥ saṁ-
- 11 ti lōkō=smīn=Mallikā(kā)rjuna-sūrayaḥ || 5\* | Ya-
- 12 d-yasēśmī śarach-chaṇdra-vimalāni va(vi)tanvatē || \*
- 13 niyataḥ dīp-mṛigākṣhiṇāḥ dukūla-vasana-śri-
- 14 yash(yam) || 6\* | Śhām mānasam=adhyāśya bhagavān=Indu-
- 15 sō(ś)kharah | na Kailāsa-mahāśaila-sukh-ā-
- 16 [vāsa]m=apēkahatē || 7\* | Vi[m]dhy-ādri-dakṣhiṇa-prāṇ-
- 17 tō vilasat=Gautamī-taṭē | Mantrakūṭa[m\*] sahasrā-
- 18 [g]āṇ līngānāḥ sthānam=uttamaṇ(mam) || 8\* | Tatra Śimbādri-na-
- 19 garitḥ Mallikā(kā)rjuna-kōvidah | vidvaj-janēm-
- 20 dra-mi(ni)rasadhīrām ramya-harmyām-achikarat || 9\*
- 21 Gaurī guṇavati tasya vidvaj-jana-vi-
- 22 [uō]dīnāḥ | dharmapaṇi Gayā-śrā-
- 23 ddham vi[ta]-vi[chehha](ghna)m=akārayat || 10\* | Atha
- 24 Gaurī Gayā-dvāram=āviśatī dīnē
- 25 dīnē | purōdhas(ā(sah) cha) bariḥhānāḥ muktam-ā-

\* From impressions.



- 26  $\sqrt{=}$ ākarūt=sati || [11\*] **Kaṇḍarimati-kul-ā-**  
 27 **dhāa-Gōpīnātha-paṇḍ-ādivu(hu)]ā** | ta[thō]-<sup>1</sup>  
 28 **ayāḥ pūrvam=abhūt=k[ṛ]ṇ[ḍ]ā idānīc**  
 29 **Maṇikarṇikō** || [12\*] **ācī-Maṇṭrakō-**  
 30 **ṭa-Gōpījāna[va]llabhāya**  
 31 **namah** ||<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Inscription of the time of Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha III

This inscription<sup>3</sup> is engraved on the left door jamb of the doorway leading into a Mahādēva shrine under a peepal tree in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple. The writing occupies a space of about 26½ inches in height and 4 inches in width, there being altogether 25 lines and each line containing about four *akṣaras*. Immediately below the above record, there is a second inscription which contains 21 lines covering a space equal in area as the first epigraph. It seems that the available space was divided into two halves for the two inscriptions which were very probably engraved at the same time.

The record is written in Nandi-Nāgarī characters of about the 12th or 13th century A.D. with the exception of the last line which is in the Kannaḍa script. The characters resemble those of the Gayā inscription of Pratiḥarudra's time, edited above. The form of *va* in *vajana* in lines 11-12 is interesting to note. The language is Kannaḍa and the inscription is written in prose. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the word *śaḥa* has been spelt as *śaṅga* (lines 3-4), while *ṛipa* has been spelt as *ripa* thrice in lines 14-16.

The record bears no date, although it refers in lines 2-5, to a ruler named **Hōsaṇa Vira-Narasimhadēva**. *Hōsaṇa* is the same as *Hoysaṇa*, a well-known variant of the dynastic name *Hoysaḷa*,<sup>4</sup> and there is no doubt that Vira-Narasimha of our record belonged to the **Hoysaḷa** ruling family of **Dōrasamudra** (modern Halebidu in Mysore State). In this connection, it is interesting to note that the second inscription on the same stone referred to above, which is written in the Kannaḍa language and script, reads in lines 1-16: *ācī-Vira-Narasimha[śi]hodhantaram kōṣṇantula Jakamṣana unyāḥ[ṛ] [Chā]ndiraga Ka[Kha]ra-saṁvatsarada Bā[Bhā]drapada[da\*]-ba 30* *Sa [Gayā] prōvāṇ[ḥ] mādī...* This record, the concluding part of which is damaged, speaks of a person named Chandiraga, who was a son of Jakamṣa, an employee in the mint of Vira-Narasimhadēva, and of his visit to **Gayā** on pilgrimage. It will be seen that both the inscriptions apparently refer to the same Hoysaḷa king named Narasimha or Vira-Narasimha. But, while the first record which is the subject of our study in these lines does not bear any date, the second epigraph was dated in the cyclic year **Khara, Bhādrapada-ba: 30, Monday**, i.e. the day of the *Mahā-layā Amāvasyā* and, as indicated above, the most suitable time for the performance of the *śrāddha* of relatives at Gayā. Unfortunately there were no less than three kings named Narasimha in the Hoysaḷa dynasty of Dōrasamudra, all of whom flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The reign of Narasimha I, son of Viṣṇuvardhana, is now assigned to c. 1141-73 A.D., while his grandson Narasimha II and the latter's grandson Narasimha III are supposed to have ruled respectively in c. 1220-35 A.D. and c. 1254-91 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> There is, however, a clue in the second of the two

<sup>1</sup> The *akṣara* looking like *thō* is redundant.

<sup>2</sup> *Samāhi* has been avoided here for the sake of the metre. Better read *ek=śāntā*.

<sup>3</sup> There is a symbol here at the end of the writing.

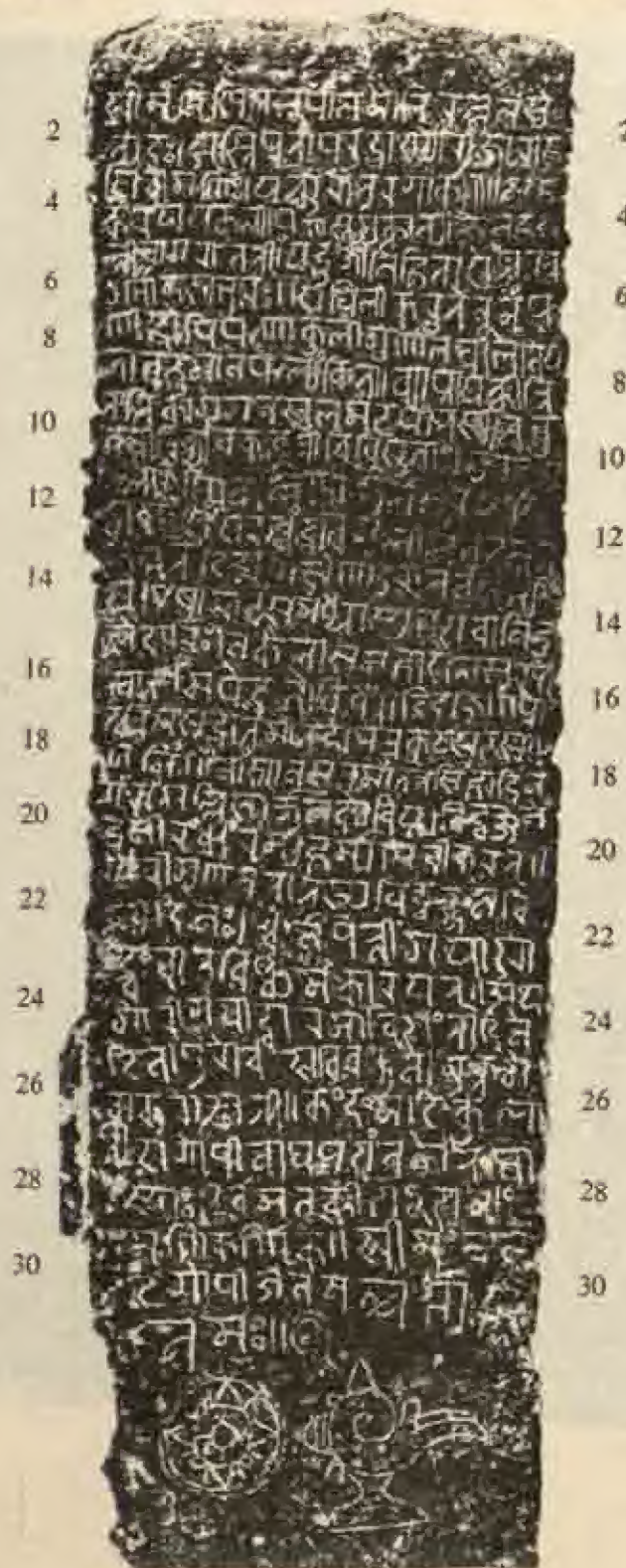
<sup>4</sup> This is registered as No. 126 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1907-58, Appendix B.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 490.

<sup>6</sup> See Coelho, *The Hoysaḷa Vardha*, pp. 115, 169, 198.

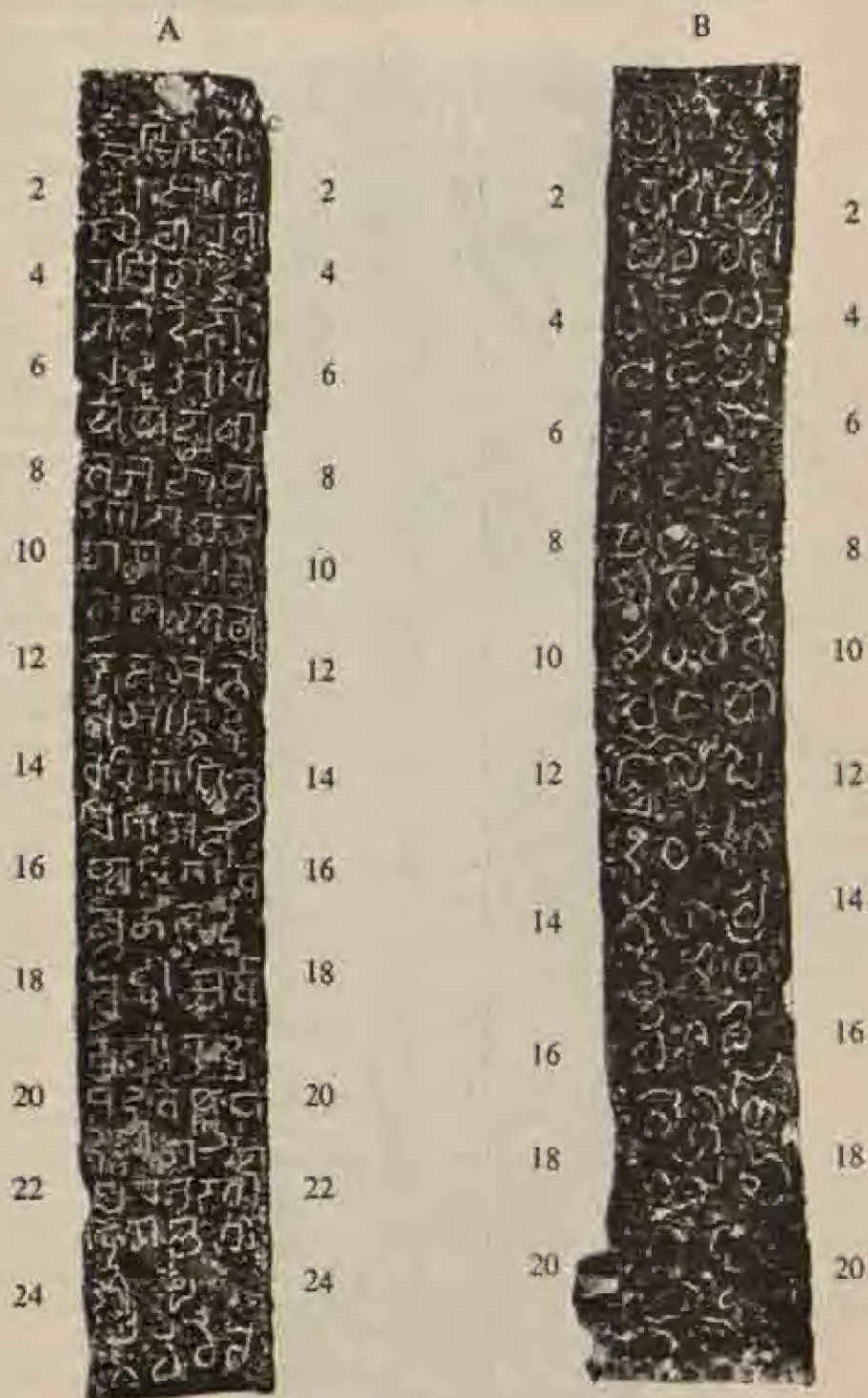


INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA — PLATE 1  
1. Inscription of the time of Kakatiya Prataparudra 1





## 2. Inscriptions of the time of Hoysala Narasimha III



Scale : One-fourth



inscriptions as regards the identification of Vira-Narasimha. The cyclic year Khara of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle as counted in South India can be associated with the reign of each one of the three kings, viz. Khara=1171-72 A.D. falling in the reign of Narasimha I, Khara=1231-32 A.D. in that of Narasimha II and Khara=1291-92 A.D. about the end of that of Narasimha III. But since the week-day is given as Monday, the details quoted in the epigraph would suit only the year 1291 A.D. The date corresponds to the 24th September 1291 A.D. and the king mentioned in our epigraph is thus no doubt Hoysala Narasimha III.

The inscription under study begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by a passage in lines 1-11 mentioning a person named Apanna as the son of *Āchārya* Padmanābha-bhaṭṭopādhyāya of the *dāhāra* of Hōsaṇa (Hoysala) śrī Vira-Narasimhadēva. The word *dāhāra* is derived from Sanskrit *dācagrihaka*, 'a temple', through Apabhraṃśa *dāharaya*. The word *āchārya* is used in Kannada in the sense of a priest and *Āchārya* Padmanābha-bhaṭṭopādhyāya was apparently the priest of a temple built by the Hoysala king Narasimha probably at his capital Dērasamudra. Padmanābha's son Apanna is stated in lines 11-18 to have caused to be constructed what is called a *Gayā-vrajana-maṭha* and to have discharged thereby his debts to the gods, to his forefathers and to other human beings. The expression *Gayā-vrajana-maṭha* appears to indicate a sort of *Dharma-śālā* which was meant for the pilgrims who visited Gayā probably from the Karpāṭa country to which Apanna belonged. Lines 18-23 mention the names of three persons called Rudrapada, Viṣṇupada and Gaḍādhara who are stated to have been the witnesses in the matter apparently of the construction of the *Maṭha*.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether these three persons, who appear to have been local people, were made trustees for the *Maṭha* in question by Apanna. Lines 23-24 contain the expression *śrī-śrī* forming a *maṅgala* and indicating the end of the document. This is followed in the last line (line 25) by the personal name Dēvarasa written in Kannada characters. Dēvarasa was possibly responsible for the engraving of the inscription analysed above as well as of the other record incised in the lower half of the surface of the stone.

It appears that Apanna of the present record and Chandirappa of the second inscription visited Gayā at the same time. There is little doubt that they were accompanied by many other pilgrims from the area of Karpāṭaka, to which they belonged, one of them apparently being Dēvarasa.

It is not clear from the inscription whether Apanna, the son of the priest of Hoysala Narasimha's temple, visited Gayā and constructed the *Maṭha* at the holy place for the pilgrims probably from Karpāṭaka on his own behalf or at the expense and on behalf of the Hoysala king. But, in spite of the non-mention of the ruler whose kingdom included the Gayā region in the inscription under study, Hoysala Narasimha mentioned in it had obviously nothing really to do with South Bihar.

## TEXT:

- 1 Svasti [ ] Śrī-
- 2 Hōsaṇa-
- 3 Śrī-Vira-Nā-
- 4 rasimhadē-
- 5 vana dāhā-
- 6 rade āchā-
- 7 rya-Padmanā-

<sup>1</sup> It is also possible to think that the reference is to three local deities.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions. We are indebted to Dr. G. S. Gai and Mr. B. R. Gupta for some help in reading and interpreting this inscription.



- 8 bha-bhaḥḥ(pā)ḥpā.
- 9 dhyāyara ma-
- 10 gam-Apaḥḥa-
- 11 nu Gayā-vra-
- 12 jana-maḥḥa-
- 13 va māḥḥi dā-
- 14 va-ri(rī)ḥa pita(rī)-
- 15 ri(rī)ḥa manu-
- 16 shya-ri(rī)ḥa-
- 17 nū kalāḥḥ-
- 18 nu<sup>1</sup> [[\*] l-ardha(rtha)-
- 19 ke śrī-Rudra-
- 20 paḥḥa Viḥḥḥa-
- 21 da śrī-Gaḥḥa-
- 22 dharanu sā-
- 23 kshigaḥḥa [[\*] śrī
- 24 śrī [[\*]<sup>2</sup>
- 25 Dōvarasa<sup>3</sup> [[\*]

### 3. Inscription of Kṛishṇadōva-rāya, Śaka 1444

The inscription<sup>4</sup> is engraved on a sculptured stone slab built into the right wall of the Gadādhara Ghāṭ (in front of the Gadādhara shrine in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple) leading to the river Phalgu. The slab measures about 2.5 feet in height and 1.5 feet in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An eight-armed female deity is engraved in low relief in an excavated bed in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. The details of the figure are not clear on the impressions. But the representation seems to be that of the goddess Mahābhāskuramardini. Lines 12-16 of the inscription are engraved to the left and lines 17-21 to the right of the excavated bed containing the figure.

The record is in Telugu characters of about the 16th century A.D. The letter *k* is written in its modern Telugu form in *Kṛishṇa* (line 7) and *gaḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ* (lines 15-16). The letter *j* almost resembles the form of modern Telugu *k*. No distinction has been made between the medial signs for *i* and *ī*. Initial *i* is used for *yī* in *śrībhāṣa* (line 8; cf. *yī* for *ī* in line 17). The consonant following *anuvāda* is reduplicated in some cases.

The language of the record is Telugu and it is written in prose with a single verse in the middle. It is dated in Śaka 1444 (current), Vriṣha, Aṣṭādha-ba. 13, Tuesday, regularly corresponding to July 2, 1521 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Read *keḥḥḥḥḥḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> There is a symbol here.

<sup>3</sup> This name is written in Kannada characters unlike lines 1-24 in Nāgarī. This is followed by a different inscription in Kannada language and alphabet, to which reference has been made.

<sup>4</sup> It has been registered as No. 124 of A. R. Ep., 1957-58, Appendix B.



The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by the date in lines 1-4. Next comes a sentence in prose in lines 5-9, which states that the *vijaya-śāṣana* (apparently referring to the record under study) was set up by the illustrious *Rājāśhirdja Rājaparamēśvara Virapratāpa-Vīra Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāja*. The above is followed by a verse in the Kanda metre, which is in praise of the king. He is represented in the stanza as the husband of *Tirumala-dēvi* and as the son of king *Iśvara-Narasa* (i.e. Narasa-nāyaka, son of Iśvara). It is interesting to note that this verse occurs in the celebrated Telugu work entitled *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* by the well-known poet Nandi-Timmana (also called Mukku-Timmana) who was an ornament of the court of king *Kṛishṇadēva-rāya* (1509-29 A.D.) of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. The stanza is followed by another sentence in prose in lines 17-21 stating that the *śāṣana* (i.e. the *vijaya-śāṣana* mentioned in lines 8-9) was composed by Mukku-Timmana, i.e. Mukku-Timmana referred to above.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, it is a lithic record of the Vijayanagara king *Kṛishṇadēva-rāya* set up far away from the territory under his rule. Secondly, it is a composition of *Kṛishṇadēva-rāya*'s famous court poet Nandi-Timmana, who is mentioned in no other epigraphic record so far discovered. Thirdly, it quotes a stanza from the poet's celebrated work *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and quotations from such works are rare in inscriptions.

The inscription refers to itself as the *vijaya-śāṣana* (literally 'a document relating to victory') of king *Kṛishṇadēva-rāya*, set up by the king himself, as if Gayā, where it was set up, formed an integral part of his empire. But we know that in Śaka 1444 (1521 A.D.) when the epigraph was engraved, the region was a part of the dominions of the Muhammadans.<sup>1</sup> The said region, moreover, lay far away from the borders of the Vijayanagara empire in the extreme south of India and the sphere of *Kṛishṇadēva*'s influence, with a number of independent states lying between the two areas, and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that the Vijayanagara monarch had anything to do with South Bihar. Thus the poet Nandi-Timmana seems to have himself visited Gayā as a proxy of his patron. The prevalence of such a practice is well-known from medieval inscriptions. Thus a record<sup>2</sup> from Bothpur in the Mahabubnagar District, of Andhra Pradesh, states how a chief named *Vijaya* sent two persons named *Bāchaya* and *Boppa* to *Vārāṇasī* (i.e. *Vārāṇasī* or *Banāras*) 'in the name of his grandmother' and gave them two *Mortuus* of land for their labour. Another inscription<sup>3</sup> of Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.) from the same place seems to state how another chief named *Malyāla Guṇḍa* gave some lands to several people for making pilgrimages on his behalf to *śiśhus* like *Sēru* (*Setubandha-Rāmēśvara*), *Śrīparvata*, and *Alampūra* on the *Tungabhadra*.

Thus in spite of the mention of the record as *Kṛishṇadēva*'s *vijaya-śāṣana* set up by himself and of the absence of any reference to the king whose dominions comprised the Gayā region, the Vijayanagara monarch cannot in any way be associated with the area where the inscription was set up by his court poet in his name. As indicated above, Mukku-Timmana probably made the pilgrimage to the holy place on behalf of his patron and there is no reason to believe that *Kṛishṇadēva* himself visited Gayā.

It may be pointed out here that the expression *vijaya-śāṣana* is not quite suitable in the present context. The record should have properly been called a *dharma-śāṣana* (i.e. a document relating to religious merit), as found in a similar context in the record of *Achyutarāya*'s time, edited below, since it was really associated with the king's endeavour to acquire religious merit by performing a pilgrimage to Gayā through a proxy. Of course it may be regarded as a *dharma-vijaya-śāṣana*.

<sup>1</sup> About the period in question, the Bihar region was a bone of contention among the Sultans of Delhi, Bengal and Jaunpur.

<sup>2</sup> P. Sreenivasachar, *Corpus*, Part II, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 132 (p. 147, text lines 135 ff.).







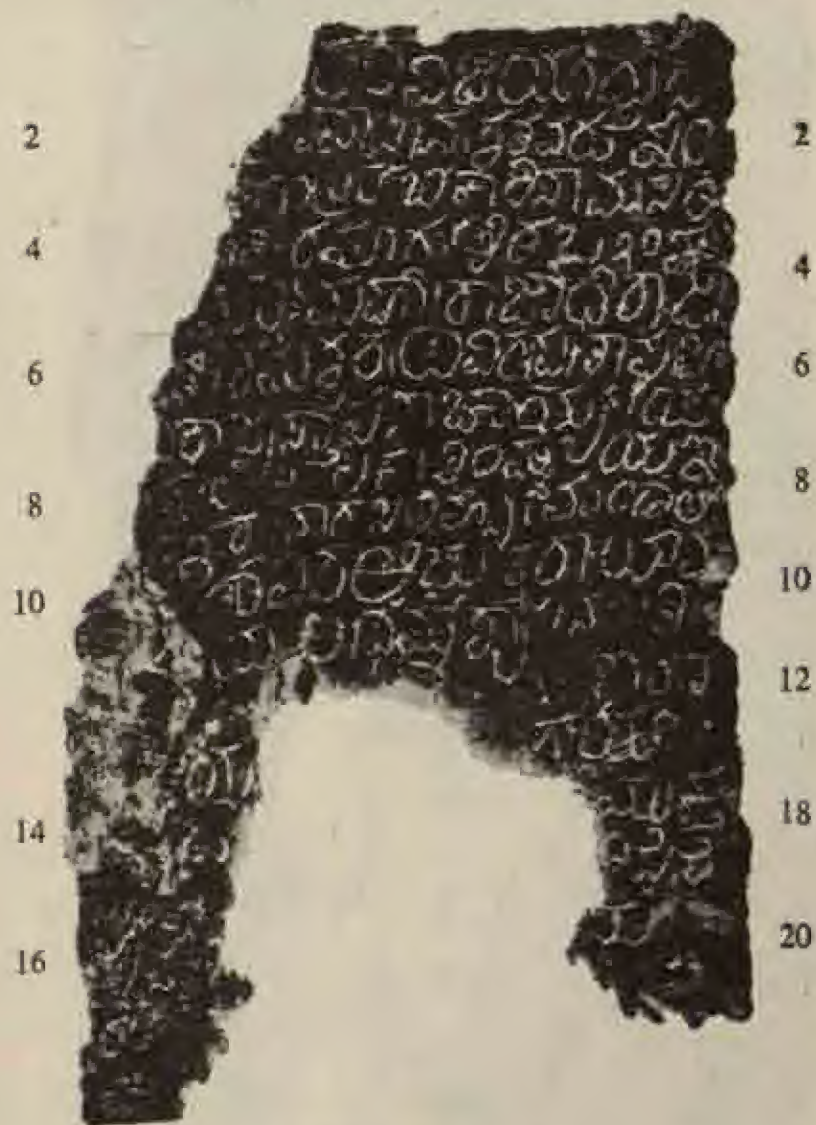
INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA — PLATE II  
3. Inscription of Krishnadeva-arya, Saka 1444



Scale : One-fourth



4. Inscription of Achyutaraya, V. S. 1588



Scale : One-fourth



- 7 Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāyalu  
 8 vāim<sup>1</sup>china vijaya-sāsana-  
 9 mu || Tīrumaladēvi-vallabhaka<sup>2</sup> ka-  
 10 ruṣāmaya-hṛidaya rāja-kadi-  
 11 śhīrava Iēvara-Narasa-bhūpurandara-  
 12 vara-nandana  
 13 bāsa-da-  
 14 ppuvara  
 15 gamdḍāh-  
 16 kkā [||\*]<sup>3</sup>  
 17 yi(t)-sā-  
 18 sanamu  
 19 Mukku-  
 20 Timmaya  
 21 vrāsenu<sup>4</sup> [||\*]

#### 4.—Inscription of Achyutarāya, V.S. 1588

This inscription<sup>5</sup> is engraved on a sculptured stone slab kept in the Mahādēva shrine to the right of the Viṣṇupāda temple in the compound of the latter. The inscribed surface measures about 20 inches in height and 12 inches in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An image of the goddess Durgā is cut in relief in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. Lines 1-11 of the record are engraved above the figure of the goddess while lines 12 and 18-21 are engraved to its right and lines 13-17 to its left. Line 12 should have properly been incised to the left of the image above lines 13-17.

The inscription is written in Telugu characters of about the 16th century and the letters very closely resemble those of the record of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya's time, edited above. The letter *ch* is written in two different forms (cf. *stāpan-achāryya* in line 7 and *Achchutta* in line 10), while *t* resembles the modern Telugu *k*. *B* has been used for *v* in *Vikāri* (line 3). The language is Telugu and the record is written in prose. The wrong spelling of the words *Ireṣvara* for *Iēvara* (lines 8-9), *Achchutta* for *Achyuta* (line 10), *śyāsanam* for *sāsanam* (line 11), *sāenu* for *chāsenu* (lines 20-21), etc., exhibits the poor knowledge of the composer especially when compared with the composition of the record of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya's time.

<sup>1</sup> Read *vāim*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vallabha*.

<sup>3</sup> This stanza is from the *Pōrijāṭṭapāṇamamu*, Canto 2, verse 105. Lines 12-16, as indicated above, are engraved to the left of an excavated bed containing the figure of a deity in relief.

<sup>4</sup> Lines 17-21 are incised to the right of the said excavated bed.

<sup>5</sup> It has been registered as No. 122 of A.R.E., 1937-38, Appendix B.



The date of the inscription is very interesting. It is quoted in lines 1-4 as Śālivāhana-Śaka 1588, Vikārin, Mārgaśīra-ba. 30, Friday. But the year 1588 really belongs to the Vikrama Samvat and not to the Śaka era. This is clearly suggested by several indications. In the first place, Śaka 1588 was far removed from the cyclic year Vikārin of both the North Indian and South Indian calendars and the details of the date are irregular for the said Śaka year. Secondly, the cyclic year Vikārin of the northern calendar corresponded to V.S. 1588 and the Vikrama and northern cyclic years are sometimes found side by side in the records discovered at Gayā.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, the details of the date are regular only in the case of the year V.S. 1588 corresponding to Vikārin of the North Indian calendar and this date tallies with the internal evidence of the record stated to have been set up during the reign of king Achyutarāya of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara, who was the step-brother and successor of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya and ruled in the period 1529-46 A.D. On the other hand, Śaka 1588 (1666 A.D.) would fall more than a century after the period of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara. The details of the date, viz. V.S. 1588, Vikārin, Mārgaśīra-ba. 30, Friday, regularly correspond to the 8th December 1531 A.D.

The date of the inscription discussed above is followed by a passage in lines 5-11 stating that the *dharma-śāstra* belonged to king śrī-vīra-Achyutarāya-mahārāja, the son of Nīrasimha, grandson of Śvara and great-grandson of Timmaya. The expression *dharma-śāstra* means 'a document relating to religious merit' and undoubtedly refers to the inscription under study. It is quite appropriately employed in the present context since the record was apparently set up by a person who made a pilgrimage to Gayā on the king's behalf. King Achyutarāya is endowed in the inscription with the epithets *Rājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Vicraṇatāpa* as well as *Hindu-rāja-śūpan-āchārya* (i.e. one who can teach how to establish the sovereignty of the Hindus) and *Yadu-kula-silaka* (i.e. an ornament of the Yadu family). Lines 12 ff. state that a certain Timmaṇṇa made the occupants of the Vijayanagara throne *Gayā-mukta*. The passage *Vijayanagara(r)-śikhāṇa-karta[la]* in lines 13-17 apparently refers to the departed ancestors of king Achyutarāya mentioned in the record. The expression *Gayā-mukta* (literally, 'emancipated at Gayā') no doubt means that Timmaṇṇa performed the *Śrāddha* of Achyutarāya's ancestors on the king's behalf at Gayā and thereby led their spirits to emancipation. Timmaṇṇa was probably a priest of the Vijayanagara king.

The inscription gives the genealogy of king Achyutarāya from his great-grandfather Timmaya who is the earliest historical figure in the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and is mentioned only in a few copper-plate grants<sup>2</sup> of his descendants and in literary works like the *Manucharitamu*<sup>3</sup> and *Amuktamālyada*.<sup>4</sup> He has been identified with the chief named Tirumalaideva mentioned in two inscriptions from Tañjāvūr<sup>5</sup> and Śrīraṅgam.<sup>6</sup> The earlier of the two records is dated in Śaka 1377 (1455 A.D.) and refers to the chief as *Mahāmanjallēva Mēdinimīśaragayā Kaṭṭāriśēṭa Śājuva-Tirumalaideva-mahārāja*. His mention in a stone inscription of Achyutarāya is striking and seems to be explained by the fact that he was one of Achyutarāya's ancestors whose *śrāddha* was performed by Timmaṇṇa at Gayā. Timmaṇṇa was apparently sent to Gayā by Achyutarāya in order to perform the pilgrimage on his behalf and at his cost as well as to celebrate the *śrāddha* ceremony of his departed ancestors. It is impossible to believe that king Achyutarāya himself visited Gayā or had anything to do with South Bihar.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Bhandarkar's List, No. 370 which comes from Gayā and is dated V.S. 1222 and Vikārin.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 363, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Manucharitamu*, Canto I (introduction), verses 23-24.

<sup>4</sup> *Amuktamālyada*, Canto I (introduction), verses 24-25.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, Vol. II, p. 117, Ins. No. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 59 of 1892.



The well-known city of Vijayanagara (modern Hampi in the Bellary District of Mysore State) is the only geographical name mentioned in the inscription besides Gayā.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . .<sup>2</sup> Śrī-vijay-śābu(bhyu)da-
- 2 . . .<sup>3</sup> livāhana-śata<sup>4</sup>-varuṣaṁ-
- 3 . . .<sup>5</sup> 1588 Bī(Vī)kārī-nāma-saṁ-
- 4 .<sup>6</sup>tsara Mārggaśira-ba 30 Śu<sup>7</sup>
- 5 .<sup>8</sup>man-mahā<sup>9</sup> |<sup>10</sup> rājādhirāja |<sup>11</sup>
- 6 [ja]-paramēśvara | śrī-vīrapratāpa | Him-
- 7 [du]-rājya-stū(sthā)pan-āchāryya | Ya-
- 8 [du]-kula-tilaka | Tīm(Ti)mmaya I-
- 9 rāśvara<sup>12</sup> | Nārasimhaya(ha) | maṇḍalē-
- 10 . . .<sup>13</sup>śrī-vīra-Achchutta<sup>14</sup>rāya-ma-
- 11 . . .<sup>15</sup>yala | dha[<sup>16</sup>x<sup>17</sup>]mma-śyā(śā)saṁ | Tīm-
- 12 <sup>18</sup>maṇḍala
- 13 <sup>19</sup>[Vī]jaya-
- 14 [na]garaṁ(ra)-
- 15 siṁhā-
- 16 sana-ka-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> The two akṣaras lost here may be restored as *vaśā*.

<sup>3</sup> The two akṣaras lost here may be restored as *ya-śā*.

<sup>4</sup> The word intended is apparently *Saka*. But, as indicated above, we have to read *Vikrama-saṁvatsara* for *Śālinikane-Saka-varuṣam*.

<sup>5</sup> The two akṣaras lost here may be restored as *śālu*.

<sup>6</sup> The akṣara lost here may be restored as *va*.

<sup>7</sup> This is a contraction of *Sukra-vāra*, 'Friday'.

<sup>8</sup> The akṣaras lost here may be restored as *śrī*.

<sup>9</sup> This *da* and others in this and the following lines are redundant.

<sup>10</sup> The akṣara lost here may be restored as *vā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *īvara*.

<sup>12</sup> The two akṣaras lost here may be restored as *śvara*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *Achchuta*. Sandhi has not been observed.

<sup>14</sup> The lost akṣaras may be restored as *āra*.

<sup>15</sup> This line was incised by the engraver to the right of the image of Durgā above lines 18-21 through oversight.

<sup>16-17</sup> Lines 15-17 are engraved to the left of the image.



17 rta[ia]

18 <sup>1</sup>Gayā-

19 mukta-

20 m sś(chś)ee-

21 nu [l\*]

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\* Lines 18-21 are engraved to the right of the image of Durgā below line 12.



## No. 21—VERAVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA BHIMA II

( 1 Plate )

V. P. JOHARAPURKAR, NAGPUR

( Received on 2.4.1958 )

This inscription<sup>1</sup> was found near the Police Station at **Prabhās Pāṭan** (**Vērāval**) and is now deposited at the Junagadh Museum. I am editing the inscription from an excellent inked impression received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved on a **stone slab** measuring 18"×16". The left half of the slab is lost. The inscription originally contained 25 lines with 64 letters in each. Approximately 28 letters from each line are now lost with the left half of the slab. The writing is well executed and it is in a good state of preservation except in the fifteenth line. The **language** is Sanskrit and the **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th or 12th century A.D.

The inscription opens with two invocatory verses; but the name of the deity invoked is lost. The next three stanzas describe the capital city of [**Apahilla**]**pāṭaka**. Verses 6-7 mention **Mūlarāja** described as respected by all kings and as the uprooter of all enemies. The following two verses refer to the kings who succeeded Mūlarāja. Verses 10-12 refer to the ruling king **Bhīma**. Then comes a description of **Achārya** Kundakunda of Nandi-saṅgha in three verses. Verses 16-18 refer to a line of teachers that started from Kundakunda. The next two verses describe Śrīkīrti as a prominent pontiff of the line. Verses 21-23 appear to refer to Śrīkīrti's pilgrimage from **Chitrakūṭa** to 'the holy place of Nēminātha', i.e., Gīrnar, to the welcome he received at **Apahillapura** and to the title *Maṇḍalāchārya* that was conferred on him by the king. Verse 24 refers to the **Mūlavasatikā** temple of **Apahillapura**.<sup>2</sup> The next few verses describe the teachers who succeeded Śrīkīrti. These names include Ajitachandra, Chārakīrti, Yaśaḥkīrti and Kāhēmakīrti. Their interrelation is not clear due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription. Verses 34-41 describe the restoration of a shrine which is probably the temple of Chandraprabha referred to in verse 42. The restoration was made probably at the instance of *Maṇḍalagagan* Lalitakīrti referred to in verse 40. Verse 42 refers to a miracle connected with the image of Chandraprabha. It is stated that the water used for its bath cured leprosy. Verse 44 gives the date of the restoration of the temple and verse 45 mentions the name of the author of the inscription, viz., Pravarakīrti.

As noted above, the inscription belongs to the reign of Bhīma who has to be identified with king **Bhīma II** of the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat. Numerous inscriptions of his time have come to light, ranging from 1178 to 1239 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Bhīma was a minor when he succeeded his brother Mūlarāja II and he was supported by Vāghēlā Arjūnāja and his son Lavagaprasāda in the difficulties that he faced in the earlier part of his reign. Line 3 of our inscription seems to refer to this fact. Bhīma had to face the invasions of the Yādava kinga Bhīllama and Jaitugi, Paramāra Subhaya-varman and the Muslims under the leadership of Qutbuddin. In 1197 A.D. his capital Apahillapāṭaka was plundered by the Muhammadans. In the latter part of his reign, Bhīma secured the assistance of Vīradhavalā, son of Lavagaprasāda, and his ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla. He was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla whose earliest known date is 1242 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> It is registered as No. 403 of Appendix B in A. E. Ep., 1950-51.

<sup>2</sup> [The temple seems to have been named after Mūlarāja I.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 73-81.







by Sabaarakirti whose disciple Viryachandra was the teacher of Śrīchandra, author of the *Kathā-kāśha*. The patrons of Śrīchandra were the grandsons of one Sajjana who was the *Dharmasthāna-gāthāika* of king Mūlarāja of Apahillapura.

Little is known about other teachers mentioned in the inscription. The *Nandināgaha Paṭṭāvali*<sup>1</sup> names one Chārūkīrti in V. 8. 1262-64. His identification with the teacher of that name mentioned here remains uncertain.

The inscription testifies to the flourishing condition of Jainism in Gujarat in the reign of Bhīma II, even after a setback received under the rule of Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja II. It also goes to prove that the Digambara sect of the Jains continued to flourish in Gujarat even under the overwhelming influence of the great Śvētāmbara teacher Hēmachandra who is probably referred to in line 15 of our inscription.

### TEXT\*

[Metres: Verses 1-23, 25-28, 33-38 *Anuṣṭupā*; verses 24, 31, 32-40, 44-45 *Aryā*; verse 41 *Indravajrā*; verse 42 *Sādhūlavakṛīḍita*; verse 43 *Māhāt*.]

- 1 .....अबभ्रति नित्यमद्यापि वारिधौ ॥१\*॥ भूयादभीष्टसंसिद्धेय सु.....
- 2 .....पाटकाख्यं पतनं तद्विराजते ॥३॥ मन्ये वंधा विधायैतद्विधित्सुः पुनरीदृशं(धम्)॥ (1) [क].....
- 3 .....[न]रैर्द्वैत्रंयमंत्रज्ञैर्वैत्र लक्ष्मीः स्थिरीकृता ॥५॥ तन्निःशेषमहीपालमीलिषुष्टाहि.....
- 4 .....सौ नृपः । तेनोत्थातासुहृन्मूलो मूलराजः स उच्यते ॥७॥ एकैकाधिकभूपालाः सम-
- 5 .....[वाजि]घ्नजखुराहत(तम्) । धतुच्छमुच्छलत्सूर्यपव्णंभ्रममजीजनत् ॥९॥ पौदवेण  
प्रतापेन पुष्पेन
- 6 .....रग्नूतविक्रमः । श्रीभीमभूपतिस्तेषां राज्यं प्राज्यं करोत्ययं(धम्) ॥११॥ भालाक्ष-  
राण्यनम्राणां यो वेभञ्ज म-
- 7 .....अदिसंधे गणेश्वराः । बभूवुः कुंदकुंदाख्याः साक्षात्कृतजगत्तयाः ॥१३॥ येषामा-  
काशनामित्वं त्या
- 8 .....तपचक्रमुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं(लम्) । रचयित्वाद्य जल्पति येऽयन्नियमपूर्वकं(कम्) ॥१५॥  
कालेऽस्मिन् भारते क्षेत्रे जाता
- 9 .....[धुरी]णास्तत्त्व(त्व)वर्त्मनि । तेषां चारिषिणा वंसे भूरयः सूरयोऽभवन् ॥१७॥  
सद्वेधा द्यापि तिष्ठेयाः सकला अक
- 10 .....भावस्याहरोह तत् । श्रीकीर्तिं प्राप्य सत्कीर्तिं सूरि सूरिगुणं ततः ॥१९॥ यदीयं  
देशनावारि सम्यग्वि
- 11 .....[क]श्चित्रकूटाच्चवाल सः । श्रीमन्नेमिजिनाधीशतीर्थयात्रानिमित्ततः ॥२१॥ अणहि-  
त्सपुरं रम्यमाजगा

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 77.

\* From an impression.







VERVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA BHIMA II



Scale : One-third







No. 22—UNCHAHRA FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1294

( 1 Plate )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 1.5.1958)

The inscribed slab was secured for the Allahabad Municipal Museum from the village of Unchahra in the former Nagod State, now merged in Madhya Pradesh. The fragmentary inscription was noticed in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 21 ff., and published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 186 ff., without illustration.<sup>1</sup> It is re-edited here since our views do not entirely agree with those of the previous writers on the *ś*.

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about 17½ inches in height and about 12 inches in breadth. There are altogether 21 lines of writing, the first of which is *only* partially preserved. But it appears that the first line of the inscription is completely broken away along with the upper part of the stone, so that the first line of the extant part of the record is really line 2 of the inscription. A few letters are broken away and lost at the end of several of the lines. The *akṣaras* are about three quarters of an inch in height.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century. The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in both prose and verse. There are five stanzas in the first half of the epigraph in lines 1-13, the rest of it in lines 13-22 being in prose. The palaeography and orthography of the inscription closely resemble those of the later records of the Gāhaḍavāla kings, although it is a few decades later than the latest known Gāhaḍavāla epigraph. The use of final *m* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses and of the class nasal instead of *anuvāra* in some cases are interesting orthographical features of the inscription under study.

The date of the record is given in the prose part in lines 18-20 as the **Damanaka-chaturdaśī** *rātri* in the year 1294 (in words) apparently of the Vikrama Saṃvat. Unfortunately the name of the week-day is lost. The month is not mentioned by the scribe no doubt because the name of the *tithi* gives a clear indication. We know that Damanaka-chaturdaśī is the name of the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Chaitra.<sup>2</sup> V.S. 1294, Chaitra-*su.* 14, seems to correspond to Tuesday, March 30, 1238 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction and consecration of a temple of the god Śiva styled Vindhyēśvara by a lady whose name appears to be Uddalladēvi. The name occurs in the prose part in line 17. It was apparently also mentioned in verse 1; but the passage containing the letters appears to have broken away. Where exactly the temple was built is not specified; but probably it was built near the village of Unchahra where the inscribed stone slab has been found. Verse 3 suggests that the temple stood on a hillock pertaining to the Vindhyan range and the suggestion seems to be supported by the name Vindhyēśvara applied to the deity installed in it. A hillock actually stands near the village.

Verse 1 of the inscription apparently introduces the lady who was responsible for the construction of the temple in question, although the passage containing her name, as already noted above, seems to have broken away. There is a prayer in this stanza for the continuity and continuous rule probably of the royal family to which she belonged. Verse 2 speaks of *Rājakaśhakracartin Lakṣmīmapa* alias Dharmadēva who was related to the mother (*mātri-pakṣa*) of the said lady. The introduction of this ruler, who was probably the maternal grandfather or uncle of the lady, is

<sup>1</sup> See also *ARANI*, 1935-36, pp. 95-96.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 134.



difficult to explain unless it is supposed that he was a ruler of the Unchahra area where the temple was built by her. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) state how the lady caused a temple of the god Śūlin or Dhūrjaṭi (i.e. Śiva) styled Vindhyāśvara to be built apparently on the Vindhya. The purpose behind the construction of the temple is stated to have been the lady's desire to obtain wealth including sons and grandsons as well as the salvation of her dead ancestors. The last stanza (verse 5) states that the eulogy was composed by *Paṇḍita Sukhākara*.

The second half of the inscription in prose repeats parts of what is already stated in the versified section discussed above. But, although it does not mention *Rāṇakachakravartin Lakshmana alias Dharmadēva*, it gives some interesting details not found in the verses. Here the lady **Uddalladēvi** is stated to have caused the temple of **Vindhyāśvara** to be built and consecrated it on the **Damanaka-chaturdaśī** in **V.S. 1294** for obtaining wealth including children and grand children as well as for her own beatitude and the salvation of the twentyone past generations of her family. It is possible to think that reference is here to seven generations of each one of the three families to which she was related, viz. the families to which her father, mother and husband belonged. A damaged passage in line 20 seems to suggest that she performed the pious deed as a result of the god Vindhyāśvara having ordered her to do so in a dream. The lady is further described as born in the **Kanyakubja** country and to have been the daughter of *Mahā-sāmantarāja Bharahadēva* of the **Rāshṭra** family. **Rāshṭra** here is apparently a mistake for **Rāshtrakūṭa**. This shows that the lady was a scion of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** ruling family of **Kanyakubja**, i.e. **Kanoj**. She is stated to have been the *paṭṭa-rājñī* or chief queen of a chief named **Mahamandadēva** who is described as a *sāmanta* or feudatory of a ruler of the **Gāhaḍavāla** dynasty, whose name appears to be **Araḍakkamalla**. A person named *Paṇḍita Śasyakara* is mentioned at the end of the inscription in line 22 apparently as the writer indicating that he wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions no less than four rulers who flourished in the early decades of the thirteenth century in different parts of U. P. when that region is generally believed to have formed an integral part of the dominions of the Muhammadans. These four rulers, who are not known from any other source, are : (1) *Rāṇakachakravartin Lakshmana-Dharmadēva* of the Unchahra region ; (2) *Mahā-sāmantarāja Bharahadēva* of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** dynasty of **Kanoj** ; (3) *Sāmanta Mahamandadēva*, a feudatory of the **Gāhaḍavāla** king ; and (4) king **Araḍakkamalla** of the **Gāhaḍavāla** family. Of these, the first three were feudatories. But, while **Mahamandadēva**, whose name seems to exhibit an influence of the Arabic name **Muḥammad**, was a subordinate of the **Gāhaḍavāla** king, the overlords of **Lakshmana-Dharmadēva** and **Bharahadēva** are not known. Whether they acknowledged the supremacy of the Muhammadans is not clear, although that is not improbable even if the fact has not been indicated in the inscription. The real status of **Gāhaḍavāla Araḍakkamalla** is also difficult to determine. He had no doubt some feudatories under him ; but neither subordinative nor imperial epithets have been used with his name.

The **Set-Mabet** inscription<sup>1</sup> of 1119-20 A.D. speaks of **Rāshtrakūṭa Gōpāla**, king of **Gādhīpura** (i.e. **Kanoj**), and king **Madana**. This **Madana** has been identified with **Madanapāla** mentioned as the son of **Gōpāla** in the **Budaun** stone inscription<sup>2</sup> of the time of **Lakhanapāla** who represented the fourth generation after **Madanapāla** and may have flourished about a century later in the beginning of the thirteenth century. **Bharahadēva** of our inscription may have belonged to a branch of the same house. **Lakhanapāla** of the **Budaun** inscription may be identified with **Lakshmana-Dharmadēva** of our record if it is believed that marriage was allowed between different

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 204

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, No. 1670.



branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.<sup>1</sup> These Rāshtrakūṭas appear to have owed allegiance to the Gāhaḍavāla emperors and, after the overthrow of the Gāhaḍavālas, to the Muhammadans.

It is well known that in A.H. 590 (1193 A.D.), Muhammad Ghūrī, while he was advancing against Kanauj and Banāras, encountered 'Jaichand, the Rāj of Banāras' (i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandradeva) in the vicinity of Chandwar or Chandrawar near the Jumna in the Etawah District of U.P. Jaichand was killed and his capital Banāras was occupied by the Muhammadans. That, however, the Gāhaḍavāla suzerainty was not completely destroyed in 1193 A.D., is indicated by the Machhlisahar plate<sup>2</sup> issued by king Hariśchandra, son of Jayachandradeva, on Sunday, Pausāṣa. 15, V.S. 1253 (January 6, 1197 A.D.), and the Bēkhārā pillar inscription<sup>3</sup> of Tuesday, Vaiśākha. 11, V.S. 1253 (April 29, 1197 A.D.) when the feudatory chief Vijayakarna ruling over a part of the Mirzapur District acknowledged the suzerainty of an unnamed imperial ruler of Kūnyakubja. The Bēkhārā inscription shows that Vijayakarna was not subdued by the Muhammadans before April 1197 A.D. although he was doubtful whether he could still refer to Gāhaḍavāla Hariśchandra as his overlord. The present inscription referring to a Gāhaḍavāla king named Araḍakkamalla as the overlord of *Sāmanta* Mahamanda in V.S. 1294 (1238 A.D.) suggests that the rule of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty did not end with the death of Hariśchandra. But it is difficult to determine whether Araḍakkamalla was ruling as a subordinate of the Muhammadans or as an independent monarch in the regions still unsubdued by the Mussalmans. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nūjūm*,<sup>4</sup> which attributes the conquest of Budāun, Banāras, Kinnauj-i-Shergarh (Kanauj) and Tichut to Ilūtūmish, also speaks of an independent Hindu king named Bartū, Britū or Prithu who is stated to have held sway in 'the territory of Awadh (Ayōdhyā)' and to have been killed by the Muhammadans soon after A.H. 623 (1226 A.D.). The continuity of Gāhaḍavāla rule probably to a still later date, as suggested by the inscription under study, may indicate that king Prithu was a scion of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. His name, however, does not sound like the names of the later Gāhaḍavālas ending with the word *chandra*. Nor does the name of Araḍakkamalla sound like that of a later Gāhaḍavāla. Whether this means that they belonged to a branch line of the family cannot be determined without further light on the subject. But, if Araḍakkamalla ruled as an independent monarch, it has to be admitted that even as late as the second quarter of the thirteenth century the Muslims were in occupation only of the important cities and strongholds while the countryside of the Gāhaḍavāla empire still continued to be under Hindu domination.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. They are the well-known Kūnyakubjādēśa (i.e. the territory around the city of Kanauj) and the Vindhya mountain range.

### TEXT<sup>a</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 3 *Śāṇḍilyakṛīḍita* ; verse 2 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

1. . . . \* — — — ○ — ○ — ○ ○ ○ — — — ○ — — —

2. [dīptai]va surēndra-maṇḍala-mu — — — ○ — — — ○ — — — [||\*] — — —

3. na guṇēna bhānti bhuvanē sarvā tayā nyakkṛitā[sa] — — — ○ ○ — — — [bhava]

<sup>1</sup> In that case, the Rāshtrakūṭas settled in the Unchahra area after their dislodgment from Budāun by the Muhammadans. According to a tradition current about the southern borders of the Allahabad District, the Gāhaḍavālas settled in the northern region of Vagheśhahar after the Muslim conquest of Kanauj and Banāras.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., No. 433.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., No. 434.

<sup>4</sup> Bary's trans., Vol. I, pp. 627-29.

<sup>a</sup> From impressions.

<sup>b</sup> Probably the Siddham symbol followed by the word *sa* stood at the beginning of the line.







1 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥  
 2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥  
 3 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥  
 4 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥  
 5 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥  
 6 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥  
 7 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥  
 8 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥  
 9 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥  
 10 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥  
 11 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥  
 12 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥  
 13 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥  
 14 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥  
 15 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥  
 16 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥  
 17 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥  
 18 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥  
 19 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥  
 20 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २२ ॥







## No. 23—WARANGAL INSCRIPTION OF RAGHUDEVA, KALI YEAR 4561

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.5.1958)

Many of the imperial ruling families of the Deccan had their capitals in the former Hyderabad State now merged in the Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Bombay States. Thus Mānyakhēta of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Kalyāṇa of the Later Chālukyas and Kalachuris, Dēvagiri of the Yādavas and Anumakonda and Varanigallu of the Kākatiyas were all situated in different parts of the former State of Hyderabad. It was therefore expected that the area, if properly explored, would yield a large number of interesting inscriptions and some time ago a band of my colleagues and assistants were sent to various parts of the region to begin the work. In the course of the exploration of a very small part of the area in 1957-58, Mr. K. H. V. Sarma and Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam, both Epigraphical Assistants in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited Warangal and copied some inscriptions that were found at the place. One of these inscriptions from Warangal is edited in the following pages. I am thankful to Mr. Sarma and Pandit Subrahmanyam for the assistance they have rendered me in the preparation of this article.

About 150 years ago, Mackenzie's Pandits copied the inscription and their tentative transcript finds a place in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, 15-4-5, p. 106 (cf. *Bhārati*, Vol. XII, Part i, pp. 426 ff.). Unfortunately the Pandits could not read the epigraph satisfactorily.

The inscription is divided into two parts, the first engraved on the right wall of the gate of the Warangal fort while the second part is incised on the left wall of the same structure. The first part contains ten lines of writing covering an area about five feet in length and two feet and one inch in height. There are only eight lines in the second part which covers a space about six feet and six inches long and one foot and eight inches high. The epigraph is continued from the first to the second part.\* The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory as the letters are rubbed off in many parts of the record.

The characters of the inscription are Telugu. Initial *a* has a rather peculiar form resembling modern Telugu *ḷ* in shape. But the language is Oriya which is, however, considerably influenced by Sanskrit. There are many errors in the language and orthography of the record. The date, quoted in lines 2-5, is **Saturday** (*Bṛiha-cāra*<sup>1</sup>), **Mṛigaśīrā-nakṣatra**, **Māgha-śu. 10**, in the year **Pramāthin** which is mentioned as corresponding to the **Kali year** indicated by the defective passage *yekāśatād-adhika-paṇcha-tat-ottara-chatu[ḥ]-sahasra-parimitt*. The expression *paṇcha-tat-ottara* (i.e. 'with the addition of 500') qualifying *chatur-sahasra* (i.e. 4,000) in the same context suggests that the number intended in *yekāśatād-adhika* qualifying *paṇchu-tata* should be less than hundred. The word *yeka* (*eka*, 'one') forming the first part of this expression clearly suggests that the intended number is one of those immediately following 10 or any of its multiples between 20 and 90. But the name *Pramāthin* applied to the year, which apparently corresponded to one of the **Kali years** from 4501 to 4599, shows that the **Kali year 4561 current** (i.e. **Kali 4560 expired**) is intended since no other year in the said period of 99 years corresponds to the cyclic year *Pramāthin* of the South Indian calendar. **Saturday, Māgha-śu. 10, Mṛigaśīrā-nakṣatra**, in **Kali 4561 current**, corresponds regularly to the **2nd February, 1460 A.D.**

The proposed emendation of *yekāśatād-adhika* as *ekāśaṣṭy-adhika* is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription. As will be seen below, the record mentions *Raghadēva*, the governor

<sup>1</sup> For *Bṛiha-cāra* meaning Saturday, see above, Vol. XXXI, p. 100, note 1.



of Rajahmundry under Gajapati Kapilēśvara of Orissa, in connection with the Oriya conquest of the fortress of Vōrumgallu in the land (rājya) of Varāṅgallu, i.e. the Warangal fort. The occupation of Warangal by the Oriyas is mentioned in another inscription<sup>1</sup> in the fort, referring to its conquest by Kapilēśvara's son Haribīra and bearing the date Pramāthīn, Māgha-śu. 10, Va (i.e. Vādḍa-vāra, Saturday) which is exactly the same as the date of the record under study. There is no doubt that both the inscriptions refer to the same event, viz. the conquest of the Warangal fort by the generals of Gajapati Kapilēśvara. It may be that Haribīra was the chief commander of the Gajapati forces and that Raghudēva was the second in command. It is interesting to note that Haribīra's inscription is found on the eastern gate of the Warangal fort while Raghudēva's record is incised on its western gate, locally known as the fifth gate. This appears to show that the two leaders of the Gajapati forces led the attack on the Warangal fort from two different sides. Raghudēva, the Oriya governor of Rajahmundry, is also known from several of his inscriptions bearing dates in the sixth decade of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the inscription is recorded in two sentences in the last two lines (lines 17-18). The concluding part of the first of these sentences is very much damaged. But it seems to read as *Vōrumgaṅḡi-durḡga-patīṅka sādḥilā* in which *sādḥilā* (past tense of the Oriya verb *sādhīd*) has no doubt been used in the sense of 'subdued' or 'defeated'. It is therefore stated here that Raghudēva-narēndra subdued the lord of the Vōrumgaṅḡi-durḡga (i.e. the Warangal fort). The second sentence says that he spared the lives of the governor of the fort and the latter's followers (*yāhara sasainya-sahitya jīva-dāna dīdā*). The conquest of Warangal by the generals of Kapilēśvara is one of the events in the struggle between the Bahmanis of Gulbarga and the Gajapatis of Orissa.

The inscription is interesting from several points of view. In the first place, it represents the god Vishṇu as the imperial ruler of the earth and apparently as the overlord of the emperor Kapilēśvara of the Sūryavamśa Gajapati family of Orissa. The date of the record has been put against the background of eternity as it is represented as falling in the eternal reign period of the said god. This is because of the fact, as we have shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> that Gaṅga Anaṅgabḥīma III (c. 1211-58 A.D.) dedicated his kingdom in favour of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri, who is regarded as a form of Vishṇu, and that the Gaṅga king's successors as well as the later imperial rulers of Orissa including their theoretical successors, the present Mahārājas of Puri, regarded themselves as the viceroys of the deity who was considered the real lord of the country. This conception is noticed in several inscriptions of the Gaṅga dynasty. The present epigraph is the only record outside the Gaṅga family, which echoes the same idea. There is, however, a slight difference in the conception as found in the inscription under review. The god is not represented here as the lord of the kingdom of Orissa with the king of Orissa as his viceroy. The idea expressed in our record is that the god was the lord of the earth while Kapilēśvara, endowed with imperial style, was the king of the Utkala country under him. This mode of introducing a king is possibly the only case of the kind in the whole range of Indian epigraphy.

The second point of interest in the record is its style which exhibits an influence of certain inscriptions of the Gaṅga. Some of the passages in Kapilēśvara's description in the present inscription are copied from records like the *Drākṣhīrāma*,<sup>4</sup> *Bhubaneswar*<sup>5</sup> and *Kāñchīpuram*<sup>6</sup> inscriptions of Anaṅgabḥīma III and one of the Kapilāś inscriptions<sup>7</sup> of Narasimha I (c. 1238-64 A.D.). The

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 1, note 3; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 280-81; cf. *SIH*, Vol. VII, p. 372, No. 733.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 1b.

<sup>4</sup> *SIH*, Vol. IV, p. 467, No. 1229.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 94 B.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 41 ff.



most interesting among these epithets are those which speak of the king as *Mahādeva-putra*, *Purushottama-putra* and *Durgā-putra*. In the similar representation of Anagabhadra III and his son Narasimha I, one may notice the fact that these kings, in spite of their staunch devotion to the god Vishnu in the shape of Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri, could not possibly dissociate themselves totally from the Śaiva leanings of their ancestors. Since, however, the hold of Vaiṣṇavism became gradually stronger and stronger on the kings of Orissa, it is rather strange that the same epithets were applied to Kapilēśvara who flourished two centuries later. But this may be explained by the suggestion that the Sūryavanshis were also Śaivas originally. It has, however, to be noticed that a similar description of Kapilēśvara is not noticed in any other inscription of the Sūryavanshi Gajapati family. Are we then to suppose that the reason underlying the above description of Kapilēśvara was the Śaiva leanings of Raghudēva? It will be seen from our analysis below that Raghudēva calls himself *Śrī-Durgā-vara-putra* as well as *Śrī-Jagannāthadēva-labdha*<sup>1</sup> *vara-prasāda*. He also bore the typical Śaivite name Virabhadra. This prince as well as his father and grandfather are further represented as devotees of the god Mallinātha and the goddess Gaṇamaṅgalachandī or Maṅgalachandī. These two deities are probably to be identified respectively with Śiva and Pārvatī since the name Mallinātha is known to be often applied to a Śiva-līṅga<sup>2</sup> and Chandī and Maṅgalachandī are both well-known names of the said goddess. As Raghudēva's grandfather was Kapilēśvara's father, it is possible to think that the family was originally Śaiva and that Kapilēśvara was the first of its members, who was devoted to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha. Kapilēśvara may have become a devotee of the said deity after his accession to the throne of Gajapati Bhānu IV, since theoretically the Gaṅga throne belonged to the god.

The first section of the inscription in lines 1-5 gives the date, viz. Saturday, Māgha-śuk. 10, Mrigashīrā-nakṣatra in the year 4561 current (in words) in the first quarter of Kali which is one of the four ages, the name of the year being Pramāthīn. This year is mentioned with reference to the victorious reign of the illustrious god Vishnu just as is done in the case of dates falling in the reigns of particular kings. In consonance with this interesting reference, the date is stated to have fallen in the second Parārdha of the god Brahman, in the Śvētavarāha Kalpa and the twenty-eighth Chatur-yuga of the Vaivasvata Manvantara. Lines 5-6 likewise mention the locality, where the inscription was put up, in an equally grand setting. The concluding part of this passage cannot be fully deciphered. But it seems to speak of the tract of Varuṅgallu (Warangal) within the dominions of Umainnāthā (Nātha) described as the Suratāga of Kalubaraga, i.e. the Bahmani Sultān Humāyun Shāh (1458-61 A.D.) of Gulbarga. This land is stated to have been situated in the western tract of the Āndhra country which formed a part of Bhāratavarsha lying in the Jambūdvīpa section of the earth. This is in consonance with the old conception according to which Jambūdvīpa was one of the four or seven *dvīpas* constituting the earth. The representation of a locality in a similar setting, is however, not unknown in South Indian inscriptions. Thus an inscription<sup>3</sup> of 1077 A.D. gives the situation of the capital of the Kadambas of Banavāsī in the following words: "Among the fourteen worlds is the middle world, one *raṣṭra* in extent. In the centre of that middle world is the Golden Mountain, to the south of which is the Bhārata land, in which like the curls of the lady earth shines the Kuntala country, to which an ornament [with various natural beauties] is Banavāsī."

The next passage in lines 7-17 introduces Raghudēva-narēndra who was responsible for the setting up of the record. First is mentioned in lines 7-8 Jāgēśvaradēva-māhārāja described as a devotee of the god Mallinātha and the goddess Gaṇamaṅgalachandī. Next is described Jāgēśvara's son Pratāpa-Kapilēśvaradēva-māhārāja in lines 8-14. Kapilēśvara is stated to have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telugu Districts*, Part III, 1936, Nos. Mn. 18-23 (pp. 49 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab No. 202. See also the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka, verses 5 ff. (above Vol. XXXII, p. 260).



becomes a lord of the *Utkala* country at the command of the illustrious *Purushōttama* described as the lord of the fourteen worlds, i.e. the god *Purushōttama-Jagannātha* of *Puri*. Next he is described as 'the son of *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*)', 'the son of *Purushōttama* (*Vishṇu*)' and 'the son of *Durgā*'. As already indicated above, these epithets and some others in the description of *Kapilēśvara* appear to have been borrowed from certain records of the *Gaṅga* king *Anaṅgabṛhma* III and his son and successor *Narasimha* I. In the inscription under study, *Kapilēśvara* is endowed with the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* and is described as belonging to the solar race. He is further called *śrī-cira-Gajapati* (the *Gajapati* who is an illustrious hero), *Gauḍēśvara* (lord of *Gauḍa*) and *vijita-navaśōḍhi-Karnāḍa-śvara* (lord of the *Karnāḍa*-nine-crore country conquered by him). It is interesting to note that *Kalavarag-śvara* (i.e. the lord of *Gulbarga*) is not added here to *Kapilēśvara*'s epithets as in other records. This is probably because the inscription was set up in an area belonging to the dominions of the *Bahmani* Sultāns of *Gulbarga* and the local people were expected to sneer at the hollowness of the claim.

*Kapilēśvara* was the first independent imperial ruler of the family and *Raghudēva* is known to have been his younger brothers' son and his viceroy at *Rajahmundry*. The mention of *Jāgēśvara* as a *māhārāja* (i.e. *mahārāja*) shows that he was also a ruling chief. This is supported by the evidence of the *Raghudēvapura* grant.<sup>1</sup> Lines 14-15 of our inscription mention *Parasurāmadēva* as the younger brother of *Kapilēśvara* and as a devotee of *Mallināthadēva* and *Maṅgalachandī* (elsewhere called *Gaṇamaṅgalachandī*). *Parasurāmadēva-rāja*'s son *Raghudēva* is mentioned in the following lines. He is called *Virabhadra Raghudēva-narēndra* and is described as a devotee of the god *Mallināthadēva* and the goddess *Gaṇamaṅgalachandī* and also as having been a favourite son of the goddess *Durgā* and as favoured by *Jagannāthadēva*, i.e. the god *Purushōttama-Jagannātha* of *Puri*. It is further stated that *Raghudēva* was the ruler of *Rājamahēndravara*, i.e. *Rājamahēndrapura*, which is the modern *Rajahmundry*. As already indicated above, the object of the inscription is recorded in the last two lines (lines 17-18) which state that *Raghudēva* subdued the governor of the *Warangal* fort but that he spared the lives of the said *Bahmani* officer and his soldiers.

The god *Mallinātha* seems to have been the family deity of the ancestors of *Kapilēśvara*. Since *Mallinātha* as the name of a deity is very popular in the *Telugu* speaking areas and not in *Orissa*, the original home of the *Sūryavamśa* *Gajapati* family may have been in the *Āndhra* country. As we have elsewhere suggested,<sup>2</sup> the mother of *Kapilēśvara* was probably born in the *Velama* community of *Āndhra*.

The genealogy of the *Sūryavamśa* *Gajapatis* of *Orissa* supplied by the present inscription represents *Kapilēśvara* and *Parasurāma* as the sons of *Jāgēśvara*, and *Raghudēva*, governor of *Rajahmundry*, as the son of *Parasurāma*. This information is already available from the *Raghudēvapura* and *Dōrapālem* grants of *Raghudēva* edited above.<sup>3</sup> But *Raghudēva*'s secondary name *Virabhadra* is known only from the present record.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription have already been discussed above.

#### TEXT.

##### Part I

1 Śrī-Vishṇu-tījya-pravarāddhamānasya<sup>1</sup> |<sup>2</sup> adya [Brahmaṇḍ] dvitīya(ya)-parārddha | Svē-  
(Śvē)tavarāha-kalpō |

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 1, 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

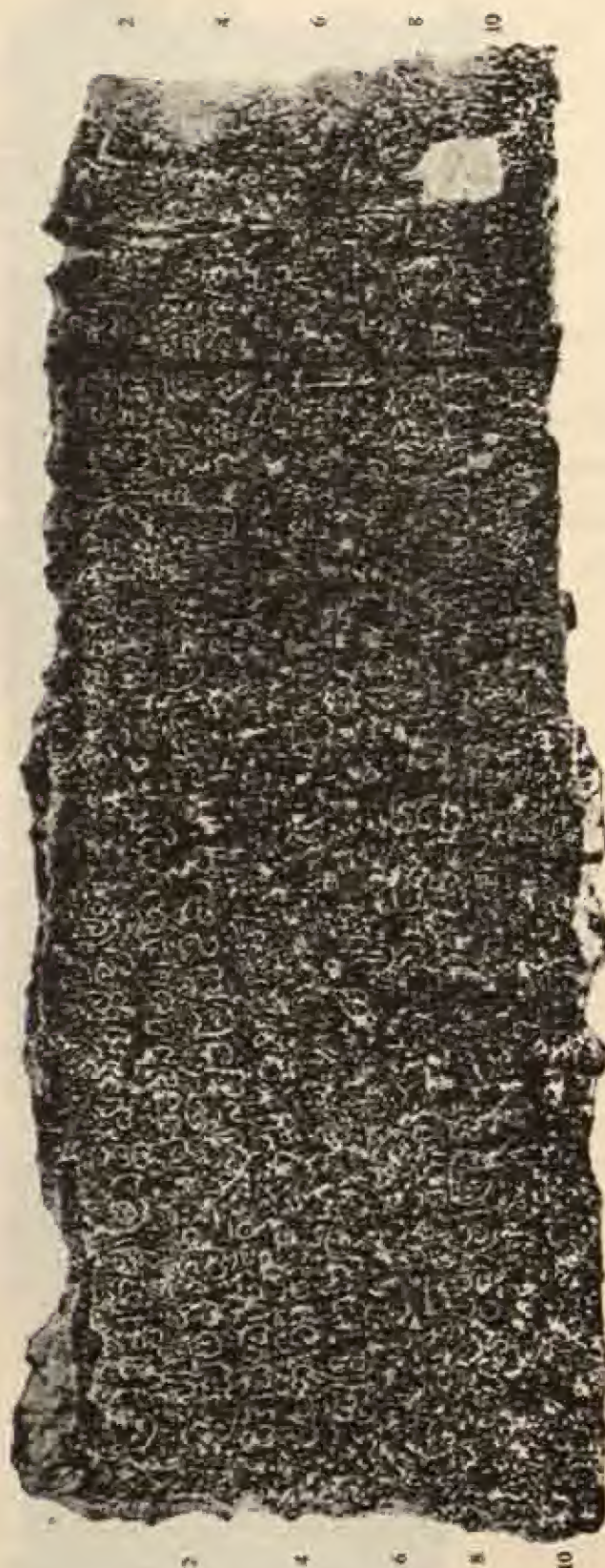
<sup>4</sup> From an impression.

<sup>5</sup> Better read \*māsa.

<sup>6</sup> The *depā* here and in other places in this and the following lines are superfluous.



WARANGAL INSCRIPTION OF RAGHUDEVA, KALI YEAR 4561  
First Part



Scale : One-sixth



Second Part



12  
14  
16  
18

12  
14  
16  
18



- 2 Vairasvata-manavadhita(ta)ṛṣṣ | aṣṭāṣṭi[ṣṭi]satitām<sup>1</sup> | chaturyyanigana<sup>2</sup> Kalē(lau) | prathamapaḍṣ | yāśasātād-a-<sup>3</sup>
- 3 dhika- | pañcha-sat-ottara- | chatu(h\*)-sahasra- | parimit[ṣṭi] | avadhō<sup>4</sup> | Pramādi-sānvatsarē | Uttar-ā-
- 4 yaṇṣ | śiśi-rotau<sup>5</sup> | Māgha-māsē | śukla-pakṣhē | daśamvārī tithau | Bṛiha-vāsarē | Mṛigaśi(rā)-
- 5 nakṣhatrē | iha pṛithivyāṣṭ | Jarubū-dvīpē Bha(Bhā)ra(ta)-varṣhē | Andhra-dēś-ānta-rggata-[pāśchima]-
- 6 diśā-bhāgē | Ka(lu)ṣaraga-suyatāṇa- | Umainuśahā<sup>6</sup> | Vōruṅgallu- | rājy[ṣṭi] . . . . .
- 7 śrī-Mallināthadēva-Gaṇamaṅgalachamḍi-chara[ṇa]-śarapa | śrī-Jāgōṣ(v)aradēva-māhā-
- 8 [rāyaṇ]kara putra | śrī-chaturddāśa-bhuvan-ādhipati [śrīmatu] | śrī-[Puru]śhōttamasya a-
- 9 dēśād-Utkal-ādihīsa | kṛite-samara-mukh-āṇēka-ripu-darppa-marḍdana | bhuja-baja-pa-krāma |
- 10 . . . . .pūjya-sattamaḥ | Mahēśvara-[putra char-ācha]ra-jagan-mūla-kāraṇa- | śrī-Puru-

## Part II

- 11 śhōttama-putra | śrī-Durgā-putra | trayī-vasuṇḍharā-samuddharapa-pratāpa-prachandha- | dōr-ddandha-[mahā-varāha] | śrīman-māhā[rā]-
- 12 jādhirāja-paramēśvara | Vaivasvata-[kula]-pra[ṣṭi]jāta rakṣhā-dakṣha . . . . . | śat[ṣṭi]bhī[ṣṭi]ta . . . . . | śrī-Rāma-guṇa-<sup>7</sup>
- 13 aṣṭakṛita | śrī-Sūrya-varṇa-āvalambana-stambha | śrī-Vira-Gajapati-Gavud-śēvara | vijita-nava-kōṭi-Karnāt-śēvara | Prātē-
- 14 pa-Kapilśēvara- | dēva-māhārōjanikara | tasya<sup>8</sup> anu[ṣṭi] | śrī-Mallinātha- | dēva-Maṅga[acha-mḍi]-charana-śaranu | śrī-Para-
- 15 ś[ṣṭi]rāmādēvām(yam)kara putra | śrī-Mallināthadēva-Gaṇamaṅgalachamḍi-charana- | śara-nu | śrī-Jag[ṣṭi]nāthadēva-[labdha\*]-
- 16 vara-prasāda | śrī-Durgā-vara-putra | ripu-[darppa]-māna-marḍdana- | yōka<sup>9</sup>-dakṣha | śrī-Rāja[mahēndra]-

<sup>1</sup> Read "śiśi-rotau".<sup>2</sup> Read "r-yyugāṇa".<sup>3</sup> Read śāśasātād-a<sup>3</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Read abdi.<sup>5</sup> Read śiśi-rotau.<sup>6</sup> Read śahā.<sup>7</sup> śat[ṣṭi] has not been observed here.<sup>8</sup> The word is redundant.<sup>9</sup> Read marḍana-śiśa.



17. *vara-tājya(ja) | śrī-Paruśā'rāmadāva-tāya-tāya | śrī-Vira(ha)dra-Ragbudāva-narāc-*  
*dra | Vōrunbga[m]ti-[lorgga]-*

18. *[patimku] sādhiā | yihara sa-saiya-sahitya<sup>2</sup> jīva-dāna dīā [||\*]*

<sup>1</sup> Read *Paruśa*. The expression *śrī-Paruśadāva-dāvadāva-tāya* is, however, redundant since the same relationship between *Paruśadāva* and *Ragbudāva* is already indicated in the passage *śrī-Paruśadāva-dāva* (line 14) above.

<sup>2</sup> The intended word is *sahitya* which is redundant.



# No. 24—CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF AHAVAMALLA, SAKA 917

(1 Plate)

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.4.1958)

In December 1957, while touring in the Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District in the present Mysore State in search of inscriptions, I had the opportunity of copying about 21 inscriptions at Chikkerūr about six miles from Hirekerūr, the headquarters of the Taluk. The earliest inscription<sup>1</sup> so far found at Chikkerūr is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved on a stone set up in front of the temple of Banadavva. Long ago Burgess referred apparently to the same inscription<sup>2</sup> as lying in front of the temple of Banasankari that is the same as Banadavva. According to him, the date of that record is Śaka 975. It will be seen, however, that the date is Śaka 917 and not Śaka 975.

The stone is dressed only on the surface where the inscription is engraved. There are 17 lines of writing. The engraver seems to have marked out on the stone the space necessary for incising the inscription by a line both at the top and the bottom. But as that space was not enough, he had to continue the writing below the line at the bottom. Above the line at the top, there are the figures of the sun and the moon. The record is written in Kannada characters of about the tenth century A.D. Barring the imprecatory verse at the end which is in Sanskrit, the language of the epigraph is Kannada and it is written in prose.

The engraver has done his job in a very indifferent way and the record contains many mistakes; cf. *samvatsara* (lines 1-2) for *samvatsara*, *Phalguṇa* (lines 3-4) for *Phālguna*. The form of *m* is mostly cursive. The *akṣara bhāsa* in line 2 has a peculiar form. Similarly noteworthy is the form of *n* in *Uppaṇṇa* and *naṇḍa* (line 9), *nijābba* (line 11), *nāṭana* (line 12) and *naraṇa* (line 15). In *pupṇama* (line 4) the subscript is *ṇ* and not *n* as is usually found in the inscriptions of that period.

The record is dated Śaka 917 (expressed partly in words and partly in figures), *Jaya, Phalguṇa Pupṇama* (i.e. 10. 15), *Saturday, Uttara-nakshatra*. The date, which is irregular, seems to be the 18th February 995 A.D.

The record opens with the word *śaṁti* followed by the date. Then it states that, when *Mahāmaṇḍaliśvara* *Āhavamalladēva* proceeded against *Uppaḷa* (Utpala) in the course of his northern *dig-vijaya* after having subdued his adversaries in the south and when *Bhīmāyya* was governing *Banavāse-nāḍu* and *Nāgārjuna* was the *Nālgāruṇḍa*, *Paḷḷiga*, son of *Koṇḍavayigara Jōgayya* and *Nijābba*, and his wife *Araṇakka*, had the image of the goddess *Bhāḷari* installed. They also made a gift of land, obviously in favour of the deity.

The record does not give the name of the ruling king, but refers to a *Mahāmaṇḍaliśvara* named *Āhavamalla*. We know that the region in question was a part of the kingdom of the Western Chālukya king *Taḷapa II* *Āhavamalla* (973-97 A.D.). But it is difficult to identify *Āhavamalla* of our record with *Taḷapa II* since the former is referred to as *śamadhigutapaṅkhamahāśabḍa-mahāmaṇḍaliśvara* while the latter's records give him the usual sovereign titles borne by the Western Chālukya kings. *Āhavamalla* of our record may be identified with *Iṇṇabedatṅga Satyāśraya*, the

<sup>1</sup> This has been registered as No. 255 of A.R. Ep. 1957-58, App. B.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency*, p. 12.



son of Taila II. A record from Lakkundi<sup>1</sup> clearly suggests that this prince was known as *Ālavamalla*. The inscription thus offers evidence in support of the statement of Ranna that Satyāśraya assisted his father in his military affairs.<sup>2</sup>

As indicated above, the record refers to a time when *Mahāmaṇḍalīkara* Ālavamalla proceeded against Utpala in the course of his northern *dig-vijaya* after he had put down his adversaries in the south. This indicates that Taila II had to face troubles in the south. The moment the Rāshtrakūṭas were defeated by him, the feudatories of the former declared their independence. Gaṅga Māraśiṭha went so far as to reject the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indra IV in the latter's claim for the throne. It is well known, however, that Taila II succeeded in subduing them. But he had to face the Chōlas who were the hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas as they had been of the Rāshtrakūṭas previously. The contemporary Chōla king Rājārāja I conquered Gaṅgavāḍi, Nolaṃbavāḍi and Taḍigaippāḍi,<sup>3</sup> taking opportunity of the chaos that existed for some time after the disappearance of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Taila II took action in repelling the Chōla advance as is evidenced by an inscription<sup>4</sup> found at Kōgaḷi in the Hadegalli Taluk of the Bellary District, according to which king Ālavamalla (i.e. Taila II) was ruling from Rodda (identified with Rodam in the Anantapur District) after having defeated the Chōlas and seized 150 elephants from the enemy, on Friday, the 23rd December 992 A.D. It is quite possible that, after the battle referred to in this record, Taila II appointed his own son as the governor of that territory.

Three years later, in 995 A.D., our record shows that Satyāśraya moved from the place and proceeded against Utpala in the north. This Utpala may be identified with Paramāra Muṇja.<sup>5</sup> The fact that Satyāśraya proceeded against Utpala, i.e., Paramāra Vākpati Muṇja, is known for the first time from our record. The date of Muṇja's death has been placed between V.S. 1030 (993-94 A.D.), when Amitagati compiled his *Subhāṣitaratnaśaṅkha* during Muṇja's reign, and 997 A.D. when Taila II died.<sup>6</sup> Our record minimises this gap. If by February 995 A.D., Satyāśraya was on his way against Utpala, the latter's death must have taken place after that date.

It is difficult to say whether Satyāśraya was directly responsible for the capture of Muṇja which led to the latter's death. *Mahāśāmantaka* Bhīlma claims in his Sangamner copper-plate grant,<sup>7</sup> dated 1000 A.D., that he crushed the military force of the great king Muṇja and made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious Rāparaśga-Bhīma. He might have helped Satyāśraya, whose identification with Rāparaśga-Bhīma is suggested by Ranna's *Godāyuddha*,<sup>8</sup> very considerably in the latter's battle against Utpala referred to in our record.

Bhīmayya. It is seen from our record, was ruling over Banavāsi. Several inscriptions from Yās-  
 ṣṭe<sup>9</sup> speak of Kāṭamba Chāṭṭayyaśōva governing over Banavāsi in 993 A.D. Bhīmayya must have begun to govern the division some time after that date. Nāgārjuna, who is said to have been a *Nāḡpāṇḍya*, may perhaps be identified with his namesake who is stated in an inscription from Hirāchavūṭi in the Shimoga District<sup>10</sup> to have been a *Nāḡpāṇḍya*.

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Godāyuddha*, *Āśvāsa* 2, verse 47.

<sup>3</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, *The Chōlas*, 2nd ed., pp. 174-75.

<sup>4</sup> *SI*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Ray, *DHNS*, Vol. II, pp. 857-58.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 312 ff.

<sup>8</sup> For the names Bhīma, Śīhaṃ-Bhīma, Rāparaśga-Bhīma, etc., applied to Satyāśraya, cf. *Āśvāsa* I, verses 22, 32-33, 34, *Āśvāsa* 2, verses 3, 47.

<sup>9</sup> *A. R. Sp.*, 1930-40, B. K. Nos. 90, 91 and 92.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep. Carr.* Vol. VIII, Bd. 334.







CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF AHAVAMALLA, SAKA 917



Scale : One-fourth



**Banavāse-nāḍu** was the district round Banavāsi, the ancient capital of the Kadambas in the North Kanara District of the Mysore State.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 \*Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-āti(ṭi)ta-sam-
- 2 vastara'-śataṅga)-om[bhai]nō
- 3 ṛa 17 [nō] Jaya-samvastara'da Pahlgu-
- 4 ṛa'-ma(mā)sada puṇṇame Śanivāram-'utta[re]-
- 5 nakṣatṛam[<sup>2</sup>]svasti samadhigata[pa]-
- 6 śchamahāśabda-mahāmam(ma)ṇḍa]śva-
- 7 ra śrīmat Āhavamalladēvam da-
- 8 kaḥiṇa-dig-bha(hhā)ḡavam nira(rā)ku]aḥ māḍiy-u-
- 9 ttara-dig-vi]aḥ-geyd-Uppa]a[na] mēle nāḍe-a-
- 10 nō Bhi(Bhī)ṇayyaḥ Banavāsi-nāḍan-ā]e Nāḡarj]unam [Nā]-
- 11 lga(lgā)muṇḍu geyye Koḥ(Ko)ṇḍavanigara Jōḡayyaḥ Nijābhe-
- 12 ya magam Pa]l]igam(ga)n-ātana peṇ(pe)ṇḍatiy-[A]raṣakk-a-
- 13 nēka-ṣaṭṭugam-uṇḍu Bha]ariyam pratisṭhe geyi-
- 14 'eida]\* matṭa[la] keyya[nugge?]\* koṭṭam<sup>13</sup> ma[m\*]lga]aḥ [[] Dēva-drabyaḥ(vyad)
- 15 tilaḥ vapa yavadbhakṣamnti<sup>11</sup> yē(yō) naraḥ [[\*] tāvat-
- 16 vad-variṣa-sahasraṇa viṣṭ]hayaḥ<sup>12</sup> jāya-
- 17 tē kṛimī<sup>13</sup> [[\*]

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> There is a symbol here at the beginning of the writing.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śamantara*.

<sup>4</sup> The month referred to is Pūṣṭya.

<sup>5</sup> An anuvāsa sign seems to have been engraved above *ma*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ṣṣṣṣ*.

<sup>7</sup> This and the next line are engraved in smaller characters.

<sup>8</sup> Read *geyidar*.

<sup>9</sup> The reading and interpretation of these letters are doubtful.

<sup>10</sup> Read *koṭṭar*.

<sup>11</sup> The intended reading may be *vāpi yavadbhakṣamnti*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *tāvat naraḥ sahasraṇi viṣṭ/hayam*.

<sup>13</sup> There is a symbol here at the end of the writing.



## No. 25—DHULLA PLATE OF SRICHANDRA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOYACAMUND

(Received on 10. 4. 1958)

Five copper-plate grants of king Śrichandra, who ruled over the south-eastern part of Bengal about the second half of the tenth century A.D., have so far been discovered. Three of these, which have already been edited, are the Rāmpāl,<sup>1</sup> Kēdātpur<sup>2</sup> and Madanpur<sup>3</sup> plates. The copper-plate grants of Śrichandra discovered at Idilpur and Dhullā have not yet been edited, although the contents of both the inscriptions have been published. The Idilpur plate was noticed in the pages of this journal.<sup>4</sup> The Dhullā plate was discovered in 1925 by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattachali of the Dacca Museum, whose transcript of the record was utilised by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar in noticing the epigraph in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III.<sup>5</sup> On an examination of the impressions of the epigraph preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, it is found that the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters on both the obverse and reverse of the plate are rubbed off and consequently their reading is doubtful. Bhattachali seems to have waited for the preparation of a complete and more satisfactory transcript than the one supplied to Majumdar and this may be the reason why he could not publish the inscription till his sad demise about the beginning of 1947.

It is a single plate measuring  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches in breadth and  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in thickness. The length quoted is that of the sides, the plate being slightly longer in the middle. The well-known *Dharmachakra* seal of the Buddhist dynasty of the Chandra is fixed at the top of the plate. It is 3 inches in length and its lower part ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide) disturbs the continuity of the writing of the first line on the obverse of the plate. The circular surface of the seal is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter. This surface closely resembles that of the seals fixed on the known copper-plate grants of Śrichandra.<sup>6</sup> There are altogether 47 lines of writing, 23 on the obverse and 24 on the reverse. The preservation of the writing, as already indicated above, is unsatisfactory.

The characters resemble those of the other inscriptions of king Śrichandra who issued the charter. Medial *ṣ* is of both the *prṣh* (*ha-mātrā*) and *śiṣ-mātrā* types. *Ṣ* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The *uṇgrāha* has been used in lines 28 and 37. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in both *prasa* and *verse* or *style* similar to that in the other charters of the king. As a matter of fact, all the nine verses forming the introductory part of the record are also found in one or other of the same king's records. The change of *anavāda* before *ś* to *ā* and before *v* to *m* exhibits some of the orthographical peculiarities. It is also often changed to class initials. Mistakes like *gāṭiṇa* for *jāṭiṇa* (line 28) and *triṇa* for *triṇa* (line 30) are interesting to note. The date in line 46 is difficult to read: but the reading of the portion may be *Saṁvatsara* (*Saṁvatsara*) *ś* *Ā* (*Ā*) *ś* *ina* *dina* 18. This is of course not enough to determine the actual date of the record. But we know from other evidences, as already indicated above, that the Buddhist king Śrichandra, who belonged to the Chandra dynasty and ruled over South-East Bengal, flourished about the second half of the tenth century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 136 ff. and Plate; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188 ff. and Plate; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 84 ff. and Plate; pp. 337 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., e.g., above, Vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p. 86.







Verse 6 introduces Trailōkyachandra's queen *Kāśchana* or *Śrīkāśchanā*, and the next stanza (verse 7) speaks of *Śrīchandra*, son of Trailōkyachandra and his queen. Verse 8 states that *Śrīchandra* brought the earth under his sole umbrella and this conventional description apparently suggests that he was the first independent or imperial ruler of the family. Verse 9 describes him as a *divijayin* in the conventional way and this also supports the above suggestion. As will be seen below, there is another indication in favour of the same conclusion.

The prose passage (lines 17 ff.) following the above introductory part in verse reintroduces king *Śrīchandra* as in good health, i.e. as fit for making a grant. As in his other grants, the king is described as enjoying the imperial titles *Paramēśvara*, *Paramahatthāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the *Paramasaugata* (i.e. one devoted to the *Sugata* or Buddha) *Mahārājādhirāja* Trailōkyachandra<sup>1</sup> and as issuing the charter from his jaya-*śāndlāvāra* (meaning 'capital' in this case) at Vikramapura. It has to be noticed that while Trailōkyachandra is endowed with the title *Mahārājādhirāja* only, *Śrīchandra* is called *Paramēśvara-Paramahatthāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*. This supports the suggestion that the father was a feudatory and the son an independent and imperial ruler. It seems that *Śrīchandra* threw off the allegiance to the king of Harikēla, conquered a considerable part of the latter's territories in South-East Bengal and transferred his capital from Chundradvīpa to Vikramapura in the Dacca District. The rise of *Śrīchandra* may have been a result of the struggle between the Pālas and the kings of Harikēla for the Dacca-Tippura region. The Mandhuk (Tippura District) inscription<sup>2</sup> of the first regnal year of Gōpāla II (c. 935-92 A.D.) shows that the Pālas succeeded in ousting Harikēla rule from Tippura before the middle of the tenth century. But shortly afterwards, *Śrīchandra* conquered the Dacca-Tippura region originally perhaps on behalf of the Harikēla king.

*Śrīchandra* must have flourished earlier than Gōvindachandra (c. 1015-40 A.D.) who apparently belonged to the same family and is described in Chōla records<sup>3</sup> as the lord of Vangāla-dēsa (originally the same as Chundradvīpa but later the name of the Chandra empire in South-East Bengal). The armies of the Chōla king Rājendra I had an encounter with Gōvindachandra before 1023 A.D. For some time between the reign of *Śrīchandra* and that of Gōvindachandra, the Dacca-Tippura region seems to have been in the possession of king Mahipāla I (c. 992-1040 A.D.). This is suggested by the Bāghāurā and Nārāyanpur inscriptions dated respectively in the 3rd and 4th regnal years of the said Pāla monarch, both discovered in the Tippura District.<sup>4</sup> Thus *Śrīchandra* seems to have ruled for at least about 46 years (cf. the issue of the Madanpur plate in the 46th year of his reign) about the second half of the tenth century between the earlier years of Gōpāla II and those of Mahipāla I.<sup>5</sup>

All the geographical names mentioned in connection with the details of the plots of land granted as given in lines 20-23 cannot be fully deciphered from the impressions, even though Bhattasali offered readings for all of them. There were altogether five plots of land. The first of these was situated in a village called Duvāpatra and situated in *Vallīrnuṇḍā-maṇḍala* according to

<sup>1</sup> *IHQ.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1024; *Ind. Coll.* Vol. IX, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Pāla rule appears to have been ousted from the Dacca-Tippura region by the successors of *Śrīchandra*. Two copper-plate grants of Ladachandra and one of Gōvindachandra have been recently discovered at Mainamati in the Tippura District of East Pakistan. These charters, issued from Vikramapura, show that *Śrīchandra* was followed on the Chandra throne by his son Kalyāṇachandra, grandson Ladachandra and great-grandson Gōvindachandra. Another charter, discovered along with the above, was issued by *Vradharadeva* in his 45th regnal year. He appears to have belonged to the Deva dynasty and flourished about the 13th century. For a note on these inscriptions, see F.A. Khan's report on 'Excavations on Mainamati Hills near Comilla' in *Further Excavations in East Pakistan—Mainamati*, pp. 22-26.



Bhattasali) in the *Khēdiravillī viśaya* within *Paundra-bhukti* and measured 4 *halas*. The second plot, apparently in the same area, measured 3 *halas* and was situated in a locality the name of which appears to us to be *Nōṇḍiyājō-Jayastara*, although it was read by Bhattasali as *Lōṇiyājōjāprastara*. The third plot of land also measured 3 *halas* and was situated in the village of *Tivaravillī* no doubt in the same region. The fourth plot measured 2 *halas* and 6 *drōṇas* and was situated in a village (called *Parkadhunḍā* and situated in *Ikkāḍāṣī-viśaya* according to Bhattasali) in the *Yōḷā maṇḍala*. The fifth plot measured 7 *halas* and was situated in a village (the name of which is read by Bhattasali doubtfully as *Mūlapatrā*) apparently in the same neighbourhood. As stated in line 23, the five plots together measured 19 *halas* and 6 *drōṇas*. The exact areas of the land measures called *hala* and *drōṇa* (*drōṇatēpa* of earlier records) are unknown.

The list of officers and others to whom the royal order in respect of the grant was issued is found in lines 23 ff. It is similar to the lists found in other charters of Śrīchandra, although its resemblance is closer to the one in the Rāmpāl plate than that in the Maianpur plate. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee as enumerated in lines 30 ff. are also similar to those in the list found in the other records of the king.

The description of the donee is found in lines 33 ff. He was the Brāhmaṇa *Vyāsagaṅgaśarmaṇ* who belonged to the *Vārdhakaśūka gōtra*, the *pravarā* 2f the three *rishis* and the *Kapva śākhā* and was the son of *Vihūgaṅga*, grandson of *Nannagaṅga* (or *Naadagaṅga*) and great-grandson of *Jayagaṅga*. He is described as the *Sāntivārika*, or performer of propitiatory rites, exactly as *Pitavāsaguptaśarmaṇ*, the donee of Śrīchandra's Rāmpāl plate. But, while *Pitavāsa* received a grant for performing a ceremony called *Kōṣṭhūma*, *Vyāsagaṅga* received the lands mentioned in the present record for performing four *śūmas* in connection with a rite called *adbhuta-śānti*. In the expression *adbhuta-śānti* which is well-known to the student of the *Purāṇa* and *Saṃgīti* literature,<sup>1</sup> *adbhuta* is a synonym of *ujāta* and means any portentous or unusual phenomenon foreboding calamity to a king or a private individual or the population of a land, and *śānti* is a propitiatory rite performed with a view to averting such an evil.

The grant was made by the king in the name of Lord Buddha for the merit of his parents and himself. The charter is stated to have been authenticated by the *Dharmachakra* seal as in the case of the king's other grants. The gift lands were made a rent-free holding according to the well-known principle of *bhūma-śchchheda-nyāya* (i.e. the free enjoyment of land by one who first brought it under cultivation).

Lines 40 ff. contain some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas also known from the king's other records. The date, which has already been referred to above, is quoted in lines 46-47. This is followed by the contractions *mahāśānti*-*sa*, *mahākṣha*-*sa*, two damaged letters between the two groups of letters probably reading *san*. The contraction *sa* has been regarded as standing for *nibaddha* or *nirikṣita*, i.e. registered or examined.<sup>2</sup> The contractions *mahāśānti* and *mahākṣha* apparently stand respectively for the official designations *Mahāśāntihivigrahika* and *Mahākṣhapatālika*. It appears that the record was first examined by the *Mahāśāntihivigrahika* and then by the *Mahākṣhapatālika*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of *Harikṣā*, *Chandra-dvīpa* and *Vikramapura* has been discussed above. The *Paundra-bhukti* was the territorial division, the headquarters of which were originally at the city of *Puṇḍravardhana* identified with modern *Mahāsthān* in the *Bogra District* of North Bengal. During the age of the *Pāla* this *bhukti* or province included considerable parts of South-Eastern Bengal. Although the

<sup>1</sup> See the *Adbhuta-śānti* section of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapters 228-33; cf. also the quotations from a number of authorities in the *Saṃgītipāṇḍurama* (*Parīśiṣṭa*), s. v. *adbhuta*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *JAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 216-17.



Chandra empire does not appear to have included any portion of North Bengal, the name of the old administrative unit was continued in use during the rule of the Chandras.<sup>1</sup> The villages mentioned in connection with the gift lands cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the district called Yôla-maṇḍala is also known from the Madanpur plate and has been located in the Manikganj subdivision of the Dacca District. The different plots of land were probably situated in two districts, the two groups being not far from each other.

## TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1, 3 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 2, 5, 9 *Śārdūlanikriḍita* ; verses 4, 7-8 *Upajāti* ; verse 6 *Indravajrā* ; verses 10-13, 15 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 14 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

## Obverse

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> svasti | Vandyô Jinas-sa bhagavân karuṇa-ka-pât[r]am [Dharmm]ô-py-asau
- 2 [vi]a[ya]tê jagad-êka-dī[pa]h | ya[t-sôva]yâ sakala ôva-[ma]h-â[nubhâva]h sa[ma]dra-pâ[ra]-  
[m-u]paga-
- 3 chohhati Bhī[kshu]-saôghah || [1\*] [Chandrâ]pām-i[ha] Rô[hī]tāgiri-rbhu[hbu]jâ-  
[mvañsô<sup>3</sup> vi]śâla-āriyāni vi[khyātô]
- 4 [bhuvī pūrṇa]-chandra-sad[ra]h Sri-Pūrṇachandrô-bhavat | aśchchânâ[m]-pada-p[ti]hi-  
[kâsu] pa[ñ]hitah santâ-
- 5 ninām-agratash-tâk-ôtkirṇa-nava-prasastiha jaya-stambheshu tāmreshu cha || [2\*] Vu-  
[Bu]d[dha]ya [yah] śâśaka-j[ā]-
- 6 takam-a[śka-sa]m[tha]m-bhaktiā vi[bi]bha[r\*]tā bhagavân-amrit-â[kar-âśubh]<sup>4</sup> | Chandra-  
ya taaya kula-jâta it-iva Vau[Bau]ddhah pu-
- 7 [tra]h ârutô jagati taaya Suvarṇachandrah || [3\*] Darô-[aya] mâtâ kila dôhadêna di[dri-  
kaha]-mâp-ôda[yi]
- 8 chandra-vimvâh<sup>5</sup> | suvarṇa-chandrôya hi tōshit-ôti [Suvarṇachandrah samu]dâharanti ||  
[4\*] Putras-taya pavitrit-[ô]-
- 9 bhaya-kulah kaulins-bhit-âsaya-s-t[r]i[lokyâ] viditô [di]śâm-ati[thi]bhi[s-Tr]alôkyacha-  
ndrô guṇai[h ]
- 10 âdhârô Harikôla-râja-kakuda-ch[ohha]ttira-amitânâh[ā] [āriyām] ya[s-Chandr-ôpa]padê va[ta]-  
[bhûva] n[r]i[pati]-c-dv[et]-
- 11 pô Dilip-ôpamah || [5\*] [Jyôtm-ôva Chandra]ya Śach-iva [Jishnôr-Gau]ri [Harasy-ôva]  
Harê-[iva Śrîh] | ta[sya pri]-
- 12 yâ [kâ]śchana-kântir-âst Sri<sup>6</sup>kâśchan-ôty-añchita-[śâ]sanasya || [6\*] Sa râ[ja-yô]gâna subhâ  
muhû[rttê mau]-

<sup>1</sup> This may be the reason why the name Puṇḍravandhana-bhukti (or Puṇḍravandhana) was changed to Puṇḍra-bhukti.

<sup>2</sup> From *śārdūlanika*.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Read *bhagvân karuṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *âśchchâh*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *vishvân* or *vimvân*.

<sup>7</sup> The Râmpāl plate has *âgati*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *âśchchâh*. The queen's name was either Kâśchana or Śrîkâśchana.



# DHULLA PLATE OF SRICHANDRA

Obverse



Scale : Seven-ninth



24  
 26  
 28  
 30  
 32  
 34  
 36  
 38  
 40  
 42  
 44  
 46



- 13 [hūrtti]kaib sāchita-raja-chihna[m\*] | [a]rāṣa ta[ayāṣa taṣayāṣa naya]jāṣa Śrichandram-  
ind-ūpāmam-Indra-[tōjāḥ ||] [7\*]  
14 Ek-ātapatr-ābharaṇām-bhuvāṣa yō vidhāya vai[dhāya-ja]u-āvidhāyaḥ | [cha]k[ā]ra kārāsu  
nivāṣit-āri[r]-yya-  
15 [śa]h-eugandhīn- diśām-mukhāni || [8\*] Spriṣṭaḥ pā[r]thiva-pāṇsu-dōhala-asa-ālaghā-  
ghanaṁ<sup>1</sup>-dīg-ga[ra]r-rūḥ-  
16 [trāṇā]m-animēṣaṣaḥ parikṛtō dūrōga vīndārakaib | kōṣ[ā]hv-apsa[ra]sām-apūrvva-palita-  
bhrāntih-  
17 [samār]ōpayan santānō rajadān raṇṣaḥ ja[yi]hō yasya āyu-mārggaḥ-patāḥ || [9\*] m khalu  
āri-Vik[r]amapura-sam[ā]-  
18 vāsita-śr[ī]ma-jayas[kandh]āva-āi paramasaugato mahārā[ja]hīrāja-śrīmat-Trailōkya-  
chandra[d]ē-  
19 va-pād-ānandhyātāḥ para[mā]va[ra]ḥ para[mā]bha[ttā]rakō [ma]hārājādīrājāḥ ūṣmān Śri-  
chandrādē-  
20 vaḥ kuṣāl || śrī-[Pau]ṇḍra-bhukty-antaḥpāti-Kb[ā]diravill<sup>2</sup>-viśha(yō Valli). . .<sup>3</sup> [qḍa]la  
. . . ttā.<sup>4</sup>  
21 grām[ē] hala-chatuṣṭayam Nōṇḍiyājō-Ja[ya]ṣa[ta]rē<sup>5</sup> | hala-īrayam Tivaravill<sup>6</sup>-grāmē  
[cha] hala-[tra]yam<sup>7</sup> Yō[ā]-  
22 [ma]ḍa[ā]l[ī]ḥ. . .<sup>8</sup> [viśhaya-sarī]-Pa.<sup>9</sup> dimuḍā-grāmē śhaḍ-drōḥ-ādḥika-hala-dvayam  
23 . . .<sup>10</sup> [grā]mē cha [hala-sa]pta[kam \*] | [a]tra śhaḍ-drōḥ-ādḥika-Gnavi[śāstī]-hala-bhū[ma]u  
samopagatābhi<sup>11</sup> |<sup>12</sup>

## Reverts

- 24 [ja]-rājñi-rūpaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahāvyaḥapati-maṇḍalapati-mahāsāndhivigra-  
25 hika-mahāsēnāpati-mahākṣhapatalika-mahāsa[rvvā]dhikṛita-mahāprat[īhā]ra-kōṭṭapā-  
26 la-dau[śā]śādhāsādhānika-chaurōddha[ra]ṇika-nauva[ha]lahaṣṭyaāvagōmahishājāvikādivyāpri-  
taka-  
27 gaulmika-śaulhika-dāṇḍapāś[ā]ka-dagḍanāyaka-viśhaya[śa]paty-ādīm-ānyāśā-cha sakala-  
28 rāja-pād-āpa[ivīnō]-dhya[kala]-prachār-ōktān-īk[ī]r[ī]ttitān |<sup>13</sup> chāṭa-bhāṭa-yā[jā]ḥyāu ja-

<sup>1</sup> The Kāḍarpur plate has *ghana* which has been corrected to *ghanaṁ*.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattasali reads "mili".

<sup>3</sup> There are five damaged letters here. Bhattasali reads *Vallimūḍa-ma*. I have doubts about this reading.

<sup>4</sup> There are four damaged letters before *ttā* which Bhattasali reads as *ttā*. He reads the last three of the damaged letters as *Dereḍpa* and the first probably as *ma* (i.e. *mukhādā*). I have doubts about this reading.

<sup>5</sup> Bhattasali reads *Lōṇḍiyājōṭṭa*.

<sup>6</sup> Bhattasali reads "mili".

<sup>7</sup> Bhattasali apparently reads *deogam*.

<sup>8</sup> The name of the village is read by Bhattasali as *Pāṇḍāḥ* which seems to me extremely doubtful.

<sup>9</sup> The damaged *śhaḥ* here is read by Bhattasali as *cha* and the following letter as *ll*.

<sup>10</sup> Bhattasali doubtfully reads the name of the village as *Mūlapāra*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *ādīk-ānyāśā*.

<sup>12</sup> The intended reading of these letters is *samopagat-ādīk-ānyāśā*.

<sup>13</sup> The mark of punctuation here and in the lines below (cf. lines 31 & 32) is unnecessary. The expression *chāṭa-bhāṭa* means 'notification about the heads of departments'.



- 39 naṣṭadān kaṣṭhākarāṇi-cha [Vrā(Brā)hma]n-ōṭṭarān [yath-ārham-mā]nayatī vō(bō)dhayatī  
samādāṭati
- 30 cha || mata[m=astu bha]va[tām(tām)] | yath-ōpari-likhita-bhūmim-iyam̐ eva-sim-āvaśchchinnā  
tri(tri)pa-[pūti-gō]-
- 31 chara-paryantā | sa-talā [v-ō]ddāṭā e-ā[mra]-panasā sa-guvāka-nāṭi[k]ārā sa-lavaṇā | sa-jala-
- 32 aṭṭhā sa-ga[r]tt-ōṣharā | sa-dāṭ-āparādhā | sa-chaṇṭōddharagā | parihr[ta]-sarvva-pidā | a-  
chāṭa-bha[ṭa]-
- 33 pravāṭā | a-kiñchit-[pr]a[grā]hyā | [a]maṣṭa-rāja-bhōga-[ka]ra-himya-pratyāya-sahitā |  
Jayaga-
- 34 āga-p[ri]japantāya | Nāṭ[n]agaṇa<sup>1</sup>-japantāya | Vibhū(bhū)gaṇa-pantāya | Vārdhakaṇṭika-  
sagōtrāya | try-ā-
- 35 rāsa-pravarāya | Kaṇva-sākh-ādhyāyinā [āntivārika]-āṭi-[Vyāsa]gaṇa-karmmaṇi(nē) [evaṭ]-  
kṛta-[h]ō-
- 36 ma-[chata]ṣṭayā | ad[bhū]ta-ānti-nimittē(ttē) . . ta[va]tā<sup>2</sup> [puṇyā]-hani | vidhivad-udaka-  
pūrvvakam̐ [kṛ<sup>3</sup>][tvā]
- 37 bhagavantam-Vuddha<sup>4</sup>-bhāṭṭarakam-oddāya mātā-pitrōr-ātmanah [cha<sup>5</sup>] puṇya-yaṣō-bhi-  
vriḍḍhayā ā-chandr-ārka-kṣh[ti]-
- 38 [a[ṭṭa]-kālaṁ yāvat bhūmi-chohbidra-nyāyāna ārimad-Dharmma-chakra-[mudra]yā | tā-  
[mra]-āśanikṛitya pradattā [amā]-
- 39 [bhiḥ] | | atō bhavadbhiḥ [sarvva-ir-ann]mantavya[m<sup>6</sup>] || bhāvibhīr-api [bhūpatibhiḥ]  
bhūmār-ddāna-phala-gauravād-apaharā-
- 40 [uṣe ma]hā-naraka-pāta-bhayāch-cha | dāna-ādan-ānumōdy-ānupālaniyam [i<sup>7</sup>] nivāsibhiḥ  
kaṣṭhākarāṇi-cha ājñā-
- 41 āvaṇa-vidhēyibbūya | ya[th-ō]chitā-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kāryya iti [i<sup>8</sup>] bhavanti ch-ātra  
dharm-ānumāṇiṇah ālōkāḥ [i<sup>9</sup>] Bhūmih
- 42 yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti ya-cha bhūmim-prayachchhati | ubhan tau puṇya-karmmaṇan niyatam  
svargga-gāminau || [10<sup>10</sup>] Shāstī-mva(va)raha-sahasrā-
- 43 ni svarggā mōdati bhūmidat | ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-eva narakaṁ (kē) vasēt ||  
[11<sup>11</sup>] Sva-dattam-pāra-dattamvā<sup>12</sup> yō harēta vasundha-
- 44 rām(rām) | sa viśṭhāyām kṛmim-bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyatā || [12<sup>12</sup>] Va(Ba)hubhir-  
vrasandhā dattā-rājibhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [i<sup>13</sup>] yasya yasya ya-
- 45 dā bhūmim-tanya tasya tadā phalam || [13<sup>13</sup>] Iti kamala-dal-ānu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām āriyam-  
annchintya manushya-jivitaṁ-cha | sakala-
- 46 m-īdam-udāhṛitaṁ-cha vuddhā<sup>14</sup> sa hi putuṣaḥ para-kirttavō vilōpyāb || o || [14<sup>14</sup>] [Samva-  
(Sarniva)t S A(A)śtina]-dinā 18 [i<sup>15</sup>] mahā-
- 47 ni [ann] | | mahākṣa-ni —

<sup>1</sup> The subscript of the conjunct is not clear. Bhattacharya reads *Nanda*.

<sup>2</sup> The reading may be *ind-galavati*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *varāna-Buddha*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *dattam* ed.

<sup>5</sup> Read *buddhā*.



## No 26—CHIKKALAVALASA PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 16.9.1937)

The copper-plate inscription under study was dug up more than three decades ago by a farmer of the village of Chikkāvalasa while tilling a field. The village lies between Utlām and Kambakāya in the Taluk and District of Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh. It is stated that the plates were found in a field near the border of the village of Kuddāmu in the same neighbourhood. The inscription was secured from the farmer by Bhairi Appalaswami Naidu of Chikkāvalasa, who sent them to Pandit Somasekhara Sarma for study and publication. Pandit Sarma published the inscription in the *Bhārati* (Telugu), Vol. II, 1925, Part I, pp. 138 ff., with illustrations. The text of the epigraph was also quoted by R. Subba Rao in the *Kaṣṇagaditacharitraṃ* (Telugu), Appendix, pp. 50 ff. The record was noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, C.P. No. 5. I edit the inscription in the following pages from a set of excellent estampages preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

The set consists of five plates, the first of which is inscribed only on the inner side while the next three have writing on both the sides. The fifth plate bears no writing and was apparently used for the protection of the writing on the reverse of the fourth plate. The plates were strung on a ring bearing the Gaṅga seal with the bull and other emblems on its counter-sunk surface. The charter together with its seal resembles other such records of the early Imperial Gaṅgas, especially those of Vajrahaṣṭa III Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.) to whom it belongs. The plates are rectangular in shape; but their length is less in the sides (8.4 inches) than in the middle (8.7 inches) while their breadth is more in the sides (3.7 inches) than in the middle (3.3 inches).

The characters belong to the Gauḍīya or East Indian alphabet and the language of the record is Sanskrit. As regards palaeography, orthography and style, the inscription closely resembles other copper-plate grants of Vajrahaṣṭa III, several of which have been published in this journal, some of them very recently.<sup>1</sup> The introductory part of the charter in lines 1-41 is a copy of other such grants issued by the king. The major part of this section (i.e. lines 1-38) is also copied in the copper-plate records of Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarmān (1070-78 A.D.), son and successor of Vajrahaṣṭa III, and we had occasion to discuss the section in our paper on the Galavalli plates (cf. lines 1-35) of the said monarch, which have been recently published in the pages of this journal.<sup>2</sup> Remarks on the palaeography and orthography of the Galavalli plates also apply to the present record.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 44-45 as the Śaka year counted by the words *kara* (i.e. 2), *rasa* (i.e. 8) and *vidhi* (i.e. 9), i.e. 982. The *tithi* is stated to have been the third of the first fortnight of the month of Kārttika. The week-day is given apparently as Monday. The date reminds us of that of another charter of the same king, which was issued on Monday, the 7th of the first fortnight of Āshādha in Śaka 991.<sup>3</sup> This date was equated with the 9th of

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 305 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 308 ff. and Plates; Cf. Vol. IV, pp. 189 ff. and Plates; Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff. and Plates; Vol. XI, pp. 149 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff. and Plates.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 69.



June 1068 A.D. taking the year to be current and the month Amānta. If, in the case of the date of the inscription under study, the year is similarly regarded as current and the month as Amānta, Śaka 982, Kārttika-prāthama-pakṣa 3, Monday would correspond to the 11th October, 1069 A.D. On that date, the *trīṣṭyā tithi* began at 55 of the day.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 38-41 state that *Paramabhaṭṭācārya Mahārājādhirāja Anantavarman Vajrahaṭṭadēva* (i.e. Vajrahasta III), who was the lord of *Trikaliṅga* and a devout worshipper of the god Mahāvara (Śiva), issued his order relating to the grant in question to the people of the countryside together with his officers. The gift village was *Kuddam* (line 42; called *Kudda* in line 55) which was situated in the *paṣṭyā* or district of *Kōluvartani*. It was given for the perpetual enjoyment of the donee, without any trouble, for the merit of the king himself and of his parents. But it is interesting to note that the village is not stated to have been a rent-free gift. The expression *carvea-piṭā-cirurijitam* in line 43 shows that the donee enjoyed certain privileges which, however, did not include freedom from the payment of rent. We know that, in charters recording the creation of a rent-free holding in favour of the donee, the exemption from the payment of rent is specified in clear terms. As will be clear from our discussion of the details of the grant below, the nature of the document under study is that of a *śara-śāsana* or rent-paying grant.<sup>2</sup>

Lines 45-49 describe the donee who obtained the village of *Kuddam* or *Kudda* from the king probably by purchase. It is stated that there was a family belonging to the Vaiśya community and the *Datta* (wrong for *Danta* according to Pandit Somasekhara Sarma) *gōṭra*, in which a person named *Mādhava* was born. *Mādhava*'s son was *Sōmana-ārśabhīn*, whose wife was *Ērayapā*. *Sōmana*'s son from *Ērayapā* was *Mallaya-ārśabhīn* to whom the Ganga king *Vajrahasta III* gave the village in question with libation of water by means of the copper-plate charter under study. The king requests the future rulers of the area to be so good as to approve of this gift and protect it. But the Vaiśya *Mallaya-ārśabhīn* obtained the village from the king for the purpose of giving away the major part of it as an *agrahāra* in favour of a large number of *Brāhmaṇas*. This is made clear by the concluding part of the record in lines 49-56.<sup>3</sup> Another instance of this kind is offered by the *Kailān* (*Kailain*) plate<sup>4</sup> of *Śrīdharaṇarāta*, according to which an officer of the king obtained a big plot of land from his master probably by purchase and retained a small part of it for himself after having allotted the rest in favour of a number of *Brāhmaṇas* and a Buddhist religious establishment.<sup>5</sup>

It is stated in lines 49 ff. that, after having obtained the charter from the king, the donee *Mallaya-ārśabhīn* kept a part of the village for himself and made over the rest to three hundred *Brāhmaṇas*. His share consisted of a house-site, a garden-site and an area of cultivable land

<sup>1</sup> In the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, p. 64, the date of the inscription under review has been equated with the 30th October 1060 A.D. taking the year as expired. But that day falls in Amānta Mārgaśīraṣa and not in Kārttika, either Amānta or Pūrṇimānta.

<sup>2</sup> For a number of such records, see *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, p. 78, it is stated, "The donee reserved a portion of the village for himself and granted the rest to the Brahman Māpa-nāyaka and fixed the rate of taxes to be paid annually to the king from the village. The granting of villages as *agrahāras* to people of communities other than Brahman is peculiar. But in the copper-charters of the Eastern Ganga dynasty cases in which villages were granted as *agrahāras* to Vaiśyas have been noticed already (Copper Plate No. 5 of 1918-19)." The name of the *Brāhmaṇa* was, however, *Māpaya-nāyaka* and not *Māpa-nāyaka* and he was one of the many *Brāhmaṇas* in whose favour the *agrahāra* was granted. The language of the epigraph does not suggest the creation of a *Vaiśya-śrāddha*. *Mallaya-ārśabhīn* reserved for himself only a small part of the village and agreed to pay annual rent in both cash and grain. The *Vaiśya-śrāddha* mentioned in C. P. No. 8 of 1918-19 seems to have been created on the condition that rent should be paid at the rate of 150 silver coins per year.

<sup>4</sup> *IBQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 224-26.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 51.



producing one hundred *Murās* of paddy (or grain) [per year]. The meritorious act of creating an *agrahāra* of the rest of the village in favour of Brāhmaṇas was performed by Mallaya-śrēṣṭhīn on the auspicious occasion of the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti. The *saṅkrānti*, however, took place sometime later in the month of December, though the charter was issued in October. The three hundred Brāhmaṇas who received the major part of the village as an *agrahāra* were headed by Māpaya-nāyaka who was the son of Karaṇṭama-nāyaka from his wife Rēkapā and the grandson of Pillisārman. This Brāhmaṇa family belonged to the Bahvricha *śākhā* and Aupamanyava *gōtra* and hailed from the village of Jalambūr. The names of the other recipients of the grant are not mentioned in the charter.

The last sentence of the record in lines 55-56 state that the rent for the village payable to the king had to be paid at the rate of one hundred *Murās* of paddy (or grain) and eight *Māḍas* (coins of gold or silver) apparently per annum. It was no doubt Mallaya-śrēṣṭhīn who was responsible for the payment of the rent to the king. But whether he realised a part or the whole of the rent in cash and grains from the Brāhmaṇas is not clear from the language of the inscription. We have shown elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that the old custom in many parts of Andhra and Orissa was generally to pay to the king for an *agrahāra*, even when it was declared as rent-free, an amount of money annually.<sup>2</sup> The amounts mentioned in some records in this connection are 200 *Paṇas* [probably of cowries], 10 *Māśakas* [probably of silver], between 2 and 9 *Palas* of silver, etc. This was apparently much less than the usual annual rent for a village. The determination of the concessional rates must have depended on such factors as the size and revenue-income of a village, the degree of the king's willingness to suffer loss of revenue in lieu of religious merit, the amount of purchase money received by the king for the creation of an *agrahāra* from the donees or a third party eager to perform a meritorious deed, etc. In the present case, a pious member of the mercantile community seems to have purchased the village for the Brāhmaṇas and the king appears to have fixed the annual rent at the concessional rate of 8 coins and 100 *Murās* of grain. The exact quantity of a *Murā* of grain cannot be determined. *Māḍa* is generally spelt *Māḍha* in Orissan records. It was regarded as a coin weighing 40 *Ratīs* or half of a *Tolā*.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the village of Kudḍa or Kudḍam has been identified by Pandit Somasekhara Sarma with modern Kudḍāmu near Chikkālaavalasa where the inscription was discovered. The Kōlavartani *śāhaya*, mentioned also in some other records of the area, was therefore the district round the said village Jalambūr, where the donor's family lived, has been identified with modern Jalāmūru about six miles from Kudḍāmu.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 4, 12 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 2 *Āryā* ; verses 3, 7, 13 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 5 *Paṃśantā* ; verses 6, 10 *Mālinī* ; verses 8-9 *Gītī* ; verse 11 *Vasantatīlaka*.]

### First Plate.

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> svasti [ ]<sup>5</sup> śrīmatām-akhilā-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dāksaṇya-sa-
- 2 tya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ā[ḍ]i-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāpām-Ātrēya-gōtrāṇām vi-
- 3 mala-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-śa[śa]lila-prakāhyā[kṣhā]lita-Kulī-kāla-kalmasha-ma-
- 4 śhipāṇ Mahā-Mahēndr-āchāra-ākhara-pratishṭhitasya sa-char-āchāra-gurō

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 114-15.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS*, op. cit., pp. 6 ff. ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>3</sup> From inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.



- 6 ḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmalāḥ-sika-sūtradhārasya saśāṅka-chāpi(chū)ḍa-maṣṭ-  
 6 rāḥha(r-bbha)gavatō Gōkarnasvānīśah praśādāt-samāsādit-sika-śāṅka-bhṛ-  
 7 ri-pañcha-mahāśavda(bda)-dhavala-chchhatra-bhema-chāmara-vara-vṛṣabhha-lāṅghana-samu-  
 8 jva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmrājya-mahimnām-anōka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-samu-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 9 palavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakṣmi-samāhṛit-ṛ[ṭ\*]tutga-bhūja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānāḥ  
 10 **Trikaliṅga**-mahābhujāḥ **Gaṅgānām**-anvayam-alaṅkāraśṣṛ=Viśṣṛ=iva  
 11 vikram-ākṛānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya **Guṇḍamahārūpava**-mahārājasya putraḥ || o || Pū-  
 12 rvaṁ bhūpatibhir-vṛbhajya vā'sudhā yā pañchabhīḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parā-  
 13 kramō bhūja-va(ba)lāt-tām-eka śva svayam(yam | ) ēkikṛitya vijitya sa(śa)tru-nivah[ā]-  
 14 na(n) śri-**Vajrahastā**-chatuḥ-chatvāriṃśatam-atyudāra-charitaḥ sarvām=arakṣhi-sam[ā]-  
 15 ḥ || [1\*] tasya tanayō **Guṇḍamarājā**(jō) varsha-trayam-apālayata mahīḥ(him) | tad-anujah  
 K[ā]-  
 16 **mārūpavadēvaḥ** pañcha-triṃśatam-avda(bda)kūn || [2\*] Tasya-śaujō **Vinayāditya**(h\*) samā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 17 s-tiera(h\*) || Tataḥ Kāmārūpavā-jātō ja'gati-kalpabhūruhaḥ | yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ṭa)-chchhā-  
 18 yō **Vajrahastō**-vanipatiḥ || [3\*] Praśchyōda(ṭa)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdha)-madhupa-  
 vyālīḍha-gaṇḍān-ga-  
 19 jānna(n-a)rtiḥ(bh)ḥ samodāt-sahasram=atulo yaa-tyāginvā(nā)m=agraṇ[ḥ] (\*) sah(sa) śri-  
 mān-**Aniyāṅka**-  
 20 bhīma-uripatir-(Gaṅg-ānva'y-ō[ṭ\*]tamō(sa)kḥ pañcha-triṃśatam-avda(bda)kūn-sa-  
 21 mahānakiy(k=pr)itvīm stutaḥ pūrtihavāḥ || [4\*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ Surarōja-ṣi(sū)nunā  
 22 [sa\*]mas-samastātū sa(śa)mit-āri-mah(ma)ṇḍa'ḥ || (\*) sma pāti **Kāmārūpava**-bhūpatiḥ  
 bhbbhu(r-bbbu)vam samṛiddhi-  
 23 māma(n-a)rtidha-samāḥ sama[j\*]jvalah || [5\*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmō(mā) Chittajanm-ōpa-  
 {mā}nō guṇa-  
 24 mīdhir-anavadyō **Guṇḍam**-ākhyō mahīśah(ṭah) | sakalam-idam-arakṣhi(kḥḥ) triṇi  
 varshā-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 25 ṇi dhātṛi-valayam-alaghu-tējō-nirjīṭ-ārāti-chakraḥ || [6\*] Tatō dv[ai]māturas-tasya Ma-  
 26 **dhukāmā**(r)ūpavō nṛipah || [7\*] avatī sm-āvanim-ātām-avda(bda)n-ēkārūpa(n-na)-vimāstūm-  
 (tim) || o || [7\*]  
 27 Atha **Vajrahasta**-uripatēr-agra-sutāḍ-akhila-guṇi-jan-āgranyaḥ(h\*) **Kāmārūpavāt**-kav-īndra-

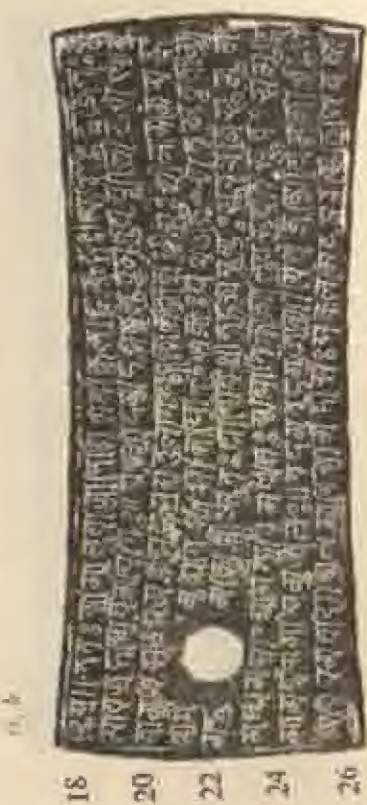
\* An unnecessary 4-sukṛā was incised after this letter and cancelled by the engraver.

\* An unnecessary 4-sukṛā with this letter was cancelled by the engraver.

\* The letter gya was originally written for gda.



# CHIKKALAVALASA PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982



Scale: One-half



44, 46



34  
36  
38  
40  
42

44, 46



44  
46  
48  
50

44, 46



52  
54  
56

Scale : One-fourth



- 28 pragiyamān-āvadāta-bubha-kīrttiḥ [ || 8\*] Śrīya īva Vaidumvā(mh-ā)nvaya-payah-pa-  
 29 yōnidhi-samudbhavāyāś-cha [||\*] yaś samajani Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ śrī-Vajrahasta  
 30, iti tanayaḥ || [9\*] Viyaḍ-ritu-nidhi-samkhyām yāti Śāk-āvda(bda)-saṅghē di-  
 31 nakṛiti Vṛishabha-sthē Rōhīṇī-bhē su-laguē [||\*] Dhanushi cha sita-pakshē Spī(ṣū)rya-  
 vārē tṛi-  
 32 tīyām yoji sakala-dharitrim rakshitum yō-bhishikṭah [||10\*] Nyāyā(yyā)na yatra  
 samam-ā-  
 33 charitum tri-varggō(rggām) mārggōṣa rakshati mahim mahita-pratāpē [||\*] nirvyādha-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 34 yaś-cha niraghās-cha nirāpadaś-cha śasvat-prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhūtimattyaḥ || [11\*]  
 Vyāptē Gaṅga-  
 35 kul-ōttamasya yaśasa(śā) dik-chakravālā śaśi-pradyōt-āmalinēna yasya bhuvana-  
 prahlāda-  
 36 sampādinā [||\*] saindūrain-ati-sāndra-paṅka-patalai[h\*] kumbha-sthali-pāṭṭakśvā(bv-ā)-  
 limpanti puna[h]  
 37 punaś-cha haritām-ādhōrapā vāraṅān || [12\*] Anurāgēṣa guṇinō yasya va-  
 38 kaśō-mukh-āvja(bja)yāḥ | śāl(śi)nē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv-anukūlē virājata[h\*] || [13\*] Ka-  
 39 lūḡana[ga\*]rāt-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Tri-  
 40 kalīṅg-ādhipati-ārimad-Anantavarmanā Vajrahastadēvaḥ kuśali samast-āmātya-  
 41 pramukha-janāpadāś-samābhūya samājñāpayati [||\*] viditam-astu bhavatāśi(tām) ||  
 42 Kōluvarittani-vishayē ||\* Kuddam-ākhyā-grāmah chatuḥ-śm-āvachchhiṇṇah sa-ja-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 43 la-sthalah sarvva-pīḍā-vivarjjita[m-ā]-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam yāvan-mātā-pitō-  
 44 r-ātmanah [cha\*] puṅya-yaśō-bhivridhayaē |\* kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-āvdē(bdē) |\*  
 Kārttika-māsa-pratiba-  
 45 ma-paksha-tṛiti[yā\*]yām Sō[ma\*]va(vā)rē |\* Dattagōtrasya Vaisya(āya)-kul-  
 ōdbhavaḥ |\* Mādhav-ākhyah  
 46 tasya putrah Sōmana-śrēṣṭhah\* | tasya bhāryyā Prayapā | tayōr-ijātāya  
 47 Mallaya-śrēṣṭhāya\* udaka-pūrvvam tāmvrā(mra)-āśanah kṛitvā pradattamo(ttaḥ a)-  
 mūbbhi-

\* Originally y was written in the place of p.

\* An unnecessary d-mātra with this letter has been cancelled by the engraver.

\* Originally medial i was inscribed in the place of medial ē.

\* The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

\* Read śrīśahjāl.

\* Read śrīśahjāl.



- 48 rbbbhā(r=bbhā)vibhishbbbhū(r=bbhū)mipālairmma(r=a)numō(dya\*) dharmmā(rmna)-  
gauravāt=paripālā'niyam=i-
- 49 ti || rājataḥ sāsanaṁ lavdhvā(bdhvā) punar=ayam grāmaḥ |\* griha-sthānam=udyāna-
- 50 sthānam cha |\* sa(sa)ta-murā-dhāny-ōtpanna-bhūmiścha(h=cha) eva-eva[ti\*] śāhayaivā |\*  
Jala-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 51 mvū(mbū)r-akhya-grāma-nivāś |\* Vabhya-sākha-Upamanya-gōtrasya\* |\* dvij-ōttamaḥ |\*  
Pi-
- 52 Hāmmaḥ\* | tasya putraḥ Karanṭama-nāyakaḥ | tasya bhāryā Rēkapā | tayō-
- 53 r=jjāttāna Māpaya-nāyakēna saha tri-sa(sa)tōbhyaḥ |\* Vrā(Brā)hmsōbhyaḥ agraḥ-
- 54 rach kṛitvā Uttarāyana-nimittō(tā) |\* Mālaya-arā(ā)śhīhina(nā) dhārā-purvva-
- 55 kaṁ |\* Kudd-ākhyā-grāmaṁ pradatam=iti\* || asya grāmasya utpanna-
- 56 karāḥ rājām dāyam sa(sa)ta-mura(rā)-dhānyair= saḥta-mādaś=cha ||

\* An unnecessary ā-mātrā with this letter was cancelled by the engraver.

\* The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

\* Read *Baberiśa-śākha-Upamanyava-gōtrasya*.

\* Read *imposed*.

\* Read *grāmāḥ pradatta iñ*.



## No. 27—NAGARJUNAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF EHAVALASRI'S TIME, YEAR 11

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHAKRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 5.6.1953).

The subjoined stone inscription<sup>1</sup> was copied and examined by me in July 1957 at Nāgārjunakonda in the course of my epigraphical tour. It is peculiar in several respects: it is one of the comparatively few Sanskrit inscriptions that have been discovered at this site, most of them being in Prakrit; it is Brahmanistic in nature, the Prakrit ones being all Buddhistic; it is found in six or seven versions, all broken fragments, not a single version having been found in its entirety. It took me some hours to dovetail the fragments till then discovered and kept in the site-museum at Nāgārjunakonda. Many of the fragments are still missing. I was, however, able to restore the complete text by deciphering the extant parts on the various fragments. The facsimile on Plate A shows the greater part of one of the versions, while those on Plate B represent parts of two more versions. The fragments, of the other versions, so far discovered, are too few and are hence not illustrated here.

The ancient site of Nāgārjunakonda is situated on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā river in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh, and is famous for the Buddhist relics it has yielded in abundance. Of late, the site has been rendered more famous by the Nandikonda Dam Project; for this hydro-electric scheme, when complete, will have submerged the entire site, as the water so dammed will rise 60 to 70 feet over the vast area now dotted with the excavated antiquarian remains. The Union Department of Archaeology is thus discharging a very special and emergent responsibility of disembowelling, as fast as can be, the buried ruins and salvaging as many of them as it can possibly do before the threatened deluge takes place.

It may be remarked that the recent digging operations at Nāgārjunakonda have laid bare many Brahmanistic antiquities, whereas those formerly unearthed there almost all belong to the Buddhist faith.

The size of the inscribed bits of stone under study is indicated by the scale given in the photographs reproduced here. The inscription consists of six lines in each version. Though the duct of writing is markedly different in each version, the script in all of them is the same Brāhmī of about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. It resembles that of the Prakrit inscriptions discovered at the same place,<sup>2</sup> and shares with it the characteristic feature of long and curved top and bottom strokes of the letters. The engraving is neatly and elegantly done.

As noticed above, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is remarkably free from errors. Except for the auspicious formula *siddhem* at the beginning, the record is in verse, comprising two stanzas, the first in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre and the second in *Śrīgāhā*. These are logically arranged: the first, being a small one, is divided into halves, each half occupying one line; and the second, being a lengthy one, is divided into quarters, each quarter occupying one line.

There is not much that calls for special notice in the script. The mute consonants are shown by the smaller size of the letter concerned: *cf.* *m* in lines 1 and 6, and *ṣ* in line 5. Besides, they occur

<sup>1</sup> This is No. 5 of *A.R.Rep.*, 1957-58, App. B.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.



a little below the line. Further, the mute *t* is bereft of its top. There is very little difference between the forms of the letters *t* and *n*, both being unlooped. The form of the *upādhamāniya* (line 1) consists of a circle with a cross in the centre, or a four-spoked wheel, so to say, while that of the *jihvāmūliya* (lines 4 and 5) is identical with that of the letter *m*. In point of orthography, the consonant before or after *r* is in most cases reduplicated. The reduplication of the one before *r*, in *pprasāddāt* in line 5, is noteworthy. The change of *visarga* into *s* or *ś* before these letters (lines 4, 5 and 6) is another peculiarity worth noticing.

As for the object of the inscription, it records the erection of a temple (*prāsāda*), described as the dwelling place for Śiva (*Sarvadeśa-dhikēśa*),<sup>1</sup> by one Ēliāri, on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha during the 11th regnal year of king Ēhavalāri. Ēliāri, the builder of the temple, is described as a *Talavara-cara* (apparently the same as *Mahātalarava* found in many other inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda)<sup>2</sup> obviously in the service of king Ēhavalāri. He is further described to be a grandson of the *Sēnāpati* Apikki and a son of Gāṇḍi. It is significant that our donor's father does not bear any title, while his grandfather is mentioned to be a *Sēnāpati* or commander of armies, who had won victories in battle fields and acquired great fame. His own title shows that he too was a high dignitary.

The most prominent thing in the description of Ēliāri is that he was a devout worshipper of the god Kārttikēya or Kumāra, the wielder of the terrible spear, so much so that he ascribes the erection of the Śiva temple in question to the grace and favour of Kārttikēya.

The names of the donor, his father and his grandfather as well as that of the king are all non-Sanskritic. They are presumably of Dravidian origin. It has been suggested to me that the word *li* or *li* in the name Ēliāri may be connected with the Tamil word *eli*, equivalent to Sanskrit *śakti*, 'spear' (weapon of the god Kārttikēya).<sup>3</sup> Anyway, this name as well as the others in this inscription require further elucidation.

The king Ēhavalāri is known from some other inscriptions from the same place, the name being sometimes spelt as Ēhuvala.<sup>4</sup> King Ēhuvala Chātāmūla is mentioned as the son of the Ikshvāku king Virapurisadatta and Mahādēvi Bhāṭisēvā. One of this king's records, it is interesting to know, is dated in the very 11th year of his reign as in the case with our inscription.<sup>5</sup> His father and he himself bear the metronymies Mādhariputa and Vāseṭhiputa respectively, indicating thereby that the mother of the former belonged to the Mādhara *gōtra* while the mother of the latter belonged to the Vāseṭṭha *gōtra*. Ēhavalā or Ēhuvala had a sister whose name was Kodabaliniri, queen of Vānavāsuka-mahārāja.

A much longer and well-preserved Sanskrit inscription engraved on a stone pillar of the time of the same king Ēhavalāri has likewise been recently discovered at Nāgārjunakonda.<sup>6</sup>

It is not possible to equate the regnal year given in the inscription with the corresponding Christian year. Yet, as indicated above, the inscription can palaeographically be placed in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

The text of the present inscription given below is based on my reading of the original fragments of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> I take *Sarva* here as a well-known synonym of *Śiva*: *Sarvā Śarvā Śivā Śivāś*.

<sup>2</sup> For *Talavara* and *Mahātalarava*, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 6 and 7, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> [The Telugu word *eli* (from the verb *eli*, 'to govern') means 'a ruler, king, master'.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text line 10.

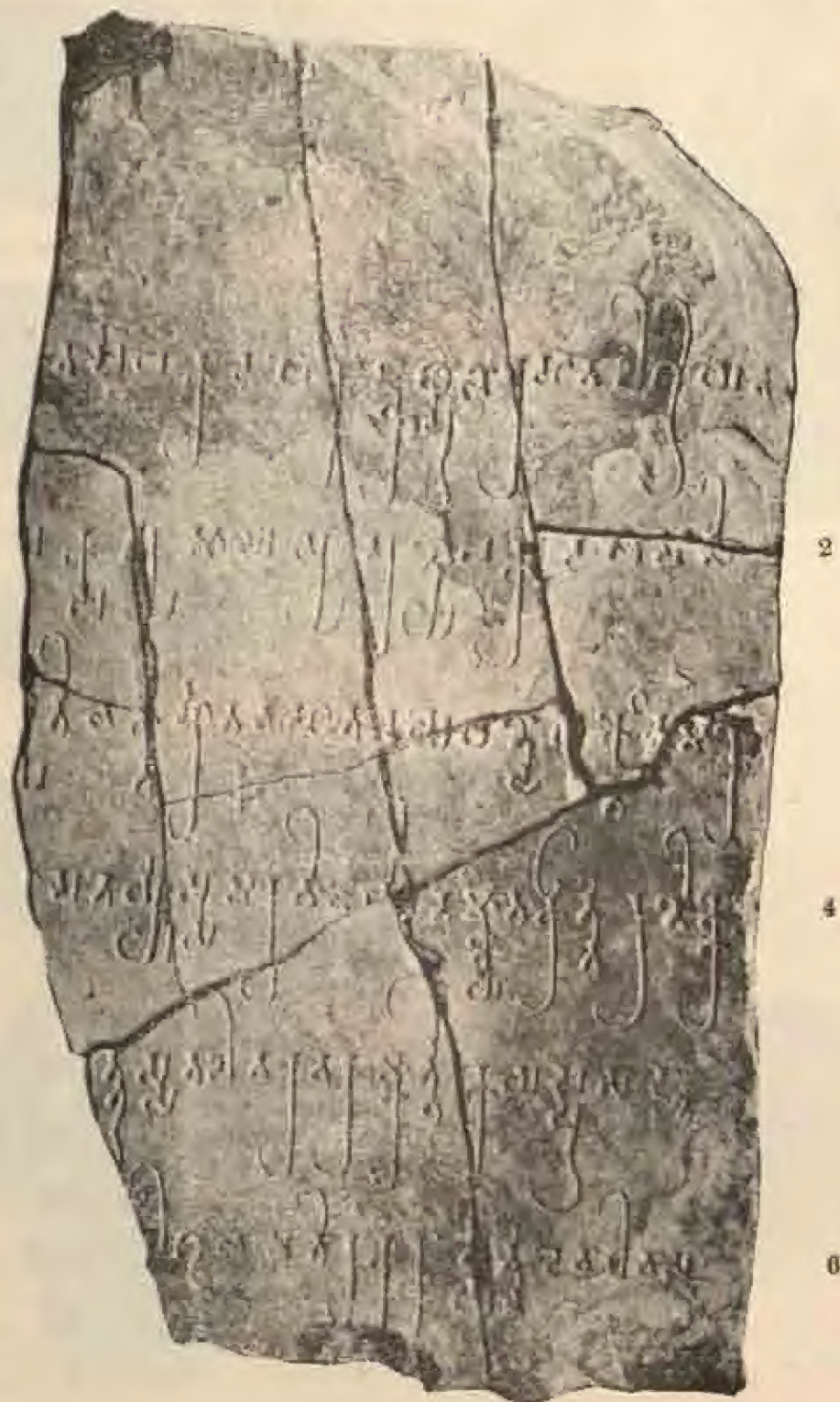
<sup>5</sup> Loo, *op. cit.*, Inscription H.

<sup>6</sup> This is No. 4 of A.N.S.P., 1957-58, App. B.



NAGARJUNAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF EHAVASRI'S TIME, YEAR 11

A.



(from a Photograph)





B



(from Photographia)



TEXT

[Metres : verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh* ; Verse 2 *Brugdhavā*.]

- 1 Siddham | Varsa śkādās rājñah-prabhōr-Ehavalasriyah [|\*]
- 2 śukla-pakṣhasya Māghasya puṇya śkādās-hani [|] 1\*]
- 3 Dēvō yasy-ātibhaktir-Hutavaha-tanayō cāṇḍa-śaktau Kumārō
- 4 pautras-sēnāpatēr-yyas-samāra-vijayinah-kkhyāta-krttēr-Aṇikkēh [|\*]
- 5 prāsādāt-Gāṇḍi-puttras-sa talavara-varah-Kārttikēya-pprasādāt
- 6 Ēlārīś-ārī-viśālāḥ śubha-matir-akarōt-Sarvadēv-ādhipāsam [|] 2\*]

TRANSLATION

Luck !

(Verse 1) On the auspicious eleventh day of the bright fortnight of (the month of) Māgha, during the eleventh year of the king, the Lord Ehavalasri.

(Verse 2) Ēlārī of pure intellect, the chief Talavara, who is intensely devoted to (the god) Kumāra, son of Fire,\* wielder of the terrible spear,—Ēlārī, grandson of the army-chief Aṇikki who had won victories in battlefields and acquired wide renown,—Ēlārī, son of Gāṇḍī, with the grace of (the god) Kārttikēya (same as Kumāra), built (this) supremely glorious temple, an abode of Sarva-dēva (i.e., the god Śiva).

\* *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

\* For the representation of Kumāra or Kārttikēya as the son of Agni, see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 98.



## No. 28—BHATURIYA INSCRIPTION OF RAJYAPALA

(I Plate)

H. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.5.1958)

The stone slab bearing the inscription under study was recovered from the mosque at **Bhaturiya**, about 20 miles from Rajshahi, headquarters of the District of that name in East Pakistan, by Mirza Mokhtaruddin Ahmad, Superintendent of Police, Rajshahi. It was presented to the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi in August 1954. The inscription was published by Mr. Siva Prasanna Lahiry in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (September 1955), pp. 215-31, without any illustration. Recently I received a photograph of the epigraph from the authorities of the Varendra Research Society. On an examination of the record, it was found that there are many errors in Mr. Lahiry's transcript and translation of the document while his conclusions in regard to its historical importance are in several cases more unwarranted speculations.

The inscribed slab is stated to measure between 19 and 19½ inches in length and between 11½ and 11½ inches in height. The space occupied by the writing is about 18½ inches long and 10½ inches high. Individual *aksharas* are about ¾ inch in height. There are altogether 20 lines in the record. The last line, which is nearly 13 inches long and is thus shorter than the other lines, has been incised in a central position leaving a space of a little above 2½ inches at the beginning of the line and about 3½ inches at its end. The letters are carefully and beautifully engraved and the preservation of the writing is satisfactory, though some letters are slightly rubbed off in the central area of the left half of the inscribed surface.

The characters belong to the Gaudiya or East Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the contemporary records of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar. Of initial vowels, *a* (lines 2, 14, 16, 18), *ā* (line 13), *i* (lines 6, 20) and *ī* (line 19) occur in the inscription. The sign for *e* has been used to indicate *ā*. The letter *ṣ* has three forms, viz. endowed with the *ā-mātrā*-like sign (cf. *mukṣa* in line 2), with a short stroke in the place of the said sign (cf. *Aṭṭa*\* and *ḍḍhaṭṭa* in line 2, *Karayāṭa* in line 11) and without the sign in question (*kapaṭiṣ* in line 10, *Lāṭaṭ* in line 11, *paṭṭe* in line 20). There is no appreciable difference between *p* and *y* and between the subscript forms of *dā* and *e*. The sign for half nasal called *caudrabindu* or *anuvāda* is used in line 11. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the word *svasti* preceded by the *Siddham* symbol at the beginning in line 1. It is a *prastāva* or eulogy in 15 stanzas composed in various metres. The author's style is simple. As regards orthographical peculiarities, there are some cases of the use of class nasals in the place of *anuvāda* and a few cases of *visarga-sandhi* as in *āṇḍī-tirōṭhiṣ* (lines 11-12) and *ārōṇḍī-ṣaṅkaraṣ* (line 16). *Anuvāda* instead of final *m* has been used at the end of the halves of stanzas, while final *m* has not been changed to *anuvāda* before *e*. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with the preceding *e*. In line 18, the word *yāṭa* has been wrongly written as *yāṭu*.

The inscription bears no date. But it records a grant of king **Rājyapāla** no doubt belonging to the celebrated Pāla dynasty of Eastern India. The Pāla king Rājyapāla ruled in the first half of the tenth century and his reign period may be roughly assigned to c. 911-35 A.D.

\* The inscription begins with a stanza (verse 1) in lines 1-2, which is in adoration of the god Śambhu (Śiva). Verse 2 (lines 2-3) introduces a locality called *Aṭṭamāla* which was the home of



the Dāsa family or clan. The said place is described as *Bṛihaddhatta-vinirgata* probably meaning that Aṭṭamūla originally formed a part of Bṛihaddhatta. Lahiry reads the two geographical names wrongly as Aṭṭamūla and Bṛihaddhattā. Verse 3 in lines 3-4 states that a person named Malhādāsa was born in the said family of the Dāsas of Aṭṭamūla and that Śūradāsa was the son of Malhādāsa, and Saṅghadāsa the son of Śūradāsa. Saṅghadāsa has been described as munificent to the supplicants just as Mount Rōhaṇa which is the same as the 'modern Adam's Peak in Ceylon. Verse 4 in line 5 states that the said Saṅghadāsa married Sarasvatī, the daughter of Sūryakuṇḍa and Durvāyī. Lahiry reads the stanza wrongly and fails to notice the name of Sarasvatī, wife of Saṅghadāsa, mentioned in it. Verse 5 (lines 5-7) introduces Yaśōdāsa, the son of Saṅghadāsa and Sarasvatī and the hero of the *prafati* under study. It is stated that Yaśōdāsa was made a *Mantrin* or minister by king Rājyapāla. Yaśōdāsa has been compared here to 'the lord of speech', i.e. Bṛhaspati, the priest and counsellor of the lord of the gods. This of course does not suggest that Yaśōdāsa was a Brāhmaṇa by caste. As will be seen below, Lahiry regards him as a member of the Chāshī Kaivarta community of Bengal on inconclusive grounds. The Kaivartas are fishermen and those amongst them who gave up their ancestral profession and adopted agriculture are the Chāshī Kaivarta or Māhishya. Yaśōdāsa may or may not have been a Kaivarta.

The following five stanzas (verses 6-10) describe the achievements of Yaśōdāsa. Verse 6 in lines 7-8 states that Yaśōdāsa received the designation of *Suchiva* (i.e. a minister or counsellor) from the king while the next stanza (verse 7 in lines 8-10) says that the king made Yaśōdāsa his *Tantrādhipātrīn*. The official designation *Tantrādhipātrīn*, which literally means 'an officer in charge of administration', appears to be the same as *Tantrapāla*, *Tantrapati* and *Tantrādhyakṣa* of epigraphic and literary records and an early commentator is known to explain the designation *Bṛihattāntrapati* as *Dharmādhipātrīn* or a judge.<sup>1</sup> The language of our inscription seems to make a distinction among *Mantrin*, *Suchiva* and *Tantrādhipātrīn* and to show how Yaśōdāsa was raised by Rājyapāla from a lower post to a higher one on two occasions. Both these stanzas (verses 6-7) mention the king as *Rāmaparākrama*. The repetition of the expression in two consecutive stanzas seems to suggest that it was a sort of secondary name of the Pāla king Rājyapāla and not merely an epithet meaning 'one who is equal to Rāma in prowess'.

Lahiry understands the passage *aśōratasair-bhūmijaiḥ* occurring in verse 7 to mean 'on the score of the broad-chested Bhūmijas' and the *Bhūmijas* have been understood by him in the sense of the Chāshī Kaivartas. In his view, the verse mentions the Pāla king as having aspired for the status of Indra on the score of his elephants, Bhūmijas, land and gold and the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas. This has led him to a good deal of speculation regarding Yaśōdāsa having been the chief of the Chāshī Kaivarta community, the great help Rājyapāla may have received from this community, Yaśōdāsa having been appointed his Prime Minister as a reward for such help, the well-known Kaivarta chief Divya (who snatched away North Bengal from the hands of Mahipāla II about the end of the eleventh century) having been a distant descendant of Yaśōdāsa, etc. But there is nothing of all these in the stanza which may be translated as follows: "who (Yaśōdāsa) was made the *Tantrādhipātrīn* by the victorious [and] illustrious *Rāmaparākrama* who was aspiring, as it were, for the status of the lord of the gods by honouring gods and Brāhmaṇas with [the presents of] haughty elephants in rut, principal horses (*aśōratasair*) [and] men (*bhūmijaiḥ*) that had surrendered [to him] (*upanataiḥ*) [as well as] land covered with crops [and] many heaps of gold which were acquired [by him]." The verse merely refers to the fact that Rājyapāla obtained the possession of a large number of elephants, horses and infantry men (i.e. prisoners to be made slaves) as well as land and gold, all belonging to his enemies, as a result of his victories over the latter, and that he made presents of them all to the gods and Brāhmaṇas. There is no reference here to the Chāshī Kaivartas.

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 339.



Lahiry's contention that *Dāsa* (which is Yaśōdāsa's name-ending or family designation) should have to be taken to indicate the Chāshī Kaivarta community and that *Kuṇḍa* (the name-ending or family designation of his maternal grandfather Sūryakuṇḍa) should have to be taken to be the same as *Kuṇḍa* which is now a family name among the Chāshī Kaivartas of Bengal is equally unsatisfactory. Both *Dāsa* and *Kuṇḍa* are at present known to be the cognomens among various non-Brāhmaṇa communities of Bengal including the Kāyastha and Vaidya and there is evidence to show that even the Brāhmaṇas of Eastern India bore the said name-endings or cognomens in early times.<sup>1</sup>

Verse 8 in lines 10-12 states that, when Yaśōdāsa was occupying the post of the *Tantrādhipātī* of Rājyapāla, his master's (i.e. the Pāla king's) command was obeyed by the *Ml̥cchhas*, *Āṅgas*, *Kālīṅgas*, *Vaṅgas*, *Ōdras*, *Pāṇḍyas*, *Karṇāṭas*, *Lāṭas*, *Suhmas*, *Gurjaras*, *Kṛttas* and *Chīnas*. Besides some errors in Lahiry's readings of the stanzas, his acceptance of Rājyapāla's claim to have been obeyed by all the above peoples as a historical fact is unsound. There is little doubt that it is a conventional claim which is not quite reliable from the historian's point of view in regard to most of the peoples mentioned, even if a few of them may have been actually subdued by the Pāla king.

The *Ml̥cchhas* mentioned in the list appear to have been the Arab Muslims who were in occupation of the lower Indus valley since the first quarter of the eighth century, although the Pāla king had little chance of having come into conflict with them. The *Āṅgas* lived in the Monghyr-Bhagalpur region forming a part of the Pāla dominions in Rājyapāla's time. The *Kālīṅgas* may be identified with the Eastern Gaṅgas then ruling from the city of Kālīṅganagara in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. The *Vaṅgas* lived in South-Eastern Bengal and the *Ōdras* of Orissa were then under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas of Guṇḍavarapāṭaka (modern Jāipur in the Cuttack District). The *Pāṇḍyas* ruled from Madurai over the southernmost Districts of India while the *Karṇāṭas* may be identified with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Māyakhṛṭa (modern Malkhed in the former Hyderabad State). The *Lāṭas* lived in the Nausāri-Broach region of Gujarat and the *Suhmas* in South-West Bengal. The *Gurjaras* were of course the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj.

The most interesting in the above list of peoples is the mention of the *Kṛttas* and *Chīnas* since neither of them generally finds a place in the conventional list of adversaries or subdued peoples found in the records of Indian monarchs. It may be suggested that the Sino-Tibetans are indicated by the name *Chīna*. But the identification of the *Kṛtta* people is difficult, since they are not mentioned in the list of peoples found in the Indian epic, Puranic and geographical literature. It is of course tempting to suggest that *Kṛtta* is a modification of *Kṛtita* which is the name of a well-known Himalayan people. But there is no evidence in Indian literary works in favour of such a modification. Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises the word *Kṛtta* as the name of the people of a despised caste on the authority of Wilson, while a tradition recorded by Hiuen-tsang suggests that certain foreign rulers of the Kashmir region were known as *Kṛtta* or 'the Bought'.<sup>2</sup> This reminds us of the name *Kṛta* (*Kṛita*) or *Kṛita* applied in India originally to the Scytho-Parthian era of East Iranian origin, which later came to be known as the Vikrama Samvat.<sup>3</sup>

Verse 9-10 (lines 12-14) state how Yaśōdāsa was famous for his munificence in the cause of public welfare. Verse 11 (lines 14-16), which along with the next verse (verse 12 in lines 16-17) records the main purpose of the *pradasti*, says that Yaśōdāsa built a huge temple surrounded by eight other shrines and established the god Śaṅkara (Śiva) in his Liṅga form (i.e. a Śivaliṅga) in it. Verse 12 records that the king (i.e. Rājyapāla) dedicated the village of *Madhusarava* in favour of the god Vṛishabhadhivaja (Śiva) installed by Yaśōdāsa after having fixed the *nikara* at one hundred

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g., the list of the Brāhmaṇa donors in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskara-varman, which contain seven names ending in *kuṇḍa* and two names ending in *dāsa* (Bhattacharya, *Kidnari-plates*, pp. 32 ff.). The cognomen *Dāsa* is popular among the Brāhmaṇas of Orissa.

<sup>2</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 285 note; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125, note.







- 5 Upayēma sutaṁ sō-pi Dūrvāyī<sup>1</sup> Sūryakunḍayōḥ | Sarasvatīm-Umām<sup>2</sup> Sambhur-Mēnā-  
Himavatō-iva || [4\*] Jātas-tābhyaṁ jagati mahitō janma-bhūḥ sāt-guṇānām
- 6 khyātāḥ kṛtīyā diṁ diśi Yasōdāsa ity-uddhata-rtḥ | dēvaḥ prithvi-valaya-tilakō jītvārāḥ  
pārthivānām-cha<sup>3</sup>krō vācchām-sulupam-iva yaḥ
- 7 mantrapaṁ Rājyapālāḥ || [5\*] Lavaṇa-jasādhi-śyām-ōpāntāḥ-diz-antara-gōchara-tvarita-  
chakṛa-kahōṇipāla-pratiṣṭā<sup>4</sup>-nidhānāḥ | sōchiva-pāḍavīm
- 8 yasmin-kāsaty<sup>5</sup>-akhaṇḍita-kāsanō vyadhita vasudhām<sup>6</sup>-ēka-chochhattarīm sa Rāmaparā-  
kramāḥ || [6\*] Mātāṅgār-munada-garvvitair-upanatair-aśvōśasair-bhūmijai-
- 9 i=urvvyā sāya-samriddhaya<sup>7</sup> va(ba)butithair-hōmānā-chayair-arjitatāḥ | sampajjya<sup>8</sup> dvija-  
dēvatāḥ Surapatēr-āditeun-ōv-ōpadam yaḥ śri-Rāmaparākramēṇa
- 10 jayinā tantir-ādhi<sup>9</sup>kārī kṛtāḥ || [7\*] Mlōchchhair-uchchhāna-kalpatāḥ pōrijana-ni(vi)kalair<sup>10</sup>-  
Aṅga-Kālīṅga-Vaṅga<sup>11</sup>-Ōddhair-udḍhā-jlvair-apagata-kapatāḥ
- 11 Pāpāya-Karṇapāta-Lāṭāḥ | Subhraiḥ<sup>12</sup> s-ōpaprādānair-sāi bhaya-chakṛitair-Ggarjjara-  
Kṛita-Chīnair<sup>13</sup>-yasam<sup>14</sup>-tantir-ādhi<sup>15</sup>kāram-viladhātī<sup>16</sup> dachir<sup>17</sup> bharttur-ājā-
- 12 s-śrōḥḥ || [8\*] Tōy-ādikāir-amrita-śīrair-ājya-dhārō-vinūḍair-agny-āgāir-upahita-  
mūḍhair-yajvanām-mandirāḥ-cha<sup>18</sup> | vidyā-sattir-ghana-āi(tj)-śilair-dēva-
- 13 gēhair-mūḍhair-vvā n-aike-dvārā diśi diśi guṇair-yasya jāgertti kṛitāḥ || [9\*] Ārāma-  
-s[ā]tu<sup>19</sup>-maṭha-maḍapa-sattira-dāna-prāsāda-saṅkrāma-jalāsya-
- 14 sannivṛtāḥ | tair-ōbhur-ātma-charit-ōktī-padāḥ prāsastair-yaḥ svam<sup>20</sup> prāsasti-prithu-  
pṛtham-iv-ākṛit-ōrvvīm(rvīm) || [10\*] Aśtābhūḥ sura-mandirāḥ parivṛitat
- 15 prāsādam-abhratī-līham sampādy<sup>21</sup>-ēnde-mavichī-jāla-dhavalair-llipta[m] sudhō-kariddamāḥ |  
tēn-āyam naya-śālīnā śuchi-śāl-vinyasta-līṅ-ākṛitir-bhuktyā
- 16 dharmā-parāyaṇēna bhagavān-ārōpita<sup>22</sup>-Saṅkarāḥ || [11\*] Asmai Yasōdāsa-nivṛtītya śri-  
Rājyapālō Vṛishābhadhvajāyā | śatām parāṇā-nikāram<sup>23</sup> niyamyā
- 17 Madhuraravām grāmam-adāt-khittāḥ || [12\*] Pāpū-Prāchhuva(ba)chir-Bharatā-Dalarath-  
Ekahvaku-Rām-Agnimitrāḥ kṛtīnām-pālānāyā kṛitipati-tilakāḥ prārthi-
- 18 tam yatra bhūyāḥ | tātra vrū(hrā)mō na tāvad-avayam-ati-laghatō yā(jā)tu<sup>24</sup> kiṁ prārthanā-  
bhīr-yasmād-riśv-ōpakāra-prapīḥita-mannasḥ pālāyanty-ōva santāḥ || [13\*] Aśy-ōdam-ā-
- 19 yatapālā-āhṛita-hāri-sōbhām-saṅkalpa-siddhām-iva nirmūḍam-Indumaulēḥ | śtat-tu tā-  
vadāḥ tishthata śāla-sindhu-sadhasthāna-sustham-avanstaleam-astī yāvat || [14\*]
- 20<sup>25</sup> Indrēṇa-magi-mugdhō śāl-patī<sup>26</sup>-tinirmalō | prāsastir-īyam-utkirṇā Ścinidhānēna<sup>27</sup>  
ūpini || [15\*]

<sup>1</sup> Lahiry reads *Dūrvāyī*. The comma after 'kūṇḍayōḥ' in the place of *daṇḍa* in Lahiry's transcript seems to be a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> Lahiry reads *Sarasvatī-pramā*.

<sup>3</sup> Lahiry reads *pratiṣṭāḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Lahiry reads *yasam-āditya*. The idea in the second half of the stanza is that Yasōdāsa was made a *Sachiv* as he was running the administration of the whole earth on behalf of his master.

<sup>5</sup> Lahiry reads *vyadhita-mūḍā*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *sampādyas*. Lahiry reads *sampādyā* or *sampājya*.

<sup>7</sup> Lahiry reads *vīṇā*.

<sup>8</sup> Lahiry reads *chāpū* or *vīṇā*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *āśvair* or *vīṇā*.

<sup>10</sup> Lahiry wrongly suggests, "Read either *parijana-mandirāḥ-cha* or *yajvanam-mandirāḥ*". The former reading is preferable.

<sup>11</sup> Lahiry reads *śū* and observes, "Reading *śū* is doubtful. The metre also does not permit it. Read *pūrta* for *śū*."

<sup>12</sup> Lahiry reads *śū*.

<sup>13</sup> Lahiry suggests the correction *nīlām* without noticing that the emendation does not suit the metre. He understands the previous word as *parāṇā* and fails to grasp the real import of the stanza.

<sup>14</sup> Lahiry retains *gā*.

<sup>15</sup> The line is smaller than the other lines and has been engraved in a central position and not from the beginning of the space.

<sup>16</sup> Lahiry prefers *śrī Nidhānēna*.



## BEATURIYA INSCRIPTION OF RAJYAPALA,

[illegible]

(from a Photograph)







No. 29—MALLAR PLATES OF JAYARAJA, YEAR 5

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, DOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.5.1958)

A set of **three** copper plates was recently discovered at the village of **Mallar** in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was secured by Mr. Amarnath Sao of Bilaspur, who showed it to Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sarma of Raigarh, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Pandit Pandeya advised Mr. Sao to send the plates for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Mr. Sao was kind enough to agree with the request and the plates were received in my office about the end of April 1958.

The three plates, which have rounded corners, measure each about 5·4 inches in length and 2·95 inches in height. The thickness of the central plate is about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch, the other two plates being thinner (about  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch thick). The plates are strung on a ring  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in thickness and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. But the **seal**, originally affixed to the ring, is now lost. There are in all 23 lines of writing, six lines each on the inner side of the first plate and the obverse and reverse of the second plate and only five lines on the inner side of the third plate. The weight of the three plates together is 32 $\frac{1}{2}$  *tolas* and that of the ring only 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  *tolas*.

The charter is written in 'box-headed' characters and its language is Sanskrit. As regards palaeography, language, orthography and style, the inscription resembles very closely the **Āraṅg plates**<sup>1</sup> of the donor of the present grant, which is the only other record of the king so far discovered. The sign for medial *i* is made by inserting a dot in the circular sign indicating medial *i*. The *upadhānūya* and *jīhāmūlya* have been used respectively in lines 3 and 13 and lines 8 and 18. The numerical symbol 5 occurs twice in line 23. A horizontal stroke with a dot both above and below has often been used as a mark of punctuation (cf. lines 12, 16, 22). In some cases, a pair of horizontal strokes, one above the other, has been employed to indicate either the mark of punctuation (cf. lines 10, 16 and 17) or the sign for *visarga* (cf. lines 3 and 11). The normal sign of *visarga* made of two dots placed one above the other, which is also used in the inscription (cf. *bhūmidak* in line 19), has been once used to indicate a mark of punctuation in line 5. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of double nasal and the reduplication of *t* after a nasal. Some consonants have often been reduplicated before and after *r*. The word *siṃha* has been written *siṅha* as in the **Āraṅg plates** of Jayarāja and some other records of the kings of Śarabhapura.

The record is not dated in any era. It registers a charter of king **Jayarāja** (Mahā-Jayarāja) issued from **Śarabhapura** which seems to have been situated near modern Sirpur in the Raipur District. The charter was issued on the **fifth day of the month of Kārttika in the fifth year** of the reign of Jayarāja who very probably flourished about the middle of the sixth century A. D., although his exact reign period cannot be determined.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and a sentence in lines 1-5 referring to the order of **Mahā-Jayarāja**, described as a *paramabhāgarata*, issued from **Śarabhapura** to the agriculturist house-holders of **Kadambapadrullaka** in **Antaranālaka**. The name of the gift village Kadambapadrullaka seems to be a combination of the names of two contiguous localities called Kadambapadra and Ullaka. The next sentence in lines 5-10 quotes the text of the order which is to the effect that the said village was granted by the king in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Karpasivāmin of the Kautsa *gotra*. The village was granted as a permanent rent-free holding on the

<sup>1</sup> Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.



occasion of a lunar eclipse, for the merit of the king himself and of his parents, by means of a copper-plate charter. The following sentence in lines 10-12 advises the house-holders of Kadambapadrullaka to be obedient to the donee and to pay him the usual *bhōga* (periodical offerings) and *bhāga* (the king's share in the produce of the fields).

Lines 12 ff. contain the donor's request to the future rulers of the land for the protection of his grant. This is followed in lines 16 ff. by some of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses represented as the sayings of Vyāsa. The concluding part of the document in lines 22-23 states that the executor of the grant was the king himself (cf. *scamukh-āyāyā*) and that the charter was engraved by Achalasinhha who was also the engraver of Jayarāja's Āraṅg plates. The last passage contains the date of the grant, which, as already indicated above, was the fifth day of Kārttika in the king's 5th regnal year.

The Āraṅg plates of Jayarāja were issued on the 25th day of the month of Mārgaśīra in the 5th year of his reign. It will thus be seen that the present grant was issued a few weeks earlier than the Āraṅg plates. The seal of Jayarāja attached to the present grant, like the seals of other copper-plate grants of the family to whom he belonged, bears the representation of Gaṇalakāma above the legend which is a stanza in *Anuśṭubh* arranged in two lines. The legend on the seal of the Āraṅg plates was read by Fleet as follows:

*Prasanna-kṛīḍa|tanay-aica vikram-ākṛā[m]ṭa-nidvishaḥ [I\*]*

*śrīmatō Jayarājasya śāsana[m] ripu-śāsanam [II\*]*

On the seal of the Raipur plates of Śulīvarāja (Mahā-Sudēvarāja), son of Jayarāja's brother, Māna-mātra Durgarāja, the first and third feet of the stanza were read by the same scholars *Prasanna-kṛīḍanayay-aica* and *śrīmat-Sudēvarājasya*,<sup>1</sup> though Pandit L. P. Pandeya read them respectively as *Prasanna-tanay-śāṇ* and *Śrī-Mahā-Jayarājasya* suggesting that Jayarāja's seal was attached to the charter of Sudēvarāja.<sup>2</sup> The reading of the first foot of the stanza on both these seals is apparently *Prasanna-tanayay-śāṇ*, but that of the third foot appears to be *śrīmatō Jayarājasya* in both the cases. Jayarāja's seal attached to the recently published Sirpur plates of Sudēvarāja, which seems to offer the same reading as the seals of the Āraṅg plates of Jayarāja and the Raipur plates of Sudēvarāja, reads:

*Prasanna-tanayay-śāṇ vikram-ākṛāṇa-nidvishaḥ [I\*]*

*śrīmatō Jayarājasya śāsanam ripu-śāsanam[nam] [II\*]*

Jayarāja was the son of Prasanna or Prasannamātra who ruled sometime after Śarabha, founder of the city of Śarabhapura, and the latter's son Narēndra, known from his Pipardola and Kurud plates.\* Since Śarabha's daughter's son Gōparāja is known from the Eran inscription\* to have died in 510 A.D., Śarabha and Narēndra appear to have flourished respectively about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. Prasannamātra and his son Jayarāja, who issued the charter under study, may therefore be tentatively assigned approximately to about the first and second quarters of the sixth century respectively.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Śarabhapura, the earlier capital of the family to which Jayarāja belonged, has already been indicated above. The other two geographical names are: (1) the gift village of Kadambapadrullaka, and (2) the district of Antaranālaka in which the village was situated. I am not sure about their exact location.

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahākṣata Historical Society's Papers*, Vol. II, p. 41.

\* See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 103, note 4.

\* Cf. *IBQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139 ff.; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 263 ff.

\* Bhandarkar's List, No. 1290.







14 14  
 16 16  
 18 18

20 20  
 22 22



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Svasti [!]<sup>2</sup> Śarabhapurāt dvi(vi)kkram-ōpanata-sāmantha(ta)-chūḍā-maṣi-prabhā-pra-  
śk-āmbu-  
2 bhir-dh[au]ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsinī-smattō(nt-ō)ddharana-hētur-vvasu-vasudhā-  
3 gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātō-pitri(tp)-pād-ānuddhyātah<sup>3</sup> īri-Mahā-Jayarājah  
4 A[m]tta(ta)ranālakīya-Kadarn(da)mbapadrullakō prativān-k[u]ṭumbīnas-samā-  
5 jñāpayati |<sup>4</sup> viditani=astu vō yath=ānābhīr-ayadh grāmas-Tridaśapati-  
6 sadana-sukha-pratiśhā-karō yāvad=ravi-śālī-tār[ā]-kīraṇa-pratihata-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 7 ghōr-āddha(nḍha)kāra[m]<sup>5</sup> jagad=avatishṭhatō tāvad=upabhōjya(gyah) sa-nidhis=s-ōpa-  
nidhi-<sup>6</sup>  
8 r=s-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāval(vā)ṣya[h]<sup>7</sup> sarva-kara-visarjitaḥ=K[au]ṭas-sagōtra-Brāhmaṇa-  
Kapa-  
9 rd[d]ivāminas<sup>8</sup>=sōm-ōparāgē mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivra(vī)ddha-  
10 yē udaka-pūrvva[m] tāmbra(nra)-śāsanān=ātī[s]iṣṭas<sup>9</sup>-tō<sup>10</sup> yāyam=ōvam=upala-  
11 bhy=ā[e]r=ā[ā]śraṇa-vidhāyā bhūtvā yath=ōchita-bhōga-bhāgam=upanayasttaḥ(tah)<sup>11</sup>  
sukham  
12 prativa[t]<sup>12</sup>syathā |<sup>13</sup> bhaviṣyatas=cha bhāmipān-anudariṣyati |<sup>14</sup> Dānā[d-vi]śiṣṭa-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 13 m=anupālana-jam purāṇāt<sup>15</sup> dharmāśeṣu niśchita-dhiyaḥ-pravadan(da)nti dharmma<sup>16</sup>  
[!]<sup>17</sup>  
14 tasmā[d]<sup>18</sup>=dvijāya suviśuddha-kula-śrūtāya dattāḥ bhuvān bhayatu vō mati-  
15 r=ōva gōptam(ptam ||)<sup>19</sup> bhavadvi(dbhī)r-apy=śhā dattir-anupāla-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and their impressions.<sup>2</sup> The *vīserpa* is indicated by two horizontal strokes instead of the usual dot.<sup>3</sup> The punctuation mark is indicated by a *vīserpa* sign.<sup>4</sup> Originally *dāi* was engraved.<sup>5</sup> Correctly *śchvint*. But the sixth case-ending may have been used for the Brāhmaṇa having paid some money for the purchase of the village.<sup>6</sup> There is here an unnecessary sign made of two horizontal strokes placed one above the other. This may be regarded as a redundant *vīserpa* rather than a mark of punctuation.<sup>7</sup> We should better have *teḍ* instead of *ī* in such contexts.<sup>8</sup> *Vīserpa* is written here with two horizontal strokes.<sup>9</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke with one dot above and another below.<sup>10</sup> Read *paridā*.<sup>11</sup> Read *dharmma*. There appear to be an *anuvāda* sign above *mmma* and the faint trace of a final *m* to its right.<sup>12</sup> The letters *vastir=tes gōptam* | had been engraved here originally for a second time and were afterwards rubbed off.



- 16 yitavyā |<sup>1</sup> Vyāsa-gītānś-ch-ātra ślōkān-udāharāhṭṭi(tī) |<sup>2</sup> Agnēr-apatyañ  
 17 prathamān suvarṇṇaṁ<sup>3</sup> bhūr-vvaishṇavi sūryya-sutāś-cha gāvah<sup>4</sup> [|\*] dattās-traya-  
 18 s-tēna bhavarhṭṭi(tī) lōkā yah-kāñchanam gām(gā)ñ-cha mahīñ-cha dadyā(t)<sup>5</sup> [|\*]

*Third Plate*

- 19 Shat(Sha)hṭi-varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [|\*] āchchhṭṭā ch-ānumah-  
 20 ttā(tā) cha tārṇ(tā)ny-ōva narakō vasēt [|\*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājābhbbhi(jabhi)=  
 Sa-  
 21 gar-ādibhiḥ [|\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīa-tasya tasya tadā  
 22 phalañ(la)m=iti [|\*] eva-mukh-ājñayā |<sup>1</sup> uktī(tkī)ṇṇam Achalaśūgbēna<sup>2</sup> [|\*]  
 23 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara<sup>3</sup> pañ(pa)ñcha 5 Kārttika-dīśō<sup>4</sup> 5 [|\*]

<sup>1</sup> The mark of punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke with one dot above and another below.

<sup>2</sup> The mark of punctuation has been written here with two horizontal strokes.

<sup>3</sup> There is here an unnecessary mark of punctuation written with two horizontal strokes.

<sup>4</sup> Vīśarṇa is written here with two horizontal strokes.

<sup>5</sup> There is a faint trace of i in the original.

<sup>6</sup> Read \*śimhāna.

<sup>7</sup> Read \*vatsarāḥ.

<sup>8</sup> Read dīśāḥ.



## No. 30—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA II, YEAR 11

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4.3.1958)

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved to the right of the *Sargacūṣal* on the south wall of the fourth *prākāra* in the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at **Srīraṅgam**, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. The language as well as the script of the inscription is Tamil and it is engraved in characters of the 12th century A.D.

The record registers the gift of a golden lamp-stand with a ruby set in it to the god Raṅganātha and a sum of 683 *achchu* for lighting the lamp on all the days of the year. The gift was made by Kōḍai Ravivarman, 'one of the *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ*' of Malaināḍu in the 11th year of the reign of Kō-Parakēsarivarman alias Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ Rājarājadēva. The record begins with the *Meykkīrti*: *Pū-naruviga tirumādum*, etc., and hence the ruler is to be identified with the second king of the said name in the Chōla dynasty. The details of the date, viz., 11th year, *Mirichchika* (*Vṛiśchika*) śu. 5, Monday, Tiruvōgam, regularly correspond to November 19, 1158 A.D. The text of the inscription is drafted in the form of an undertaking given by the representatives of the administrative bodies of the temple such as *Srivaishṇava-āriyam*, *Srībhagadāra-vāriyam*, *Por-payḍāriyaḷ*, *Kaṅḡāṇiṣeyvār* (supervisors) and the temple accountant. It is stated that, having taken charge of the lamp and having deposited the money in the temple treasury (*Srībhagadāram*), they would arrange for lighting the lamp on all the 365 days of the year with the interest accruing to the money deposited.

The inscription is important because it gives an earlier date for the donor, Kōḍai Ravivarman, who was a king of Vēṇāḍu and is known from some inscriptions from the Travancore region.\* The date of our inscription would be equivalent to year 332 of the Kollam era, in which the Travancore records are usually dated. There is, however, no dated record from Travancore mentioning the reigning king between Kollam 325<sup>2</sup> and 336<sup>3</sup> thus leaving a gap of about 12 years in the history of Vēṇāḍu. On the former date the reigning king was Kōḍai Kēraḷavarman and it seems to be the latest date available for him. On the latter date, Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi is stated to have been ruling Vēṇāḍu. Of the name Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, Vira Ravivarman is the name and Tiruvaḍi a well-known designation adopted by the kings of Vēṇāḍu. The expression *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ* used in our record enables us to identify the donor Kōḍai Ravivarman with Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Vēṇāḍu due to the proximity of the dates. The locative suffix *il* in the expression *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷil* can only indicate that there was at least one other member of the family with a title to the throne. On the date of this record, Kōḍai Ravivarman was perhaps the crown-prince while Kōḍai Kēraḷavarman or another person not known to us was the ruling king. The institution of the office of the crown-prince is indicated in the inscriptions of Travancore as *ṅaṅḡu nāḷunaruḷuṅḡu*.<sup>4</sup> The name Kōḍai Ravivarman suggests that he may have been related to Kōḍai Kēraḷavarman. It is likely that Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi identified with Kōḍai Ravi-

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ep. No. 65 of 1926-37.

<sup>2</sup> See note 3 below.

<sup>3</sup> *IAS*, Vol. IV, p. 21, No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 7, No. 4. The opposite year to Kollam 330 is a mistake and hence the correct date would be Kollam 330. The corresponding date as pointed out by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar would be Saturday, April 29, 1161 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 78, text line 1. Could it be that the titles Vira and Tiruvaḍi were not applied to Kōḍai Ravivarman because he was only a crown-prince and that the record under publication pertains to a grant made to a temple lying in the territories of the Chōlas?



varman of our record came to the throne sometime after Kollam 332, the date of the present record, and continued to rule till at least Kollam 340, the latest date assigned to him.<sup>1</sup>

In connection with the question of the relationship between the king of Vēpāḍu and the Chōla monarch, reference may be made to an inscription of this period from Puravaśēri<sup>2</sup> near Nāgarkōil in Vēpāḍu. It states that, in Kollam 340, some members of the Chōla military establishment stationed at Kōttāru, which is also near Nāgarkōil in the same territory,<sup>3</sup> in association with some members of two other Chōla regiments made certain endowments to the god at Puravari-chaturvēdimangalam, the approximate date of the foundation of the colony being Kollam 336.<sup>4</sup> It is evident that the military cantonments at many places including Kōttāru established by Kulōttuṅga I continued to have their presence felt for all practical purposes.<sup>5</sup>

During the period of Chōla suzerainty from the time of Kulōttuṅga I, the kings of Vēpāḍu appear to have been in close alliance with the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings. A Tirunelvēli inscription<sup>6</sup> of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II, whose date of accession is 1238 A.D., refers to the newly formed village of Iravivarman-chaturvēdimangalam stated to have been named after the [king's] *appāṭṭar* (i.e., father's grandfather). It is not unlikely that the reference here is to Ravivarman of the present record, though the relationship cannot be exactly worked out at present. The contemporaneity of a Ravivarman of Vēpāḍu with Māravarman Śrīvallabha is, however, established on the basis of a few records from Puravaśēri in the Kanyakumari District of Madras State.<sup>7</sup> The identity of Ravivarman of Vēpāḍu mentioned in the inscription of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II with his namesake who is considered to be the contemporary of Māravarman Śrīvallabha, a predecessor of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II, implies a matrimonial connection between the Pāṇḍyas and the Tiruvaḍis of Vēpāḍu.<sup>8</sup>

The word *carakkōṭṭēṅga* (line 8) in this inscription seems to indicate that the king of Vēpāḍu was not himself present at Śritangam but was represented by *Uḷḷiruppu Kaṇḍan Iravi*<sup>9</sup> who was entrusted with the lamp and the money. *Uḷḷiruppu*<sup>10</sup> seems to mean here the secretary for the internal affairs of the king. Kōḍai Ravivarman like most of the kings of Travancore seems to have had a strong leaning towards Vaiṣṇavism since he had also made a gift of lands to Puravari-Viṇṇagar-ālvār at Puravari-chaturvēdimangalam.

<sup>1</sup> *T&S*, Vol. VII, No. 7. Though Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar's suggestion assigning this record to Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi is not directly borne out by the record as pointed out by Mr. Velu Pillai (*Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, p. 78, n. 3), it may be accepted till we get some definite date for Ravivarman's successor.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 7. Mr. Velu Pillai (*loc. cit.*) has ignored the second of the two documents which is closely connected with the first.

<sup>3</sup> Nāgarkōil, Puravaśēri and Kōttāru are situated within a territory called Nāḷḷi-nāḍu in contemporary Vēpāḍu inscriptions. This proves that Kōttāru, the military centre, formed part of the territory directly ruled by the king of Vēpāḍu.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1; cf. also No. 4. It may be noted that Siṅgan Arāṅgan, the founder of the Puravari-chaturvēdimangalam colony figures in another record from the same place (*ibid.*, No. 2) which is dated in the reign of Māravarman Śrīvallabha.

<sup>5</sup> The general position of the rulers of Vēpāḍu and the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings in relation to the Chōlas, the main suzerain power, has been correctly indicated by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 7).

<sup>6</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 446, lines 8 and 13.

<sup>7</sup> cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 72, where a different construction has been adopted.

<sup>8</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1896, p. 5, para. 16. See also above, Vol. XXV, p. 24; *supra*, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II was possibly the grandson of Jaṭavarman Kuladēvāra stated to be a son of Māravarman Śrīvallabha, whose inscriptions commence with the introduction of the *Pāḷamaṇḍaḍi*, and the great-grandson of Ravivarman of Vēpāḍu.

<sup>10</sup> One Kaṇḍan Iravi of Mālaśchōḷi is mentioned in the Kilimanṭur record of Kollam 343 (*T&S*, Vol. V, p. 84).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 3. Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar has interpreted the term as the name of an office connected with the tax department, while Mr. Sundaram Pillai takes it as the name of a place (*ibid.*, page 17 and note 4).







- 7 [dāya]n Tiruvēṇḡaḡavan A[ua]ntaḡūṛāyaṇaṇum Pūradā . . . āḡaḡ Śi-Rāmaṇṇum śrī-bāḡavata . . . ḡāḡiga] . . . ḡavūr [Śi] . . . [ḡaṛ-kiṛama-vittanum . . . Kaḡḡāṇi sey-vāḡaḡaḡi] Āri[ya]n śrī-Paṛāṇkulaṇambiyum Ā[va]ṇṇum Kōyir-kaṇakku Tiruvaraṇḡappi-riyaṇṇum . . .
- 8 . v-aḡaivōm Malai-nāḡṭṭu Vēl-nāḡṭṭu Aḡigaḡaḡi śrī ri<sup>1</sup> Kō[ḡai] . . . <sup>2</sup>nman vara-kkāḡṭṭiṇa kalaiyil oṛu mūḡṇiḡḡam-aḡuttīṇa pōṇṇiṇa] tīrukkuttivīḡakku 1<sup>3</sup> oṇṇu idu [1<sup>4</sup>] idu Emberumāṇ<sup>5</sup> aru] <sup>6</sup>ḡeḡeḡeyalpaḡiy<sup>7</sup> kaḡḡkoḡḡu i-ttīrūk.
- 9 . <sup>8</sup>[a]ḡiyamaḡavāḡa-Pperumā] tīrumaḡḡēy tīrumaḡḡā] . . . <sup>9</sup>ku eṛiya-kkaḡavade-āḡa i-ttīruvīḡakku . . . <sup>10</sup>yam<sup>11</sup>meiḡattu Tiruvaraṇḡadēvaṇāḡ nā] oṇṇukku naḡu-ney nāḡiy-āḡa nā] mun-nūṛṭṭu-aḡu-pattu aḡḡukku-ney mun-nūṛṭṭu aḡu-patt-aḡy-āḡāḡiyum nā] oṇṇukku kaḡpūram iṛaḡḡu]
- 10 . . . ḡi<sup>12</sup> āḡa nā] mun-nūṛṭṭu-aḡu-pattu aḡḡukku-kkaḡpūram mu-ppattu aḡu-kaḡaḡi-araḡiyum ippaḡi chaṇḡr-[ā]ḡḡi[ta<sup>13</sup>]vaṛ-ḡeḡḡa-kkaḡavade-āḡavum [1<sup>4</sup>] idu ḡellam-iḡattu nāḡiḡē nilaḡ-ḡoḡḡu viḡum-iḡattu nilaḡaḡḡukku aḡiṇa vaṇḡapōḡu idu ḡellāḡē oḡiyam-eḡṇṇum śrī ri<sup>15</sup> baḡḡārat.
11. <sup>16</sup>paḡḡ-āḡa oḡukkiṇāḡ viṛattiyāḡē ḡelvaḡ-āḡavum pā[ṛ<sup>17</sup>]tin Tiruvaraṇḡadēvaḡḡāḡi naḡu-ney nāḡikkum kaḡpūram iṛaḡḡu maḡḡāḡikkum kāḡu oṇṇukku-Tiruvaraṇḡadēvaḡāḡi ney e-ḡḡāḡi āḡavum kāḡu oṇṇukku-kkaḡpūram araḡ-kkaḡaḡiḡ-āḡavum śr-āḡḡu nā] mun-ḡūṛṭṭu-aḡu-pa.
- 12 tin aḡḡukku vōḡḡuṇ-kāḡu 633<sup>18</sup> aḡu-nūḡṛṭṭu mu-ppattu māḡṇṇum kā[ḡu] oḡḡāḡē-kāḡḡukku aḡḡḡu oṇṇ-āḡa aḡḡḡu 633<sup>19</sup> aḡu-patt-eḡḡē-kāḡē-araḡ-kkālum Śrī-baḡḡāratte i-Kkōḡai Iṛavipaḡmanukk-āḡa i-ppōḡṇa tīrukkuttivīḡakkum iṛ-ḡeḡḡum koḡḡuvaṇ.
- 13 da Paduvāy-amaṛata Nāṛāyaṇaṇum Śolama . . . vivā . . . .Tiruvaraṇḡadēvaṇṇum iṛaḡāḡiḡa-Maḡavāḡaṇum Uḡḡiruppu-Kkaḡḡaḡa Iṛaviyūm Aḡaḡiyamaḡavāḡa-pperumā] Tīru-ppaḡiḡi-ttoḡḡaḡ-ḡaḡiḡāḡaḡaḡi Śi-Kulaḡḡḡhara-Ppīramamāṛāyaṇum Aḡi-araḡḡa-Ppīram-māḡāyaṇum iṛ[<sup>20</sup>v<sup>21</sup>]-aḡaḡiṛaḡiṇa ko.
- 14 ḡḡu i-ttīru-ppaḡiyil munḡu . . . [iṛ-ḡaḡivōm<sup>22</sup>mum] [ḡm]b[ḡeḡṇṇūḡē] aṛaḡḡeḡeḡeyal-ppaḡiy<sup>23</sup> i-ppōṇ Śrī-baḡḡāratte oḡukki(ku)vittu-kkoḡḡu viṛattiyāḡē chaṇḡr-āḡḡḡavaṛ i-ttīruvīḡakkuch-ḡeḡḡa-kkaḡavade-āḡa neḡḡuṛ-tīrumaḡḡiḡ Nāḡaṛi-paḡḡaḡaḡa Tiruvāḡaḡiḡi<sup>24</sup>
- 15 Mōṛk-aḡāḡiṇa kaḡ-voḡḡiḡu)vittōm iṛ[<sup>25</sup>v<sup>26</sup>]-aḡaḡivōm [1<sup>4</sup>] idu Śrīvaḡḡḡaḡa<sup>27</sup> kaḡaḡaḡ [1<sup>4</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> This letter is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> This may be restored as *Iṛavipa*. Cf. line 13.

<sup>3</sup> This numeral is given in its Tamil form.

<sup>4</sup> There is a gap of about five feet of space unengraved here.

<sup>5</sup> The mention of *Emberumāḡūṛ* is obviously in reference to the image of Rāmaṇuja since he is known to have passed away in Saka 1059 = 1137 A.D. according to the chronogram *dharmāḡ muktāḡ*.

<sup>6</sup> This letter is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> This may be restored as *ḡeyil-ā*.

<sup>8</sup> The missing letters are *ṛeḡak*.

<sup>9</sup> The missing letters are *eṛi*.

<sup>10</sup> This has to be restored as *mūḡḡāḡi*.

<sup>11</sup> This letter is superfluous.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. line 5 above.

<sup>13</sup> The *neḡḡuṛ-tīrumaḡiḡ* is evidently so called because, of the seven *peḡḡḡaṛ* (*aḡṭṭi-ḡeṛaḡaḡa*) of this temple, the fourth (where this inscription is engraved) is the central one. *Nāḡaṛi-paḡḡaḡaḡa Tiruvāḡaḡi* is the original name of what is now popularly called *Svargavāḡai*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *ṛeḡāḡaḡa*.



## No. 31—BUDHERA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1351, SAKA 1216

( J Plate )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 19.2.1958)

About the beginning of 1933, I visited the small village of **Budhera**, about four miles to the south-east of Gudar in the Pichhore Pargana formerly belonging to the Narwar District of the Gwalior State but now to the Shivapuri District of Madhya Pradesh, in order to copy an inscription. Within the limits of the village there stands a hillock close to the north-eastern end of the Jhaloni tank and a roughly dressed pillar of stone, about eighteen feet high above the ground and 15 inches in breadth and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches in thickness, stands on the hillock. The inscription in seven lines of indifferently engraved and badly preserved writing was found on the said pillar.

The inscription was previously noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, Samvat 1986 (1929-30 A. D.), pp. 22 and 59-60 (No. 23), and in H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyakt Abhilākh*, p. 26, No. 170. The *Report* gives the name of the village both as Budera and Budhera and says at p. 22, "It (i.e. the pillar) bears a crudely engraved inscription dated V. S. 1351, which refers to Chanderi and its Bundela rulers. As the inscription is not fully legible, the exact purpose of the erection of the pillar is not clear." Elsewhere at pp. 59-60 it speaks of the inscription as written in the Hindi language and dated in V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 during the reign of king Padmarāja and further says, "Refers to Kīrti-durga and mentions Padmarāja who is endowed with the royal title *śamasta-rāj-śālī-samalanākṛita-paramabhaṭṭāraka*. Other names which can be read are Udaisiṣha and his son [Hari]rāja, etc. Being badly written and partially damaged, its object is not clear." Dvivedi's work quotes the same views; but he spells the name of the village both as *Budherū* and as *Budhērū*.

It is not quite clear from the published notices of the inscription, referred to above, whether Kirti-durga has been regarded as identical with the Chanderi fort and king Padmarāja has been taken to be a Bundela ruler. The authors of the notices have also not made it clear whether there is any possibility of Bundela rule at Chanderi so early as the end of the thirteenth century when the inscription was incised. Another important point they should not have ignored to discuss is that how an imperial ruler named Padmarāja was ruling at Budhera near Narwar and Chanderi at lat. 34° 42' and long. 79° 11' in V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1215 when the Yajvapāla monarch Gaṇapati (known dates between V. S. 1348 and 1357, i.e. 1292-1300 A. D.) is known to have been ruling over the same region in the same period from his capital at Nalapura or Narwar at lat. 25° 39' 2" and long. 77° 56' 57". As a matter of fact, we have found on a careful examination of the impressions of the record that there is no mention in it of a king named Padmarāja or of Chanderi and the Bundelas, while it clearly speaks of an officer of Gaṇapati (line 3) apparently as stationed at Kirti-durga. This Gaṇapati is undoubtedly the Yajvapāla king of that name. There are also a few other errors of omission and commission in the published notices of the inscription.

Owing to careless engraving and unsatisfactory preservation, it is no doubt difficult to read the whole record. A number of letters are damaged here and there, though the damage is greater in the second half of the epigraph than in the first. But the purport of the record is quite clear. The pillar is a hero stone raised in the memory of two persons who are described in the inscription as *kata* or killed apparently in a contest with certain unspecified enemies.



The inscription is written in the Dēvanāgarī characters of the mediæval period. Its language is not Hindi but corrupt Sanskrit. The date is quoted as V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 without any other detail. The year corresponds to 1294-95 A. D. The inscription seems to have been incised towards the close of 1294 A. D. or about the beginning of the following year.

The record begins with the date : *Sa[m]vats 1351 Śake J[21]ṣṭhī*. This is followed in lines 1-4 by the auspicious word *svasti* and the passage *śrī-Kīrti-durgā(rgē) samanta-rāj-āvali-samalakṛita-paramabhaṭṭārka(paramabhaṭṭārka)... marāja-(śrī-Ga)ṇapati-mahāpradhāna-Dēva, ..... vyāpāra-[m] [ka]rōti*. The two damaged akṣaras before *marāja* may be *padī*, so that the reading of this expression, which is clearly an epithet of *śrī-Gaṇapati*, may be *padimara(rāja)*. The authors of the notices of the inscription, discussed above, apparently failed to read the name *śrī-Gaṇapati* and regarded *padimārāja* (corrected from *padimaraṇa*) as the personal name of the *Paramabhaṭṭārka*. This cannot be the case, since, of the name *śrī-Gaṇapati* immediately following, the three akṣaras *ṇapati* are quite clear while traces of the two akṣaras *śrī-Ga* can also be easily recognised. What is then the meaning of the epithet that looks like *padimaraṇa*? In our opinion, it is a mistake for *paramārāja* which is found in a Bangla inscription among the epithets of king Gōpāla (known dates between V. S. 1336 and 1345, i.e. 1279-89 A. D.) of the Yajvapāla family, who was the father and predecessor of Gaṇapati. This epithet occurs in the following passage ; *paramabhaṭṭārkaḥ paramādīvaraḥ paramamādīvaraḥ paramaguruḥ paramārājaḥ*.<sup>1</sup> In the present case, we have only the first and last of the five epithets.

The name of Gaṇapati's *Mahāpradhāna* is difficult to determine. It may be *Dēu* or *Dēva*. This officer was apparently stationed at Kīrti-durga. A *Mahāpradhāna* named Dējai, Dējē or Dējā is known from the Bangla inscriptions to have served Gaṇapati's father Gōpāla.<sup>2</sup> He was probably stationed at Nalapur-durga or the Narwar fort which was the capital of the Yajvapālas. The Bangla inscriptions appear to state that *Mahāpradhāna* Dējai, Dējē or Dējā was conducting the *gadani* (or *madani*)-*vyāpāra*.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the meaning of the expression is not clear to us. Another difficulty is that the two akṣaras before the word *vyāpāra* in the inscription under study are damaged and the word does not look like *gadani* or *madani*. Apparently, however, *Mahāpradhāna* Dēu or Dēva was the governor of the district round Kīrti-durga and the modern village of Budhera formed a part of that district. Some mediæval documents use the expression *mudrā-vyāpāraṁ paripanthayati* in connection with a high administrative officer like the viceroy<sup>4</sup> and the intended reading in both the present record and the Bangla inscriptions may be *mudrā-vyāpāra*.

This raises the problem of the identification of the fort called Kīrti-durga. The Chanderi inscription of a Pratihāra ruler named Jaitravarman, who flourished in the eleventh or twelfth century A. D., states that his grandfather's great-grandfather Kīrtipāla built a fort named after himself as Kīrti-durga ; but Chanderi itself is mentioned in the inscription as Chandrapura.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore uncertain whether the Chanderi fort is referred to as Kīrtidurga in the inscription in question. Another inscription of V. S. 1154 (1098 A. D.), from Deogarh in the Lalitpur Sub-division of the Jhansi District, U. P., states that Mahidhara, chief minister of the Chandēlla king Kīrtivarman, built the fort of Kīrti-giri or Deogarh, apparently named after his master

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 3, text lines 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 331 (Nos. 2-4), 332 (No. 6), 334 (No. 9), 335 (No. 10), 336 (No. 12).

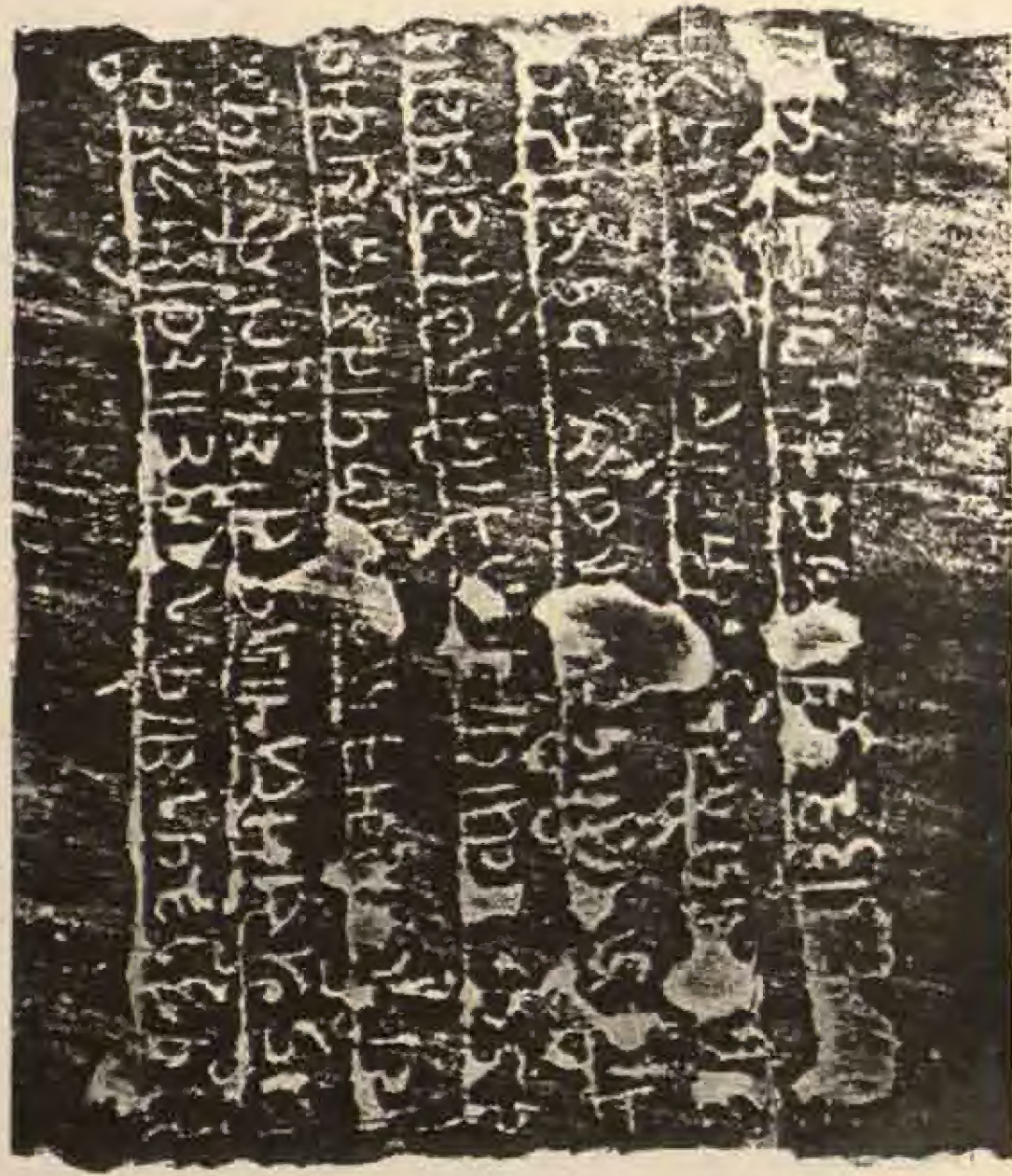
<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 331 (No. 4, line 6), 332 (No. 3, line 8), 334 (No. 9, lines 3-4), 335 (No. 10, lines 4-5), 336 (No. 12, line 5).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 152, note 2 ; 169, text line 6.

<sup>5</sup> Devadī's List, No. 633 ; Pail, *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 94.



BUDHERA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1351, SAKA 1216



Scale : One-half



Kirtivarman.<sup>1</sup> But in any case, Budhera near Narwar seems to be far away from both Chanderi and Deogarh. It is interesting to note in this connection that an inscription of the Vajvapala king Gagapati represents him as having captured Kirti-durga.<sup>2</sup>

The second half of the inscription in lines 4-7 seems to read: *Jatuhastī-pradhāna-Raviya-patnī-Di... na-suta-Mudhaisiṃha-putra-[Harirāja-Jayarāja] [dau] hatau [1\*] laghu-putra-Tridhau... ndi-su[pu]tr[re]ṣa [Ja]marājya; n[ir]vāṇa-k[ṛ]mā*. Although there are several lacunae in this section, the purport of the record is clear. In correct Sanskrit the passage would stand as follows: *Jatuhastīya-pradhāna-Raviya-patnī-Di... na-suta-Mudhaisiṃha-putra-Harirāja-Jayarāja dau hatau | Laghu-putra-Tridhau... ndi-su[pu]tr[re]ṣa Yamarājya nirvāṇa-k[ṛ]mā*. It states that Harirāja and Jayarāja, sons of Mudhaisiṃha and grandsons of the Pradhāna Raviya of Jatuhastī, were both killed [in the hands of certain enemies] and that Yamarāja son of the younger son [of Mudhaisiṃha] performed the work of raising the pillar in honour apparently of the two persons who had lost their lives. This part should better have been preceded by a passage like *ag-śaśmin kṛta*.<sup>3</sup> The name of Raviya's wife who was the mother of Mudhaisiṃha cannot be fully deciphered. The same is the case with the names of the parents of Yamarāja. The word used to indicate the erection of the pillar seems to be *nirvāṇa* (to go with a word like *kṛta* understood) without specifically indicating the nature of the work done. The same word appears to be employed in a similar sense in an early inscription.<sup>4</sup>

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kirti-durga, as already indicated above, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Jatuhastī or Jatuhastī was probably a locality near Budhera where the pillar stands.

### TEXT

- 1 Sa[m]vatu 1351 Sakā 1[21]6 || svasti-ri-KI-
- 2 rti-durgā<sup>5</sup> samānta-rāja[3-4]vāt-samāntakṛta-par[er]e
- 3 [bha]ṭka<sup>6</sup>-[pādi]marāja<sup>7</sup>-[ar] Gaṇapati-mahāpradhāna-
- 4 Dēva...<sup>8</sup> vyāpāra[m] karōti [1\*]<sup>9</sup> Jatuhastī-pradhāna-

<sup>1</sup> Ehardarkar's List, No. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 340.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Bangla inscriptions, Nos. 1, 3-5 (above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 330-33).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> From Impressum.

<sup>6</sup> Read *dupa*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *parama*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *bhaṭka*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *paramarāja*.

<sup>10</sup> The two akṣaras lost here are difficult to restore. The intended reading may be *mudra-vyāpāra*.

<sup>11</sup> A passage like *ag-śaśmin kṛta* is required here. Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, p. 330 (No. 1, line 3), p. 331 (No. 3, line 5; No. 4, line 4), p. 332 (No. 5, line 4).

<sup>12</sup> Sanskrit *Jatuhastīya*.



- 5 Ravija-[pa]tñ-Di...na<sup>1</sup>-suta-Mudhaisiha<sup>2</sup>-pu-  
 6 [tra]-Ha[ri]rāja-Jairā[ju]<sup>3</sup> [dau]<sup>4</sup> hatau [ ]<sup>5</sup> laghu-putra-Tri<sup>6</sup>(dhau)-  
 7 ....ndi<sup>7</sup>-[supu]trē[pa] [Ja]marāyaga<sup>8</sup> ni[vā]hōd=ē[yañ]<sup>9</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> This name of Ravija's wife should have a feminine ending.

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit \*śiśha.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Jayarāja*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *dau*.

<sup>5</sup> It is not clear as to whose *laghu-putra* (the younger or youngest son) the person in question was. But he seems to have been the youngest son of Mudhaisiha and a younger brother of Harirāja and Jayarāja.

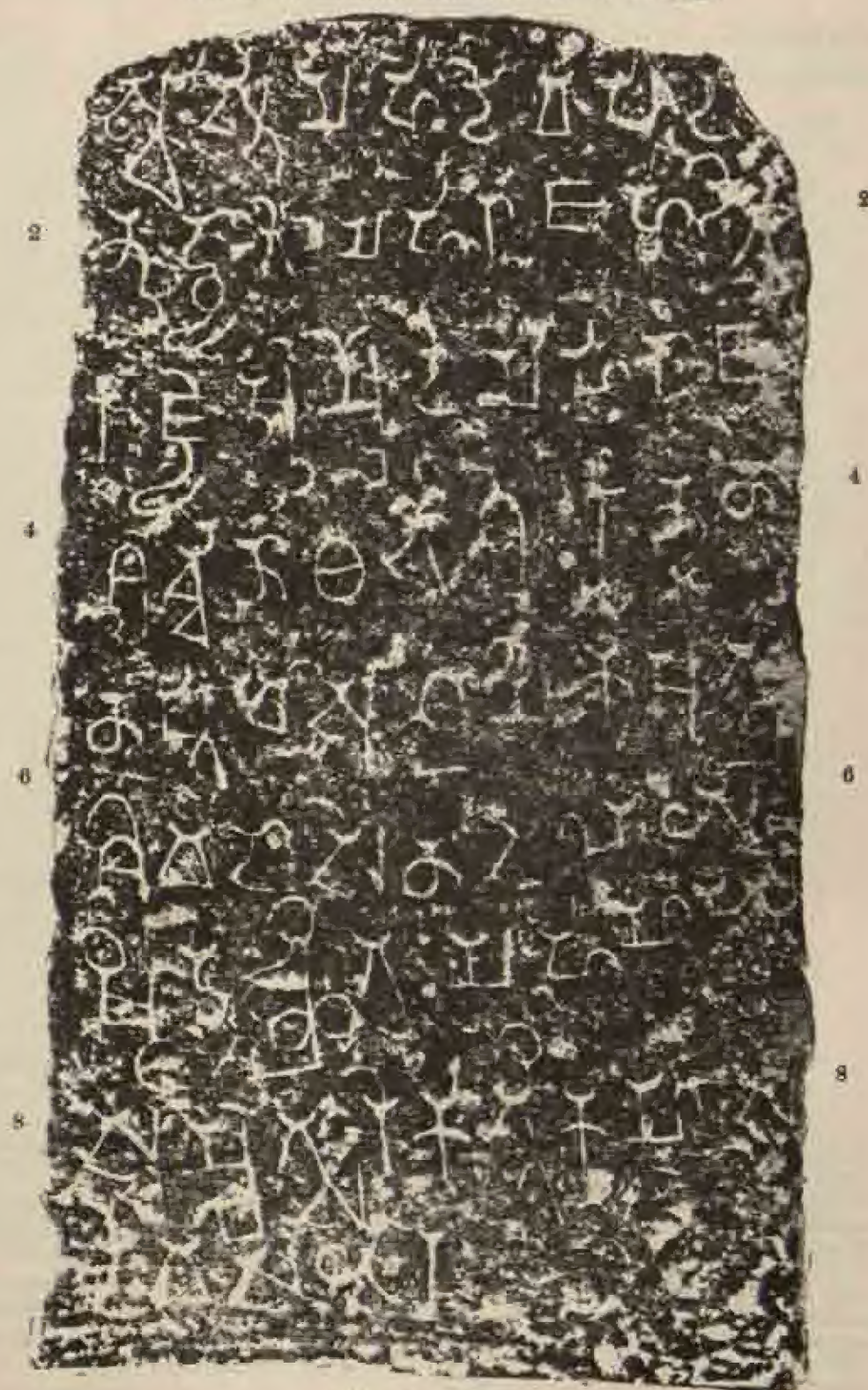
<sup>6</sup> This seems to be the last abhara of the name of the wife of the person who was the youngest son of Mudhaisiha and whose name was either Tridhan or began with those two abharae. The female name intended may have been something like *Ānandī*.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. *Jamarāyaga* (Sanskrit *Yamarāyaga*).

<sup>8</sup> Read *śivāśit-dya*.



BHUMARA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF HASTIN



Scale: One-half



## No. 32—NOTE ON BHUMARA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF HASTIN

( 2 Plates )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4. 6. 1958)

The stone pillar bearing this inscription was discovered at **Bhumarā** in the former Nagaurh State in Central India by Cunningham who noticed the epigraph in his *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, Vol. IX, 1879, p. 16, No. 9, with a translation and an illustration (Plate IV, No. 9). The text of the inscription as read by Fleet in the *Crop. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 111, runs as follows :

- 1 Svasti [ ]\* Mahādēva-pād-[ā]-
- 2 nuddhyātō(ta)-mahārāja-Hasti-
- 3 rājyē Āmbhōdā mahārāja-
- 4 Sarvanātha-bhōgā Indana-
- 5 naptā Vāsu-grāmika-putra-
- 6 Śivadāsa vala-ya-
- 7 śtī[r\*]-nchchritā [ ]\* Mahā-Māghā
- 8 samba(sarhva)tsarā Kārttika-māsa-
- 9 divasa 10 9 [ ]\*

As regards the reading of the text, it may be pointed out that the name at the end of line 4 is clearly *Indanā* and not *Indana*, while the numerical figure at the end of line 9 is 8 and not 9. The name *Sarvanātha* is spelt generally as *Sarvanātha* in the records of the king in question.

The date of the record is quoted in lines 7-9 as the 18th day of the month of Kārttika in the Mahā-Māgha year of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle. This year has been variously taken as corresponding to the Gupta years 165 (484 A. D.), 189 (508 A. D.) and 201 (520 A. D.).<sup>1</sup> The object of the inscription is to record the setting up of what is called a *valayashī* (no doubt the stone pillar bearing the inscription) on the date referred to above in Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga in Āmbhōdā in Mahārāja-Hasti-rājya by Śivadāsa who was the son of the grāmika Vāsu and the grandson of Indanā. The word *grāmika* seems to have been used here in the sense of 'the headman of a village.'

Cunningham read the word *yashī* in lines 6-7 of the inscription, which he took to mean 'a sacrificial pillar'. But at the same time he observed, "I suppose the pillar may have been set up as a boundary-mark between the territories of the two Rājās (i.e. Hastin and Sarvanātha)." Fleet believed that the expression *vala-yashī* is a mistake for *valaya-yashī* which he understood in the sense of 'a boundary-staff or pillar'. His translation of the principal sentence of the record in lines 1-7 runs as follows: "In [the boundary of] the kingdom of the Mahārāja Hastin who meditates on the feet of [the god] Mahādēva; at [the village of] Āmbhōdā; [and] in [the boundary of] the bhōga of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha:—[this] boundary-pillar has been set up." Like Cunningham, Fleet also suggests that the object of the inscription is to 'record the erection, at Āmbhōdā, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two Mahārājas'.

The two kings mentioned in the inscription are Hastin of the Parivrājaka family and Sarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. Besides the present record, the Parivrājaka king Hastin is known from his charters issued in the Gupta years 156 (475 A. D.), 165 (482 A. D.), 170 (489 A. D.) and 191

<sup>1</sup> See Bhattacharya's List, No. 1661.



(510 A.D.) while the known dates of his son and successor Samudhōbha are the Gupta years 199 (518 A.D.) and 209 (528 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the known dates of the Uchchakalpa king Sarvanātha are the Gupta years 191 (510 A.D.), 193 (512 A.D.), 197 (516 A.D.) and 214 (533 A.D.) and those of his father and predecessor Jayanātha are the Gupta years 174 (493 A.D.) and 177 (496 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Roughly speaking therefore Hastin was the contemporary of the father of Sarvanātha who was the contemporary of Hastin's son. Some scholars wrongly refer the dates in the Uchchakalpa records to the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. instead of the Gupta era of 319 A.D.<sup>3</sup> This is improbable in view of the fact that there is hardly any possibility of the spread of the Kalachuri era in the Uchchakalpa area in the age in question. On the other hand, the prevalence of the Gupta era in the same area during the age of the Uchchakalpa kings is indicated by the Parivrajaka inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The suggestion that the Bhumarā pillar bearing the inscription under study was set up for demarcating the boundary between the kingdoms of the two kings Hastin and Sarvanātha is highly improbable in view of the following facts. In the first place, as will be seen below, the expression *bala-gaṣṭhi* is found in a similar context in another inscription of the same age and area and this clearly shows that there is no justification for correcting *bala-gaṣṭhi* to *calaya-gaṣṭhi*. It is clear from the record referred to that the intended reading for *bala-gaṣṭhi* in the Bhumarā inscription is *bala-gaṣṭhi*. We know that the records of the Parivrajaka king Hastin as well as others of the age and area in question often use *v* for *b* even though they employ *b* correctly or wrongly in some cases.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, even if the emendation is regarded as justifiable, *calaya-gaṣṭhi* would scarcely mean 'a boundary-pillar' since the word *calaya* does not really mean 'a boundary'. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe that an ordinary villager without any authority would think of taking upon himself the responsibility of fixing the boundary between the dominions of two neighbouring kings. Fourthly, the language of the record shows that the locality where the pillar was set up lay in both Hastin's dominions and Sarvanātha's *bhōga* and this hardly suits a line of demarcation between the kingdoms of the two rulers. Fifthly, Fleet's interpretations of the passages *Mahārāja-Hasti-rājya* and *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* respectively as 'in the boundary of the kingdom of Mahārāja Hastin' and 'in the boundary of the *bhōga* of Mahārāja Sarvanātha' are no doubt arbitrary, while the suggestion that they refer to the boundary between two kingdoms is quite unconvincing since it is unintelligible why Hastin's kingdom should be called a *rājya* and Sarvanātha's dominions a *bhōga*. Sixthly, the word *bhōga* does not really mean 'a kingdom'. Seventhly, the language of the epigraph suggests that Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga lay within the dominions of Hastin.

The expression *Mahārāja-Hasti-rājya* in such a context would normally mean 'during the reign of Mahārāja Hastin', even though the meaning 'in the kingdom of Mahārāja Hastin' may not be altogether impossible in a particular case. But whether the word *rājya* in our record is taken to mean 'sovereignty' or 'kingdom', the sentence in question makes it clear, as already suggested above, that what has been called *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* lay within the dominions of Hastin whose reign (less probably, kingdom) is specifically mentioned in relation to the setting up of the pillar bearing the inscription. What can be the meaning of the word *bhōga* in such a context?

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, p. 399; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 364 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.; also Nos. 1194-98, 1200, 1702.

<sup>4</sup> For an inscription of the Imperial Guptas in the same area, cf. p. 172, note 1, below.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., *Prithvī* in line 5 and *Brāhmaṇa-bhōga* in line 9 of the Maṅgawam plates of Hastin (Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.). Cf. also *sambhāra* (for *sambhāra*) in line 2 of this epigraph as well as in line 3 of the Bhumarā pillar inscription.



Fleet says, "*Bhōga*, lit. 'enjoyment, possession, government', is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the *bhukti* of other inscriptions." It is true that, like *bhukti*, 'a province', the word *bhōga* is often used to indicate a district of a kingdom. In many copper-plate grants, the gift village is stated to have been situated in a particular territorial unit styled *bhōga*. Mention may be made, e.g., of Kumārivaḍaś near Brihannārikā in Gōrajā-bhōga within Bharukachchha-vishaya in the Sarsavati plates (lines 19-20)<sup>1</sup> of Kalachuri Budharāja; Kōpiyānām near Bhapaucikā in Vatanagara-bhōga in the Vadner plates (line 19)<sup>2</sup> of the same king; Vira-grāma in Sātimāla-bhōga in Palayattihāna-vishaya in the Jejuri plates (lines 25-27)<sup>3</sup> of the Chālukya king Vinayāditya; Jijika-grāma attached to Vōṅkhāra-bhōga in the Jirungi plates (line 11)<sup>4</sup> of the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman; Vagikā-grāma in Āvaraka-bhōga within Hūpa-maṇḍala in the Gaonri plates (B, lines 7-8)<sup>5</sup> of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṇja; Kallisa-pura-grāma belonging to Taraḍaṇṣaka-bhōga in the Mallar plates (lines 5-6)<sup>6</sup> of the Pāṇḍyavāṇḍ king Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna, etc. It will be seen from some of these instances from inscriptions found in different parts of the country that *bhōga* was a smaller territorial unit than a district called *visaya* or *maṇḍala*. It is also interesting to note that the same territorial unit is called Eḍevojā-bhōga in the Sorab plates of Chālukya Vinayāditya and Eḍevojā-visaya in the Harihar plates of the same king.<sup>7</sup> But, if the word *bhōga* in the Bhumarā inscription is supposed to be used in the sense of a territorial unit like a district or its subdivision, we can hardly escape the conclusion that Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga was a small district of the kingdom of Hastin, even though its name was associated with that of Mahārāja Sarvanātha, apparently the contemporary Uchchakalpa king of that name. This does not appear to support the suggestion that the pillar in question was set up in order to demarcate the boundary between the kingdoms of Hastin and Sarvanātha.

Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises the word *bhōga* in the senses of 'possession, property, wealth, revenue,' besides others. Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* mentions two kinds of *bhōga* or possession, viz. *sa-vāḍha* (with obstruction) and *nir-vāḍha* (unobstructed, undisputed). He also recognises the following expressions containing the same word: (1) *bhōga-śikha*, usufruct in lieu of interest; (2) *bhōgottara*, a grant of revenue for the enjoyment of a person or deity; and (3) *bhōga-bandhaka*, a kind of mortgage in which the articles mortgaged may be converted to use and the profits are to be appropriated by the mortgagee in lieu of interest. We have also inscriptions speaking of a *vīthi* (i.e. a shop or stall in a market) as *bhōg-ādhinā śikhatā* and *bhōg-ādhinā grihitā* with reference to its lying in the possession or being brought under the possession of an individual.<sup>8</sup> From the sense of 'possession' the word *bhōga* came to be used in the sense of 'the property under one's possession.' The word is used in this sense, e.g., in the Vaṅḍiya Sāhitya Parishad plate<sup>9</sup> of Viśvarūpasēna. The use of *bhōga* (and also of *bhukti*) in the sense of a territorial unit seems to be due to a further expansion of this meaning of the word.

Inscriptions often mention the expressions *bhōgika* and *bhōga-pati*. Since *bhōga-pati* is sometimes mentioned in association with *vi-pati* (i.e. king) and *visaya-pati* (i.e. governor of a district)<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 84, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 212-13.

<sup>9</sup> K. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 146, text line 42; *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, p. 303.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 248, text line 44; Vol. VI, 141 note, p. 300; Vol. XII, p. 34; Vol. XXIII, p. 109, text line 4; Vol. XXVII, p. 40.



it may be understood in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a territorial unit called *bhōga*', although the meaning 'one in the possession of a *bhōga*, i.e. landed property or *jāgīr*' is also not impossible in such cases. But the word *bhōgika* seems to be often used in the sense of a *jāgīrdār*.<sup>1</sup> Thus the donee of the Srungavarapukota plates (lines 9-10)<sup>2</sup> of Anantavarman is called *Achanta-pura-bhōgika* Mātrīśarman. It appears that Mātrīśarman was the *jāgīrdār* of the village of Achanta-pura and not the governor or resident of Achanta-pura-bhōga.

We have also other instances of the word *bhōga* being affixed to a personal name in a compound exactly as in *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* in the Bhumarā inscription. A stone inscription<sup>3</sup>, from Konam (?) now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, reads as follows :

- 1 Siddham\* [\*] svasti [\*] Mahāsāmantādhipati-śrī-Śrīdhara-bhōgē dushjasi-
- 2 hānī-Bha(Bh)ṁmā kīrtan-<sup>4</sup>ēyam kārāpitā\* || bhāṭāraka-Lāha-
- 3 jēna\* || Sarvati
- 4 [11]33 [\*]

*Mahāsāmantādhipati Śrīdhara's bhōga* mentioned in this record, which is no doubt similar to *Mahārāja Sarvanātha's bhōga* known from the Bhumarā pillar inscription, appears to indicate the *jāgīr* or fief in the possession of Śrīdhara and not the district governed by him. Since it is impossible to believe that *Mahārāja Sarvanātha* was the governor of a territorial unit in the kingdom of Hastin, the sense of 'a *jāgīr*' is certainly more suitable to the word *bhōga* in the context of the Bhumarā inscription. It may be argued that a district originally named after Sarvanātha was later included in Hastin's kingdom. This is improbable in view of the fact that Sarvanātha was a later contemporary of Hastin.

As regards *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* lying in or comprising Āmbhōda within Hastin's dominions, there is nothing improbable, in our opinion, in *Mahārāja Sarvanātha* enjoying a *jāgīr* within his neighbour's kingdom. This possibility is suggested by the well-known story of the locality called Kāl-grāma or Kāl-nigama which lay within the dominions of the king of Kōśala but was for a considerable period of time in the possession of the king of Magadha.<sup>5</sup> The said locality yielding a revenue of one lakh coins was given by Mahākōśala, king of Kōśala, to his daughter Kōśaladēvī for her bath and perfume money when she married king Bimbisāra of Magadha and, as a result, became a part of the Magadha kingdom. After Bimbisāra's death, Prasenajit, son and successor of Mahākōśala, withdrew the gift from Ajātasatru, son and successor of Bimbisāra. This led to a protracted war between Magadha and Kōśala. Ultimately Prasenajit gave his daughter Vajrā in marriage to Ajātasatru and the locality was given back as part of her dowry. It is not impossible that the village or territorial unit called Āmbhōda lay in or comprised a *bhōga* under the enjoyment or possession of *Mahārāja Sarvanātha* even though the area formed a part

<sup>1</sup> The word *bhōgika* is often used in the same sense. Cf. *Sec. 364*, pp. 64 f., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> This is No. 519 of 1937-38, Appendix B. See *ASIR*, 1935-36, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> For Śākiet, cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 141-42. The designation *Dushjasi* seems to be the same as *Dushjasi* (cf. *Dushjasi* or *Dushjasi* mentioned in many records (cf. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 185).

<sup>6</sup> The word *hānī* is the same as *hāna* or *hāni* often used to indicate an image, a temple, a grant, etc., calculated to render famous the name of the person responsible for it. Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Kāri*.

<sup>8</sup> The intended reading may be *Lohajaya* since the object of the inscription seems to be to record the construction of a shrine for a deity named Lohajaya.

<sup>9</sup> See *Malala-kara*, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Name*, i.v., *Kampana-Kāsiyana, Kāsiyana, Ajātasatru and Pashanī*.



INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

A



Scale : One-third







of the dominions of *Mahārāja* Hastin, just as *Kāśī-grāma* or *Kāśī-nigama* in the kingdom of *Kōśala* was in the possession of the king of *Magadha* when *Mahākōśala* and *Prasānjit* were on the throne of the *Kōśala* country, although it is difficult to say whether matrimonial relations existed between *Hastin* and *Sarvanātha*.

We have now to determine the purpose behind the setting up of the stone pillar at *Bhumarā* since it does not appear to be the demarcation of the boundary between the kingdoms of *Hastin* and *Sarvanātha*. Inscribed and uninscribed pillars of stone, found in different parts of India, are innumerable. They were raised for various purposes in all the ages of Indian history. Amongst the inscribed pillars, the earliest belong to the days of the Maurya emperor *Aśoka* (c. 269-232 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> These are called *stambha* (Prakrit *ṭhabha*, *ṭhaṃbha*, *ṭabha*, *ṭambha*) or *śīlā-stambha* in the epigraphs they bear. There are some pillars which may be classified as *dhroja-stambha*<sup>2</sup> (often standing before a temple and bearing inscriptions in some cases), *jaya-stambha*<sup>3</sup> (often bearing the eulogy of a conqueror) and *kīrti-stambha*<sup>4</sup> (often bearing the eulogy of a person who performed a pious deed calculated to make him famous). Certain memorial pillars known as hero stones<sup>5</sup> (often with inscriptions recording the deaths of warriors while fighting against enemies) and *sati* stones<sup>6</sup> (often bearing inscriptions which record the deaths of widows burning themselves in fire) are found in large numbers in the southern and western regions of India, though they are as well known from other parts of the country. Besides these, we have also other kinds of inscribed pillars bearing small inscriptions as the one on the *Bhumarā* pillar. Some of these are votive pillars set up in religious establishments by pious men, especially pilgrims, for acquiring religious merit. They are generally referred to as *stambha* in Sanskrit and *ṭhabha*, *ṭabha*, *ṭambha* or *ṭhaṃbha* in Prakrit in the records insised on them. Instances of such votive pillars are numerous in the inscriptions discovered in the ruins of old Buddhist *Stūpas* like those at *Bharhut*, *Sanchi*, and *Nagarjūnakoṇḍa*.<sup>7</sup> There is another class of memorial pillars similar to the hero and *sati* stones. The erection of such pillars in honour of one's dead relatives is referred to in early records like the *Suvihar* inscription<sup>8</sup> dated in the 11th regnal year of the Kushāṇa emperor *Kanishka* I and the *Andhran* inscriptions<sup>9</sup> of the year 53 apparently referable to the Saka era and corresponding to 130 A.D. Such pillars are generally mentioned in the inscriptions insised on them as *yashṭi* (Prakrit *yashī*, *lashī*). The use of the word *yashṭi* in the expression *lala-yashṭi* occurring in our inscription may suggest that the *Bhumarā* pillar was a memorial raised in honour of a dead relative of *Sarvāśa*. This relative was possibly his grandfather or grandmother *Indanā*, although it is not clearly stated in the inscription.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., the *Erān* pillar found (Don of the Coy) in year 163 (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 88 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> The *Erān* and *Marāṭhā* pillars bearing the inscriptions respectively of *Samudragupta* and *Yasodharman* fall in this category. Cf. *Seven Inscriptions*, pp. 200 ff. & 265 ff. A *Jayastambha* could sometimes be also regarded as a *kīrti-stambha*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Talagunda* pillar bearing a portrait of the Kailāsha King *Rāmothavarman* who executed a tank near a *Siva* temple belongs to this class. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 430 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 322 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., *Hirralal's List*, p. 46 (No. 53), p. 23 (No. 93), etc. In many cases, the inscriptions on the pillar record both the death of a hero and the self-immolation of his widow. Cf. e.g., the *Erān* inscription of the Gupta year 101 (510 A.D.) in the same work, p. 40 (No. 83).

<sup>7</sup> See *Barnes and Sinha, Bharhut Inscriptions*, above, Vol. II, pp. 87 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.; etc. Cf. *JHAB, Letters*, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 6-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Selected Inscriptions*, pp. 22-26. For several pillars called *yashṭi*, see *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68. A memorial pillar bearing the representation of a dead person is called a *śīlā-stambha* in a *Nagarjūnakoṇḍa* inscription (cf. *I. R. Ep.*, 1936-37, No. B 26).

<sup>10</sup> We have other pillar inscriptions without indication as regards the object of setting up the pillars in question, especially when they were raised in a religious establishment. See *JHAB, Letters*, Vol. XV, pp. 5 ff.



It is interesting in this connection to note that another stone pillar inscription of the middle of the fifth century A.D., discovered in the Bhumara region of Central India, refers to the setting up of a *bala-yashī* in the following words: *eva-puny-āpyāyan-ārtham yashāḥ-kīrti-pravaradhamaṇa-gōtra-śailikā bala-yashī[ḥ\*] pratishṭhāpitā Varga-grāmikēṣa*.<sup>1</sup> This was a memorial pillar apparently raised in honour of several dead relations of a *grāmika* (headman of a village) named Varga and that is why the *bala-yashī* appears to be described as a *gōtra-śailikā*, 'a family stone'. There is absolutely no indication in the inscription that it could have been a boundary-pillar of any kind.

The meaning of the expression *bala-yashī* is not clear. The *Māhātmya* recognises the word *bala* in the adjectival sense of *bala-yukta*, 'strong, stout', and this is suitable in the present context. *Bala-yashī* may thus indicate a strong or stout (i.e. everlasting) pillar. Even if *bala* is taken in its ordinary sense of strength, *bala-yashī* would offer the same meaning in a compound expression. It is difficult to say whether such memorial pillars were popularly and conventionally known to have been 'Balarāma's *yashī* or pillar' just as Aśoka's Delhi-Swalik pillar is called 'Bhīmasēna's *lāṭ* or *lāṭh* (from *yashī* or *lāṣhī* meaning 'a pillar')'.

In this connection, reference may be made to a late pillar inscription<sup>2</sup> from the former Rewa State, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. It reads as follows:

1 Siddham\* [ ] Samvat 1[4]17 samayē | Jyēṣṭha<sup>3</sup>-vadi 13 Vuddhā<sup>4</sup> Mahā-

2 rājādhirāja-āri-Vallāladēva-rājyē | atō<sup>5</sup>

3 Nāyakapāla[b] tasya vatsa[ḥ] su-putra-Mah[ā]rāja-sāmā

4 pratyutpannaḥ | tad-abbhāgyāt-paramēvara-vaikūlyāt-sa-

5 tibhyā[m] saha para-lōk-āntaritaḥ | tad-arthaṁ gātra-

6 m-akārshīt | ā-chandra-bhānū yāvat-tāvat-tishṭhatv-idam(dam) |

7 Bhamiṇa Sōmaka | tathā Chō[ḥ] Sahadēva [ ] kṛitaṁ gātraṁ(tram) |

This inscription refers to a memorial pillar raised by some persons in the memory of a dead man named Mahārāja whose two wives appear to have committed *Sati*, on Wednesday, Jyēṣṭha-vadi 13, V.S. 1417 (May 13, 1360 A.D.) during the rājya or reign of Mahārājādhirāja Vallāladēva, as a *gātra*. The word *gātra* (occurring twice in the record in lines 5 and 7) in the sense of 'a pillar' is unintelligible. It, however, appears to be a mistake or modification of the word *gōtra* which may be a contraction of what is called *gōtra-śailikā* in the Rewa inscription of the Gupta period, to which reference has been made above. The pillar in question may be regarded as 'a family stone' since it was raised in memory of three persons (i.e. the husband and his two wives) of a particular family. It is interesting to note that the use of *gōtra-śailikā* and *gōtra* in the sense of a memorial pillar has so far been found only in the said records of the Rewa region.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 6. This is the Gupta (former Rewa State) pillar inscription of the reign of Śālagupta (428-87 A.D.), dated in the Gupta year 141 (460 A.D.). Cf. *CIL*, Vol. IV, p. 607 and note 7, to which my attention was drawn when the present note was going through the press.

<sup>2</sup> This is No. 528 of 1957-58, Appendix B. See *ASIR*, 1953-56, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Jyēṣṭha*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Buddh*.

<sup>6</sup> A word like *dati* would suit the context.

<sup>7</sup> Better read *Bhāmīna-Sōmaka-Chōḥ-Sahadēva*.



### No. 33—STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MADRAS

(Received on 6.2.1958)

This is a single plate bearing inscription on both sides, which was purchased by the Government Museum, Madras, in 1955, from a person who is stated to have got it from **Tirupparan kottam**, a suburb of Madurai. Obviously it belonged to a set of which the other plates are missing. I am editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. A. Aiyappa, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.

The plate measures  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4} \times .075$ . There are ten lines of writing on each side. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory excepting some letters at the beginning of a few lines on both the obverse and reverse of the plate. Though the inscription is fragmentary it is interesting in more respects than one.

The characters of the inscription are Tamil and the record may be assigned to circa 10th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. If the information about the provenance of the plate is correct, it may suggest that the charter was issued from the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This is to some extent borne out by the use of certain expressions in the record. Cf. *āṇḍiṇu* (lines 1-2), *Poduvuṇ* (line 6), *Ḥavay* (line 18), etc. The introduction of the Chōḷa variety of the Tamil script in the Pāṇḍya kingdom, where *Vatteḷuttu* was formerly in general use, was largely due to the Chōḷa kings who began to establish their sway over the Pāṇḍya region in the tenth century.

The expressions *rottar* (each member), *orottar* (each member) and *orōḷuḍi* (each family) are interesting. They are characteristic of the region where the record is stated to have been found. The use of *poḍu* in *ponpaḍuṇḍam* is interesting because it refers to a period earlier than the stage of its use solely as a passive participle. The epigraph uses the marks of *pulḷi* or *vīḍama*, though not uniformly.

The passage that is preserved in this stray plate seems to record the settlement of one family each of the classes of shepherds, oilmongers, potters, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, *Ḥavaya*, *Parambas* and *Paraiyas* in a village. Some of them were assigned lands belonging to a god with whom they were required to share the produce. Unfortunately other details are lost.

The term *āṇḍiṇukkūṇam* and *nilakkūṇam* mentioned in the record require a word of explanation. The former stands for some kind of a tax levied from the people of the particular colony referred to in the inscription for the specific purpose of the festival of bathing the images of gods and goddesses in river water. The second term means 'the remittance both in kind and cash according to the land holdings that are leased out to them and enjoyed (*uṇḍadu*) by the various classes of people settled in a colony'. The word *kambu* occurs twice in the inscription in two different contexts. In the first instance it is associated with *nel* or paddy (line 4) and this paddy is said to be divided (into shares) and received as wage individually [by the labourers]. Here the term *kambu* indicates the quality of the paddy. In the villages, especially in the District of Ramanathapuram, the *meṅḷḷāṇḍi*, i.e. the man or woman employed on daily wages basis, is usually paid in kind and gets a quantity of paddy of the first quality. In the second instance, it finds a place in the passage *kambil kāl-māḍāṇḍiyam* (line 8) as well as in the passage *ponpaḍuṇḍam illattu orōḷṭarkku kāl cheyyum kambil rottarḷku [māḍāṇḍiyam]* in lines 9-10. The word *kambu* is associated with *kāl-māḍāṇḍiyam* in the first expression and with *māḍāṇḍiyam* in the next. It,



therefore, seems to indicate a variety of land. The *Maṇṛāḍis* were thus granted two varieties of land. *Poppaḍuṇiḍam* is one variety and the other variety is qualified by the term *kombu*. While the former refers to the most fertile class of land usually situated near the residential site or central belt of fields in a village, the latter may refer to land situated in the outlying parts of the village.<sup>1</sup> This meaning seems to be quite in accord with the context.

The term *poppaḍu-ṇiḍam* means 'golden land', i.e. the most fertile land. It may be mentioned here that in every village, the lands are classified into several categories according to their fertility. By specifying the land as *poppaḍu-ṇiḍam* it is presumable that the place referred to in this inscription should also have other categories of less fertile lands and that the practice of classifying the land is an ancient one. Such expressions as *ūttapayan*, *meṅkkaḍṇu* and *maṇiḍuttan* are equally interesting. Of these, the term *meṅkkaḍṇu*, as indicated above, is in vogue even today. The adjectives preceding the names of individual *Maṇṛāḍis* such as *paṇḍirriyan* seem to stand for the names of various classes among them. Of these adjectives *maḷḷan* continues to be in vogue to this day.

The locality called *Paṇḍiyūr* was probably situated in the ancient *Pāṇḍyan* kingdom, though it is not possible to identify it.

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

#### *First Side*

- 1 I peru[va\*]du [i\*] āṛāṭṭu-ṭk\*]kāṇam samūha\*ttai paṇṇiraṇḍu ūtta-payan kūṛ-i-
- 2 ṭṭu koḷḷum mudalum ūtta-kkuraivum āṛāṭṭu-p[p\*]aṇaiyam-āga koḷvadu [i\*] A-
- 3 ṭṭil-paḷḷiyār paṇikk-urīyār āṛāḍu-nā) roṭṭar\* kala nel peṇuvadu [i\*] Pa-
- 4 nri ūrūruṇ-kālāruṇ\* pāttam ālavum taḷiy-ālavum peṇr [i\*] komiṇ nel
- 5 uḷḷar meṅ-kkāṭṭiṇā) kūṛai vilaiy-āga kaḷattil kūṛ-iṭṭu koḷvadu [i\*] i-chchēri-
- 6 [kku] Maṇṛāḍiga) Paṇḍirriyan Vāttam Poduvāṇum Pūṣal Kāvaṇ-chellāṇu-
- 7 m [chēr]ppaṇ Nīlāṇ-kāvaṇum Maḷḷan Kāvama[ra]i\*yan Kūṛraṇ Kōḍai Araiyaṇu-
- 8 m Maḷḷan Sāttam Vāttāṇum [i\*] Sāttam Vāttāṇukku kombi kāl-māḷāṇiyum ma-
- 9 ṛ[rai] Maṇṛāḍiga)akku poṇ-paḍu-ṇiḍattu orōttarkku kāl chey\*yum kombi ro-
- 10 tta[rkku] mā[ḷāṇi]yum uḷadu Dēvarraḍum\* pādi iṭṭ-uṇṇadu [i\*] nīlakkāṇam kār-chey-

<sup>1</sup>[This explanation is not convincing. The meanings given by the author for the word *kombu* in the two contexts are contradictory. In the first instance also it may mean 'paddy grown in the *kombu* variety of land'. The *Tamil Lexicon* explains the word as 'the farthest end of a tank bund'.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>From the original plate.

<sup>3</sup>Its head has been effaced due to corrosion of the plate; so it looks like pa.

<sup>4</sup>The word *saṇḍa* is in Grantha.

<sup>5</sup>This expression which has its variant *peṭṭar* in line 9, is in vogue in the Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts as well as in Kerala.

<sup>6</sup>This is a mistake for m.

<sup>7</sup>There is a dot over this letter.

<sup>8</sup>In the Ramanathapuram District, a *chey* is a measure of land, also called *ṇaḍ*, comprising sixteen *ṇaḍiṇi* which is approximately equal to 1/2 of a *veli* or 2½ acres. [*Mā* was one-twentieth of a *veli* in those days.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup>Read *Dēvarraḍu*. The letter *ra* is joined below the letter *pa*.



STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

First Side

1. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 2. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 3. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 4. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 5. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 6. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 7. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 8. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 9. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த  
 10. புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த புகழ்பெயர்ந்த

Scale : Nine-tenths



Second Side

12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20

12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20



## Second Side

- 11 yā[ll-a]rai=<sup>1</sup>kkāḷaḷju poṇ iruppadu [i\*] Melle[utunum Tā[pa]rriyum rotta  
 12 r poṇ-paḍu-nilattu kālā-araikkāl nilam<sup>2</sup> Dēvarroḍu<sup>3</sup> pādi ittu uppadu [i\*]  
 13 [nila]-kkāṇam rottar paḷin-āḡ-arai-kkāṇam poṇṇ-iru[p\*]padu [i\*] Melle[uttan-  
 14 [num Tā[pa]rriyum ātt-oruvar paḷi śeyvadu [i\*] kālārum<sup>4</sup> [Ma\*]ṇṇāḍigaḷum kuḍiyi-  
 15 [i]-mūttiṇ paḷi śeyvadu [i\*] i-chehēri kuḍigaḷ kāl cheyyāl arai-kkāḷaḷju poṇ  
 16 [nila]-kkāṇamam kalav-ariḷiyum nāḷi neyyum iruttu Dēvar nilam uladu  
 17 pādi ittu-uppadu [i\*] Vāṇigaṇum Kuṣavaṇum Kāvidiyum Taṭṭāṇu[m\*] Tachchaṇum Koḷ-  
 18 laṇum Vāṇṇaṇum Īlavaṇum Paṇambāṇum Paṇaiyaṇum orūkuḍi irup-  
 19 padu [i\*] Dēvar-vāṇṇaṇukku kāl cheyyāl oru paḍugaḷiyum kālā-ppērum āṇ-  
 20 ḍuvarai paṇṇ-iru kala nelli poṇuvadu [i\*] i-chehēri kuḍigaḷ [vā]ḍḍēham<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read "yāi-araḷ".<sup>2</sup> Nilam preceded by *lāḷā-araikkāl* (i.e. §) seems to suggest that here it is a synonym of *chey*. [The language seems to suggest that *chey* was different from *lāḷā-araikkāl*.—Ed.]<sup>3</sup> Read *Dēvarroḍu*.<sup>4</sup> Read *kālārum*.<sup>5</sup> The letters "ḍḍēha" are in Grantha.



No. 34—ALLAHABAD MUSEUM PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, V. S. 1171

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINHA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.2.1958)

When I visited the Municipal Museum at Allahabad in December 1957, Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, kindly allowed me to examine and copy two copper-plate grants in his custody. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the Gāhāḍavāla dynasty of Banāras. Both the inscriptions are engraved on single plates. The first of the two charters, written on both sides of the plate, was issued by the Gāhāḍavāla king Madanapāla (circa 1100-14 A.D.) and the second, written only on one side, by his son Gōvīndachandra (circa 1114-55 A.D.).

Madanapāla's document was issued on the occasion of the *Āśvaya-trīṅgā*<sup>1</sup> on Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1163, corresponding to the 16th April 1108 A.D. The seal attached to the ring passing through a hole in the plate has the figure of flying Garuḍa above, the legend *śri-Madanapāladēvaḥ* in the middle and the representation of a conch-shell below. The charter records the grant of the village of Sājā in the *Chaturāśikā* (i.e., Chaurās or a Pargana consisting roughly of 84 villages)<sup>2</sup> of Mānīgahapura in the *Aṣṭrēṣa pattalā* (district) in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādharaśarmaṇ of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The name of apparently the same *pattalā* is also found in the Fyzabad plate<sup>3</sup> of Gāhāḍavāla Jayachandra (circa 1170-93 A.D.), dated V. S. 1233 (1187 A. D.), and it may be the same as the region around Arror, the older name of Partabgarh. The inscription was discovered at Badjērā in the Kunda Tahsil of the Partabgarh District, U. P. The gift village of Sājā lies at a distance of seven miles from Badjērā which is only two miles from Mānikpur (Mānīgahapura of the inscription) near the Ghutai railway station on the branch line between Allahabad and Raibareilly. This inscription was published by K. C. Sinha and K. Chattopadhyaya in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, Part 1, pp. 70 ff. The other charter issued by the Gāhāḍavāla king Gōvīndachandra is edited below.

As indicated above, this is a single plate inscribed on one side only. The ring bearing the seal passes through a hole measuring 5" in diameter about the middle of the first line of writing. The plate measures 17 inches in length, 13.5 inches in height and 1.5 inch in thickness. But the corners of the plate are rounded off and its length and breadth are slightly less at the sides. The seal bears, besides the usual Garuḍa and conch-shell emblems, the legend *śrīmad-Gōvīndachandra-ndra* (śrīmad-Gōvīndachandra-ndra) |. There are altogether 23 lines of writing on the plate. The findspot of the record is not known to me.

The inscription resembles the numerous other charters of Gāhāḍavāla Gōvīndachandra in palaeography, orthography and style. The vowel mark of *ē* is written both as *śrīḥ-mātrā* and *prishṭha-mātrā*. *ē* is written like *p* and *rey* like *cl* and *dā* sometimes like *v*. There is no difference between *th* and *dhr*. The use of *v* for *b* (except in *āmba* in line 9), *s* for *ś* and the class nasal for the *anuvāda* is noticed in many cases. The date of the grant is quoted as Monday, the full-moon tithi of the month of Kārtika in V. S. 1171. We have another charter issued by the

<sup>1</sup> This tithi was the occasion for the grant of several Gāhāḍavāla charters. Cf. the Kamauli plate of V. S. 1172 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 107-08), Fali plate of V. S. 1189 (ibid., Vol. V, pp. 112-13), Lar plate of V. S. 1202 (ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 98-100), etc.

<sup>2</sup> See JBS, Vol. XI, p. 10. Cf. the name of Vāḍā-chaturāśikā-pattalā in the Sat-Mahat plate of Gōvīndachandra, dated 1186 (above, Vol. XI, pp. 70 ff.). For the Prakritism in the expression *chaturāśikā*, cf. *śaṣṭīśat* (Sanskrit *drachshat*) in the name of Rudamaṇa-bayāśat-pattalā in the Kamauli plate of V. S. 1186 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 111-12).

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 30 ff. No facsimile of the inscription was published. The name has been read as Azurāia.



same monarch exactly on the same day. It is the Kamsuli plate published above.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of the occurrence of the same date in two different documents, it has to be admitted that it is irregular since Kārttika-sr. 15 was not a Monday in V. S. 1171 (1114-15 A.D.).

The record begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the word *śasti*. These are followed in lines 1-10 by nine stanzas which are already well known from the published Gāhaḍavāla charters.<sup>2</sup> The first of these verses contains an adoration of the goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī) while the next (verse 2) introduces Yaśovigraha who is stated to have flourished after the rulers of the solar race (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj) had passed away. Verse 3 introduces Yaśovigraha's son Mahichandra and the next two stanzas (verses 4-5) Mahichandra's son Chandra who is stated to have obtained by his valour the empire (*ādhirājya*, i.e. *sāmrajya*) of Gādhīpura (Kānyakubja or Kanauj, i.e. the erstwhile Gurjara-Pratihāra empire), and protected the holy places in the Kāśī, Kuālika (Kuāikapura or Gādhīpura, i.e. Kānyakubja), Uttarakōśala (land around the city of Ayōdhyā and Śrāvastī) and Indrasthāna (Indraprastha or Delhi) regions. It is also stated that king Chandra eradicated all afflictions of the subjects of the Gādhīpura empire (or, less probably, suppressed their rebellion). Chandra's son Madanapāla is described in the next two stanzas (verses 6-7) and Gōvindachandra, who was the son and successor of Madanapāla and issued the charter under review, in verses 8-9. A passage in prose in lines 10-13, also known from the king's other charters, then re-introduces Gōvindachandra, described as *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramācāra* and *Paramamāhātmya* and as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of Madanapāla who himself meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of Chandra. Here also king Chandra is described as having obtained the possession of Kānyakubja (i.e. Kānyakubja or Kanauj). The claim seems to refer to the fact that the Gāhaḍavālas considered themselves successors of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors. It is often supposed that the reference is to the occupation of the city of Kanauj which is again believed to have been another capital of the Gāhaḍavāla monarchs besides Vārāṇasī or Banaras. But the language of verse 4 does not appear to support this interpretation and there is also no evidence to show that Kanauj was a secondary capital of the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras. The representation of the rulers of this dynasty as 'the Gāhaḍavālas of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja' thus appears to be inaccurate.<sup>3</sup> Yaśovigraha, founder of the Gāhaḍavāla house, seems to have been ruling in the Banaras region as a subordinate of the latest rulers of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, although there is no doubt that, before his grandson Chandra established his imperial status in the last quarter of the eleventh century, the Kalachuris of Tripurī had succeeded in extending their power over the said area. Baihaqi speaks of a Muslim invasion of Banaras about 1034 A. D. when the city belonged to the territory of Gang (i.e., Kalachuri Gāṅgēya, circa 1015-41 A. D.) while the rule of Karna (circa 1041-71 A. D.), son of Gāṅgēya, in that region is proved by epigraphic evidence.<sup>4</sup> The Basahi plate, referred to above, also assigns Chandra's rise to the period after the death of the kings named Bhōja and Karna (i.e., the Kalachuri king of that name).

Lines 13 ff. record the details of the grant made by the king on the date discussed above after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī and having paid respects to the Sun-god and worshipped the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee of the grant and the officers and others addressed by the king are the same as in the other Gāhaḍavāla charters.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. IV, pp. 102 f.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ibid.*, pp. 100, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, 507. The Basahi plate (*loc. cit.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103, text line 3) describes Chandra as having 'established his capital at Kānyakubja'. But the statement seems to indicate that, after having established his suzerainty over the former Kanauj empire, Chandra stayed at the city of Kanauj for sometime. A subordinate ruling family of the Bhaktirakṣitas had its headquarters at that city under the Gāhaḍavālas. See Rhandarker's List, Nos. 204, 1870.

<sup>4</sup> See Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 773-783, 785.



The epigraph under study records the grant of the village of **Vaḍhavali** in the *pattalā* (or district of **Kaṣṇabhaṇḍa**) in favour of *Paṇḍita* Gōvardhanaśarma who was a *Sāṃvēdin* Brāhmaṇa claiming the *Sārkaṇḍya* or *Sārkaṇḍya gōtra* and the *Āṅgīraṣa*, *Āmaḥīcha* and *Arakaha pruturas* and was the son of *Agnihōtrin* Kōśava and the grandson of *Paṇḍita* Mūlhaṇa. It may be pointed out that the *Sārkaṇḍya* or *Sārkaṇḍya gōtra* is not mentioned in any early work, and it has no doubt been wrongly spelt in the inscription. But the mention of *Āṅgīraṣa* among the three *pruturas* helps us in determining the correct reading of the names of the other two *pruturas* which have also been wrongly spelt. There is no doubt that the three *pruturas* are *Āṅgīraṣa*, *Āmahayya* (or, *Āmahīyava*, etc.) and *Aurukshaya* which are assigned in early works to the *gōtras* of the *Kapi* group.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately none of the *gōtras* of this group sounds like *Sārkaṇḍya* or *Sārkaṇḍya*. Some authorities include a *gōtra* called *Sārāgurava* in this group<sup>2</sup> and *Sārkaṇḍya* or *Sārkaṇḍya* may be a wrong reading for *Sārāgurava*.

The document was written by *Karagita-Thakkura* Sahadēva who is already known from the *Kamauli*<sup>3</sup> and *Don Buzurg*<sup>4</sup> plates both issued by king Gōvindhachandra in V. S. 1176 (1120 A.D.). The record ends with the passage *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ* and the *akṣara cḥa* written twice between double *daṇḍas*. The said *akṣara* is an indication of the end of the writing.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that the *akṣara* occurs singly at the end of the grant proper in line 21. Its duplication thus indicates the end of the whole document while its single occurrence earlier means the end of a section only.

Besides the *Tirthas* in certain areas in the modern U. P. as well as *Gādhīpara* or *Kanyakubja* (i.e., *Kanauj*) mentioned in the description of king Chandra, only two other geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. They are the district of *Kaṣṇabhaṇḍa* and the village of *Vaḍhavali*. I am not sure about their location. If *Vaḍhavali* may be identified with one of the villages named *Badhanli* in the Districts of U. P., we may possibly suggest the one at lat. 28° and long. 78° 15', since there is at lat. 28° 35' and long. 77° 30' a village called *Kaṣṇa* which is the first part of the name of the *pattalā* mentioned in the inscription. The second part of this name may possibly refer to *Bhāwan Bahadurnagar* at lat. 28° 35' and long. 77° 55'. In that case it has to be suggested that the name of the district was coined by joining the names of two prominent localities in it.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 10-11 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2 *Indravajrā*; verses 4, 7 *Sārdūlavikrīṭita*; verses 5-6, 8 *Vasāntatilaka*; verse 9 *Drutavilambita*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>7</sup> svasti || Akṣṛṭh-Ṣṭkaṇṭha-Vaikṣṛṭha-kaṇṭha-piṭha-luṭhat-kaṇṭha | samrambhaḥ aurat-ārambhā sa śriyaḥ śrīyaś-śtū vah || [1\*] Āśid-Āś(ā)śadyuti-vana(vanīa)-jāta-
- 2 [kaḥ]jāpā-mālān divaḥ-gatāu | aśkaśād-Vivaśvān-iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yaś(āś)-vighraha ity-udārah || [2\*] Tat-śutō-bhūn-Mahīchandraś-chandra-dhāma-nibham ni-
- 3 jam(jam) | yēn-āpāram-akū<sup>8</sup>pāra-pārā vyāpāritam yaśaḥ(kaḥ) || [3\*] Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō nay-aka-rasikaḥ krānta-dvinhan-maṇḍalō vidhva[st-ō]dihata-dh[ra]<sup>9</sup>-yōva(dha)-timiraḥ śrī-Chandra-

<sup>1</sup> See *Gātrapaṇṇanāṇḍakulāmba*, pp. 43, 45, 55, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 105 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

<sup>6</sup> From impressions.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>8</sup> *Ku* was originally inscribed.

<sup>9</sup> Some records read *śra*.









Scale : One-third  
SEAL



Scale : Actual



- 4 *śāvō nripaḥ* | *yōn-ōdārātara-pratāpa-sa(śa)mit-śas(śa)sha-praj-ōpadravash śrīmad-Gādhīpur-  
āchīrājyam-asuman dōr-vīkrāmōg-ārjītan(tam) || [4\*] Tīrthānī Kāśī(śi)-Kūśī(śi)k-ō-*
- 5 *ttarakōsal-Endrasthāniyakāni* | *paripālayat-ābhiganya<sup>1</sup> | hēn-ātma-tulyam-antaadi-  
(tan) dadatā dvīpābhya yōn-lōkītā vasmahī sa(śa)tas(śa)s-tulāl(hi) || [5\*] Ya(Ta)-*
- 6 *sy-ātma-jō Madanapāla* | *iti kēhittē-ita-chūdā-magīr-vijayātē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | yaśy-  
ābhishōka-kalas-ōlasitāḥ payōbhīḥ prakshālitaḥ Kālī-rāja[h\*] sa-*
- 7 *kalas<sup>2</sup> dhanitryāḥ || [6\*] Yaśy-āśid-vijaya-prayāga-samayē tuṅg-āchal-ōchchais-chalan-  
mādyat-kumbhī-pada-kraṇ-āsama-bhata-[bhira]śya(śya)n-mahī<sup>3</sup>-magdālē | chūdā-ratna-  
vijhīna-tā-*
- 8 *lu-galita-śyān-ārig-udgē(ābhū)śitāḥ Śē(Śē)śahā pēsha<sup>4</sup>-vasū(śū)dvīva kōhapame-asun krōḍē  
nīlu-ānanāḥ || [7\*] Tasmād-ajāyata nū-āyata-vā(bū)hu-vallī-vam(bam)dh-āvarodīva(ōdha)-*
- 9 *nava-rājya-gājō narēndrah | sūd[īr]-āmṛita-drava-muchām prabhayō-gavām yō Gōvinda-  
chandra(ndra) | itī chandura {v-ambu-rāśh(śūh) || [8\*] Ma(Na) katham-apy-alabhanta  
raṇa-kshamāras-tia[n]ishu di-*
- 10 *[kahu] gajān-adha(ttha) Vajrinēḥ(pah) | kakubhī va(ba)bhru(bhū)mur-Abhramavallabhāḥ-  
(bhu)-pratibhātā iva yaśya ghaṭā-gājāḥ || [9\*] sō-yam samasta-rāja-chakra-samśvita-chara-  
gah sa cha parama-*
- 11 *bhātāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)rā-nija-bhu-ōpātjita-  
śrī-Kanyakuvjā(bj)-ā-dhipatya-śrī-Chandradēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhātāraka-  
mahā-*
- 12 *tājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Madanapālādēva-pād-ānudyāta-  
paramabhātāraka - mahārājādhirāja - paramēśva(śva)ra - paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-śrīmad-  
Gōvindahandradē-*
- 13 *vō vijayī || Kāś(n)avbha(bbha)vapa-pattalāyām Vadhavali-grāma-nivāśinō nikhīla-jana-  
padān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rāja<sup>5</sup>-rājāi-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhā-*
- 14 *ra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākāśapaśalika-bhishaka(śhag)-naimittik-āntahpurika-tū(dō)ta-kari-  
toraga-pattān-ākāśasthāna-gōkul-ādihikāri-purusha(śhā)n samājōṣāpayati vō(bō)-*
- 15 *dhayaty-ādīsa(śa)ti cha || yathā viditam=astu bhavatām(tām) | yath-ōpari-likhita-grāmāḥ sa-  
jāta-sthulāḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-madhūka-chūta-{va\*}na-vātīkā-vīpapa-trīṇa-yūti-gō-  
chara-pa-*
- 16 *ryantāḥ s-ōrdhv-āvah(dhah) sa-gatt-ōsharś-chatur-āghāṭa-vīsu(śu)ddhāḥ s{v}ja-sinā-pa-  
[r\*]ya[n]tāḥ śkasaptaty-adhika-sa(śa)t-aikādasa(śa)-sāmhva[t\*]sarē Kārttika-  
paurṇamāsyām ankataḥ Sāmhvata(vat) 1171 Kārttika-su-*
- 17 *di 15 Sōmē śrī-Vārāpasyām Ga[rh]gāyām suātvā vidhivan=ma[n]tra-dēva munī-mann-  
ja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāḥ-tarppayitvā timira-pātala-pātana-paṇu-mahasam-Ushnarōchisham-  
upasthā-*
- 18 *y-Ausha[dhī]patīsakalasōcharam<sup>6</sup> samabhyarchhya tribhuvana-trātūr-Vāsudēvasya pūjām  
vidhāya [pra]chura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujam hutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha  
puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhividdha-*

<sup>1</sup> Some records read \*ābhiganya-<sup>2</sup> Some records read *paśalam*.<sup>3</sup> There is a redundant superscript *r* above *ma*.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes the correction *śvika* (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 12, Note 97) is suggested unnecessarily. The word *na* need not be taken here to indicate *śvika*.<sup>5</sup> This word is redundant although the intended expression may be *rājopara* or *rājapata*.<sup>6</sup> Read \*śakalasōcharam.



- 19 yā asmābhiḥ Śārkavasya-gotīāya<sup>1</sup> Āṅgiraśa-Amahicā-Arukāśa<sup>2</sup>-tri-pravarāya Sāmavēd-  
ādhyāyinē paṇḍita-śrī-Mālhapā-pautrāya agnibōtri-śrī-Kēśa(śa)va-put(ṛ)āya pa(m)ḍita-
- 20 śrī-Gōvardhanāyasaṁnumaṇḍi<sup>3</sup> Vṛā(Bṛā)hmapāya gōkarṇṇa-kusa(śa)-latā-pūta-karn-tal-ōdaka-  
pūrvam-ā Padmasadmanō Hūhūk-āntam yāvach-chhāsanikṛitya pradatta iti matvā  
yathā-diyamāna-bhā-
- 21 ga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-Turnahkedamḍa-kūḍl<sup>4</sup>-paṇbhṛiti-samta<sup>5</sup>-rāja-pratyādāyān  
dāsyatha || chha || bhavanti ch-ātra ślōkāḥ<sup>6</sup> | Bhūmā(m) yaḥ pratigṛhṇā(hṇā)ti yāś-cha  
bhūmim prayaścchati | n-
- 22 bhau tau puṇya-karmṇāṇaṁ niyatau(taḥ) eva(r)gga-gānānaṁ || [10\*] Va(Ba)hubhīr-vvasudhā  
bhuktā rājābhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmā(=ta)ya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam)  
|| [11\*] likhi-
- 23 'tāḥ karaṇika-Thakkura-śrī-Sahadōvēna || maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ || chha || chha ||

<sup>1</sup> The name is not found in the list of gotras found in early Indian literature. The intended reading may be Śārkavasya-gotīāya or Śārkavasya-gōtrāya.

<sup>2</sup> Sandhi has not been observed in this passage. Read Āṅgiraśa-Amahicāya (or Amahicāya, etc.)-Arukāśaya.

<sup>3</sup> Read Gōvardhanāsaṁnumaṇḍi or Gōvardhanāsaṁnumaṇḍi.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be the same as bhūka of some inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> Read samanta.

<sup>6</sup> Better read Bhūmāś-cha-mā ślōkāḥ.

<sup>7</sup> This line is engraved below the second half of the previous line.



## No. 35—PURI INSCRIPTION OF CHODAGANGA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9.5.1958)

Some time ago I was informed that the removal of a coating of plaster from the walls of the temple of Śiva called **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** at the well-known city of **Puri** in Orissa revealed the existence of a number of inscriptions which had previously been hidden from the eye. In November 1957 I visited the temple and copied the inscriptions on its walls.

Out of the inscriptions copied by me from the walls of the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple at **Puri**, three were found to belong to the reigns of three kings of the imperial branch of the **Eastern Gaṅga** dynasty. All the epigraphs record the installation of perpetual lamps in the temple of the god **Mārkaṇḍēśvara**. The earliest of these records is engraved on the right wall of the second gate and belongs to the time of the great **Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga** (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the **Puri-Cuttack** region from the **Sōmavamśa** about the beginning of the twelfth century. The writing of the record is fairly well preserved. This inscription<sup>1</sup> is edited in the following pages.

The preservation of the other two **Gaṅga** epigraphs<sup>2</sup> in the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple is unsatisfactory. The earlier of these two inscriptions is engraved on the same wall as the record of **Chōḍagaṅga** and is dated in the **third year** of the regnal reckoning of **Rāghava** who was a son of **Chōḍagaṅga** and ruled in the period c. 1156-70 A.D. The passage containing the date at the beginning of the record in line 1, which is in Sanskrit, reads : [svasti] śrīmat(mad)-Rāghavādēvasya vijaya-rājya-samvatsa(samvat) 3. No other details of the date have been quoted in the inscription. Since the **Aṅka** system of calculating regnal years may have been introduced during the reign of **Rāghava**'s elder brother and predecessor **Kāmārjaya** (c. 1147-56 A.D.),<sup>3</sup> year 3 may be an **Aṅka** year actually referring to the second year of **Rāghava**'s reign. The next passage of the inscription in Oriya in lines 1-2 reads : śrī-Mārkaṇḍēśvara]dēvara ..... kavadi-papa tini akhaṇḍa-dīpa vāraha. It apparently refers to the investment of three *Paṇas* of cowries for the installation of twelve perpetual lamps in the temple of **Mārkaṇḍēśvaradēva**. The third inscription, engraved on the right wall of the doorway, is fragmentary, its lower part being damaged. Its date portion in lines 1-2 reads after the *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti* : śrī-pura-Bhānu[dēva]ya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsa 14 vāhē. The record was therefore incised in the **fourteenth year** of the reign of one of the four **Gaṅga** kings named **Bhānu**. The characters employed in the inscription are **Gauḍīya** and not **Oriya** and this fact may suggest that the king has to be identified with **Bhānu I** or **II** rather than with **Bhānu III** or **IV**. The year seems to refer to the **Aṅka** reckoning and to the twelfth actual year of the reign of the king in question. The next passage in lines 2-4 of this inscription reads : Hata-prityā dēvi Umāhara data śrī-Mārkaṇḍēśvaradēvaka [sthīrā] ē-dīpa ā-chaṇḍa-ārka akhaṇḍa-dīpakāi. . . . . This clearly shows that a queen named **Umā** probably one of king **Bhānu**'s wives, created a permanent endowment (*sthīrā*) for a perpetual lamp

<sup>1</sup> This is No. 408 of 1957-58, App. B. There is another inscription (No. 403 of the same App.) written partly in Telugu and partly in Sanskrit in **Gauḍīya** characters. It records that **Aṭyāṇḍī**'s son **Gaṅga-nārāyaṇa Yālāṇḍī** alias **Chōḍagaṅga** deposited 5 *Māḍhas* for the provision of oil for a perpetual lamp in the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple on Thursday, Tula-śu. 12, Śaka 1051 (possibly September 27, 1128 A.D.). The inscription, however, does not refer to the reign of **Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga**.

<sup>2</sup> These are *ibid.*, Nos. 404 and 407.

<sup>3</sup> *CE. III.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1322-34.



for the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The name of queen Umā, however, seems to suggest that the king mentioned in the record is really Bhānu III (c.1332-78 A.D.). Visvanātha-kavirāja, who wrote his *Chandrikā-nāṭikā* during the reign of Gaṇapati Nīlśaṅka-Bhānu (i.e. Gaṅga Bhānu IV reigning upto 1434-35 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> quotes in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*,<sup>2</sup> composed some time afterwards,<sup>3</sup> a stanza referring to Umādēvi's husband Bhānu, as a contemporary ruler, from a work of his own father Chandrasēkhama-saṇḍhivigrahaṇ. Apparently the same Umādēvi is mentioned in the Bhubaneswar Pārvatī temple inscription<sup>4</sup> of the 15th Śaka year of the king named Bhānu and in the Simhachalam inscription<sup>5</sup> of Śaka 1301, Mārgaśrīṣa ba. 1, Friday (25th November 1379 A.D.) falling in the reign of Narasimha IV (c. 1378-1402 A.D.). It thus appears that Umādēvi's husband Bhānu should be identified with Bhānu III, the father of Narasimha IV and grandfather of Bhānu IV, as suggested by Rajaguru and Das.<sup>6</sup>

The inscription of Chōḍagaṅga, which forms the main subject of this article, contains nine lines of writing. The inscribed area covers a space about 13½ inches in height and 32 inches in length. Individual akṣaras are about 1½ inches in height. The characters of the record are Gaudīya and its language is Sanskrit. But it exhibits considerable influence of the local language and is full of grammatical and orthographical errors. In some of the sentences, the language is actually a mixture of Sanskrit and Oriya and often the meaning has to be conjectured. The date in line 1, given in the king's regnal reckoning, also offers some difficulty. The regnal year is written in two figures, the second of which is clearly 7. The first figure is exactly the same as found in the same date occurring in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, which has been published in the pages of this journal.<sup>7</sup> This doubtful figure has some resemblance with the shape of 5, so that the date in both the Bhubaneswar epigraph and the present inscription would appear to be the regnal year 57. But the Bhubaneswar inscription shows that the same year of Chōḍagaṅga's reign corresponded to the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram *ṛiṭa-Rāma-kh-ṇadu*, i.e. Śaka 1036-1114-15 A.D. Since the said Śaka year corresponded to the thirtyseventh and not fiftyseventh regnal year of Chōḍagaṅga who ascended the throne in 1078 A.D., the first figure in the number in question had to be read as 3. In view of this, Chōḍagaṅga's regnal year quoted in the inscription under study should also have to be read as 37. Thus the epigraph appears to have been engraved in 1114-15 A.D.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the date referred to above. The first sentence in lines 1-4 apparently means to say that, in the year 37 during the reign of the illustrious Chōḍagaṅga-dēva, Sādhu Bhīmadēva, a resident of Nīlāḍ-grāma called an *śaṅga-bhōga* of the god Puruṣhōttama, as well as Ruda (Rudra?) and Hari (both probably of the same place) accepted some amount or coins of gold for one *chāyā-dīpa* meant to be a perpetual lamp to be burnt before the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The epithet *sādhu* applied to Bhīmadēva shows that he belonged to the mercantile community. Possibly Ruda and Hari were also members of the same community. The expression *śaṅga-bhōga* often occurs in Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions in association with *raṅga-bhōga* and *śaṅga-raṅga-bhōga* is sometimes translated as 'decorations and illuminations of a god'.<sup>8</sup> In the present case, the epithet *śaṅga-bhōga* is applied to a village, the income from which appears to have been utilised for the *śaṅga-bhōga* or decoration of the deity in question.

<sup>1</sup> See *JOHR*, Vol. VI, Appendix, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kane's ed., 1923, pp. 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> Verses from the *Chandrikā-nāṭikā* are quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JOHR*, Vol. III, p. 48. Umādēvi is here wrongly taken to be the name of goddess Pārvatī.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, Vol. VI, No. 730. Umādēvi's relation with king Narasimha is not stated in the inscription.

<sup>6</sup> *JOHR*, Vol. VI, Appendix, pp. v-vi. Another known queen of Bhānu III was Hīrādēvi.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 29 ff. (No. 1), and Plate facing p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts*, Part II, p. 201. For *bhōga*, 'a *jāgr*', cf. above, p. 170.



Thus the village of Niralō seems to have been a rent-free holding in the possession of the god Purnabōttama-Jagannātha of Puri. The expression *chhāyā-dīpa* means a lamp held in the hand of an image generally of the donor. The word *chhāyā*, 'image', is known from other inscriptions also. A Srikurman inscription<sup>1</sup> of Śaka 1275, belonging to the reign of Gaṅga Bhānu III, speaks of the dedication of the *chhāyās* of the king's father Narasiṁha III and the latter's wife Gaṅgāmbikā, which were represented as holding lamps for offering light to the god in the Srikurman temple. The responsibility of Bhīmadēva and his two colleagues was no doubt to supply oil for the lamp in lieu of the interest of the gold deposited with them.

The next sentence in line 4 states: "Now Bhīmadēva's son Nāna arranged for the discharge [of his obligation]." This shows that, probably after Bhīmadēva's death, his son Nāna refunded the deposit and thereby freed himself from the obligation of supplying oil for the perpetual lamp. That the responsibility fell upon the son of Bhīmadēva alone may further suggest that Ruda and Hari were his own brothers or sons. From the above two sentences we learn that formerly an endowment had been created by depositing some amount or coins of gold with Bhīmadēva and others and that, in the 37th regnal year of the Gaṅga-king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, Bhīmadēva's son Nāna freed himself from the responsibility. But who created the endowment that was terminated by Nāna is not mentioned in these sentences. The names of the persons responsible for the creation of the endowment are, however, possibly known from the following sentences which describe the creation of a new endowment in the place of the terminated one.

The next sentence in lines 4-6 mentions three persons and refers to an image representing all the three of them. The following sentence in line 6 states that Jivanta śrēṣṭhin accepted the gold for the lamp. This apparently means that the said three persons had originally created an endowment for the supply of oil for a perpetual lamp held in the hands of their own images in the temple of Mārkaṇḍēśvara and that, on the termination of the old endowment, they created another endowment by depositing the same gold with another person named Jivanta-śrēṣṭhin. The condition binding Jivanta-śrēṣṭhin is found in the following sentence in lines 6-7, which states that, in respect of the said perpetual lamp, god Mārkaṇḍēśvara would receive two hundred [measures] of oil every month. The name of the measure is not given in the record. In a similar context in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, referred to above, mention is made of the *karāṅka*, i.e. a small pot usually made out of coconut-shell and used in measuring oil.<sup>2</sup> The same *karāṅka* measure may be referred to in the present case as well. The names of the three persons who created the endowment are given as: (1) Hari, the *Pūjāhāri* of the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara, (2) Vandau (probably another *Pūjāhāri* of the same god), and (3) Vāsu, the *Pūjāhāri* of another god whose name appears to be Kōhrigēśvara. *Pūjāhāri* is the same as *Pūjāri* meaning 'a priest'.

Lines 7-9 at the end of the record mention the names of the persons who were witnesses to the above transaction. These were: (1) *Mudrāhanta* Dēvadhara; (2) Nilakamuṇḍa (possibly another *Mudrāhanta*); (3) *Paśūpālaka* Śrīdhara; (4) Nārāyaṇa (possibly another *Paśūpālaka*); (5) *Sāṁmatīji* Mahādēva; (6) Dēvamēṇḍi (possibly another *Sāṁmatīji*); and (7) *Śrīkaraṇa* Hari. *Mudrāhanta* (Oriya *Mudiratha*) is now the designation of a class of servants of the god Purnabōttama-Jagannātha of Puri. Dēvadhara may have been a similar servant of the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. *Paśūpālaka* may be the same official designation found in inscriptions in the forms of *Paśūyita*, *Paśūta* or *Paśūgati*.<sup>3</sup> *Sāṁmatīji* may be a mistake for *Sāmayājīn*. *Śrīkaraṇa* is the designation of a scribe. These people appear to have been temple officials.

<sup>1</sup> *SIH*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 107 and note 3.



The inscription is interesting from several points of view. It is the only inscription of Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅga so far discovered at Puri where the Gaṅga king is known to have built the great temple of Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha after its annexation to the Gaṅga empire and the transference of his allegiance from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism in the early years of the twelfth century. It is not possible to determine when exactly and by whom the Mārkaṇḍēśvara temple was built. But it is not unlikely that this temple had been in existence when Chôḍagaṅga built the temple for Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha. We do not know whether the Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha temple was built by Chôḍagaṅga before or after the 57th year of his reign, though the absence of any reference to the achievement in any of his own records may probably suggest that the construction was undertaken in the later years of his life. We also do not know as to who was responsible for granting the village of Niralō in favour of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha, although it is clear that this deity was already enjoying considerable influence when the inscription under study was engraved. The suggestion is supported by the reference to *vāgura-tīra-sannicēṣe Puruṣhōttama-jagannātha-dēvāyanam* in Kṛishṇamītra's *Prabodhachandrodāya* which was staged in the presence of the Chandella king Kirtivarman (c. 1070-1100 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

The name of the god Kōhrigēśvara, worshipped at Puri as suggested by the record under review, is interesting. I am not sure whether it is really Kō-Rigēśvara suggesting its installation at Puri by the Tamil residents of the area like Kāmāṇḍi of the Alagum inscription.<sup>2</sup> I have heard of no such deity now worshipped there. The name appears to have been applied to a Śiva-līṅga.

Only one geographical name is mentioned in the inscription. It is the village of Niralō. I am not sure about its location.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [||\*] samvata<sup>5</sup> 37 śrī-Chôḍagaṅgadēvasya p[ra]va<sup>6</sup>]rddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē  
śrī-Mārkaṇḍēśva(śva)-
- 2 radēvasya yāvat<sup>7</sup>-chandr-ārka[m] pravattamānō-khaṇḍadvipa<sup>8</sup> śrī-Puruṣhōttamadēva-aṅga<sup>9</sup>-
- 3 bhōga-Niralō-grāma-vāstavya-sādhū-Bhī(Bhī)madēva śva[m] Rudā<sup>10</sup> śvaṁ Har[ī]<sup>11</sup>  
śka-chhāyā-dvipa-saṁ<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say whether the suggestion is further supported by the fact that the *Anarpharāghat* of Murāṁmītra (ninth or tenth century according to some, but c. 1050-1125 A.D. according to others) was staged on the occasion of the gāthā of the god Puruṣhōttama of Puri since the epithet *loana-śka-sādhū-sa-śka-ānandha-tara-ānanda*, applied to the deity, does not refer to his worship on the sea-shore and since Viṣṇu's name Puruṣhōttama was not unknown elsewhere (cf. No. 504 of 1956-57, Appendix B). For the date of Murāri, see *Dr. Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 449; *Kirtih. Sanskrit Drama* p. 225; *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, p. 83; etc. It has to be noticed that Murāri's drama gives a rapid description of well-known places like Ujjayinī, Vārāṇasī, Kāśī, Prayāga, Tāmraparvī on the sea, Champā in Gaṇḍa, Pañchavati, Kuṇḍina in Mahārāṣṭra, Kāśhī in Drāviḍa and Māhishmati in Chēdi-maṇḍala, but not of Puruṣhōttamapurī or Puri. The other references, pertaining to dates earlier than the eleventh century, cited in *Dr. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. III, pp. 5 ff., are even more dubious.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śamvata*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *yadvat*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pravattamāna-dhanda-dip-ārka*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Puruṣhōttamadēva-āṅga*.

<sup>9</sup> Probably *Rudra* is intended.

<sup>10</sup> Read *Harī* in *śaṅk*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *śka-saṁvata* or *dip-ārka* *śamvata*.



PURĪ. INSCRIPTION OF CHODAGANGA

[illegible]

Scale: Two-thirds



- 4 grihitam<sup>1</sup> [i\*] idānin(nm) sādhu(dhn)-Rhi(Bh)madāsvaya pūta<sup>2</sup>-Nānēna v(i)śudhya<sup>3</sup> kri-  
(kri)yaś [i\*] Mārkaṇḍēva(śva)raṇ(dē)-
- 5 va-pūjāhāri-Hari(h) ēvaṁ Vand[au] ēvaṁ Kōhriṇḍa(v)a(śva)radāsvaya pūjāhāri-Vāsu<sup>4</sup> śaṁ  
(ahām) i[bbh]i<sup>5</sup>.
- 6 r-jaṣā<sup>6</sup> śka(śā) chhāya [i\*] Ji(Ji)vante-srēṣṭa<sup>7</sup> dvipa-sunā<sup>8</sup> grihitam<sup>1</sup> [i\*]  
Mārkaṇḍēva(śva)ra[d]ēvaśam<sup>9</sup> prati-māś dvipa-
- 7 upajōgē<sup>10</sup> taillya(lam) dā(dvā) śaśē<sup>11</sup> [i\*] śtada-arthē<sup>12</sup> śāśhi[ṣaḥ\*] mūdrahavha<sup>13</sup>-Dēvadhura<sup>14</sup>  
ēva[ṁ\*] Ni(Ni)lakam[u].
- 8 ōḍa(h\*) paśāpāśaka-Sri(Śri)dhar ēvaṁ Nārāyaṇa(h\*) Śārinavāji<sup>15</sup>-Mahādēva(h\*) Dēvamēṇḍi-  
(h\*) śrikara-
- 9 ṇa-Hari(h [i\*])

<sup>1</sup> Read *grīhitam*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *putra*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śuddhā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Vāsuś*.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading is *śrīkṛi*; but read *śrīkṛiś*.

<sup>6</sup> The intended reading is *jandak*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śrīkṛiś*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *dīpa-suvāṣaṇa* or *dīpa-dīkṣa-suvāṣaṇa*.

<sup>9</sup> Better read *śāśhi*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *śāśhi* or *dīpa-dīkṣa*.

<sup>11</sup> The *śāśhi* seems to be *śāśhi-kṛiśa-parivāṣaṇa*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *śāśhi*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *śāśhi*.

<sup>14</sup> An unnecessary insertion above *va* seems to have been cancelled.

<sup>15</sup> The intended reading may be *śāśhi*.



# No. 36—KALACHURI INSCRIPTION FROM KARITALAI

(1 Plate)

BAL CHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR.

(Received on 13.7.1957)

The stone slab bearing the present inscription was dug out by Sri Kanchhedi Lalji Patel in 1953 while he was ploughing his field in the village of **Kāritalai**<sup>1</sup> in the Murwara Tahsil of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. In April 1955, I visited the place and examined the inscription. The inscribed stone was later removed by me to the Raipur Museum.

The slab measures 2' 7½" in length and 1' 3½" in height. The inscription contains 13 lines of writing. A piece of stone has broken away from the top left corner of the slab causing loss of four letters in line 1 and of two letters in line 2. The middle and lower parts of the record are also damaged.

The record is well written and neatly engraved. The characters are Nāgari of about the 10th century A.D. and resemble those of the stone inscriptions of the early Kalachuri rulers.<sup>2</sup>

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, except the words *śubham* and *mr̥galaṁ* at the end, it is metrically composed throughout. There are in all 12 verses. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is often reduplicated. *V* is always written for *ṣ*. The sign for *upa-* (*upādāniya*) has been used thrice in lines 1, 2 and 10. The inscription is not dated.

Verse 4 of the record mentions the Kalachuri king **Yuvarājādēva** (I), son of **Mugdhataṅga**. The damaged portion in verse 5 seems to have contained the name of his son **Lakṣmaparāja** II whose minister **Sōmēśvara** is mentioned in verse 10.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *kūpa* (well) in the heart of the city of **Sōmasavāmpura** (obviously **Kāritalai**) by **Sōmēśvara** who was a minister of Kalachuri **Lakṣmaparāja** II and is known from another record<sup>3</sup> to have erected a temple of **Viṣṇu** at **Kāritalai**. His father **Bhākamitra**<sup>4</sup> (**Bhāmītra** of the present inscription) was one of the two ministers of king **Yuvarājādēva** I.

Verse 1 seems to praise **Viṣṇu** and **Lakṣmī**. Verse 2 praises the moon, while verse 3 refers to the kings of the lunar race. The poet has compared the qualities of the lunar race with those of the moon in phrases having two meanings. In verse 4, we are told that **Yuvarājādēva** (I), son of **Mugdhataṅga**, was born in the said family. Verse 5 describes the exploits of the former and states that his elephants had pressed the **Gauḍas**, punished the **Kōśalas**, beaten the kings of the south and conquered the **Gōrjara**s. Thus, unlike the **Bīhārī** inscription,<sup>5</sup> the present record which is definitely earlier than the former, claims for **Yuvarājādēva** I *alias* **Kēyūravaraha**, the victories

<sup>1</sup> The village is 36 miles north-east of Katni, headquarters of the Murwara subdivision. The following inscriptions were discovered at or near **Kāritalai**: (1) copper plate of **Jayanātha**, Gupta year 174 (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.); (2) inscription of **Lakṣmaparāja** I, Kalachuri year 593 (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 256 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 37); (3) inscription of the time of **Lakṣmaparāja** II, which records the erection of a temple of 'the Enemy of the Demons' (i.e. **Viṣṇu**) by his minister **Sōmēśvara** (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 42); (4) Sati record of the time of **Vīrādēva**, **Vīramā** Samvat 1412 (*ASB*, Vol. IX, p. 113; *Hirak*'s List, No. 48). See also *Hirak*, op. cit., No. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 256 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 37 and 42.

<sup>3</sup> *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 42.

<sup>4</sup> **Bhākamitra** and **Gōllaka** *alias* **Gauḍa**, son of **Bhām**, were the two ministers of **Yuvarājādēva** I (cf. *Ibid.*, pp. lxxiv).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 236 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 45.



# KALACHURI INSCRIPTION FROM KARITAJAI

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 ११  
 १२

(from a Photograph)



over the Gaudas, Kōśalas, the South Indian kings and the Gūrjaras only. The views of scholars,<sup>1</sup> who doubt the statement of the Bilhari inscription that Yuvarājādēva I had even conquered Kāśmīra and the Himalayan countries, find support from the present inscription. On the other hand, it adds two new victories to the list, i.e., those over the Kōśalas and the Gūrjaras.

Verse 6, which is fragmentary, possibly contained the name of Lakṣmāgarājādēva whose merits are described in verses 7-9. Sōmēśvara and his father are referred to in verses 10 and 11 respectively. Verse 12 records the object of the inscription which, as indicated above, was the excavation of a well by Sōmēśvara in the city of Sōmasvāmpura.

The city of Sōmasvāmpura (verse 12) may have been named after the shrine of Sōmasvāmin, which seems to be identical with the temple of 'the Enemy of the Demons' built by Sōmēśvara and mentioned in Lakṣmāgarāja's inscription from Kāṭitalai referred to above.

### Text\*

[Metres: Verses 1, 7 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 2, *Śṛaṅgharā*; verses 3-4 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 5-6, 9, 12 *Sāṁśīlavikrīḍita*; verse 8 *Prithvī*; verse 10 *Uṇṇāḥ*; verse 11 *Āryā*.]

- 1 .....<sup>2</sup> कमलक्रीडाम्नां सह साध्वजितायते । यस्मृतौ न द्विषो सैन्यं सहसाध्वजितायते ॥ [१\*]  
स्वर्गलोत्प्रवाहप्रथमहिमगिरिर्वात्पुत्रातिचक्षुःशक्तिप्र-
- 2 — ७<sup>3</sup> मुक्ता त्रिपुरहरगिरिशश्वतस्वेताद्मः<sup>4</sup> । कामान्तर्गामिदेहो दहनदिवसकुम्भलान्तो-  
त्त्रिपुरा<sup>5</sup> पुण्यज्योतिश्चकास्ति त्रिजगति कमलाबा(बा)लव(व)म्भुः
- 3 मुधाह्वः<sup>6</sup> ॥ [२\*] स्वच्छाशयस्फुरितनिर्मलमण्डलायसलोभिताखिलदिशाश्रयवाहिनीशा ।  
सोमात्सदुद्गतितरतीयकरा नरेन्द्रचन्द्रावली पववृते प्र-
- 4 त्रिवि(वि)म्बि(म्बि)तेव ॥ [३\*] तत्प्रभवद्भुवनभूषणभूतभूतिः श्रीमृगधनुर्जितनयो युवराज-  
देवः । यस्यांघ्रिवारिर्हृदि वा(बा)कमलीयमानाः प्रापुर्द्विषस्तपदि स-
- 5 पदमापदञ्च ॥ [४\*] ये[र्गो]डाः परिपीडिताः सरभस्यैः कोसलाः शानिता येः  
क्षुण्णाः<sup>7</sup> गतदक्षिणैः [५\*] क्षितिभूतो येर्गुज्जरा निज्जिताः । विप्रेभ्यः प्रतिपा-
- 6 दिताः प्रतिदिनं ते येन वन्या ७ — — — ७ ७ — — — पुरपुरं दण्पोद्ध-  
[ताः] सि[न्धु]राः १॥ [६\*] इन्द्रोः सुन्दरतां वु(वु)धादि बुधतामैतावुलां शांतिता<sup>8</sup>-  
मायोरामु-

<sup>1</sup> *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> From the original stone and impressions.

<sup>3</sup> [The last letters may be restored as *Śrīvattā-ka*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [The reading is *gīrī=Dhātī*.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> [The missing letters may be restored as *tyagra* or *tytha*.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> [Read *padman*.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> [Read *lānta(nī)-tal*.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> [Read *sudhāhūka*.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> [Sandhi has not been observed here.—Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> [The reading seems to be *Buddha-tribhūtanam=Alīka=kālī-mūrti=ā*.—Ed.]



- 7 कदारमायुषविधावुत्साहि[ता] — ७ — [1] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ —  
—[व्यापि चीतस्य<sup>1</sup> यस्तस्मात्लठमणराजदे]वनपतिः श्रीमानभूष्मा[न]भूः ॥[९\*]  
मुन्य(म)हो
- 8 करिणः कीटाः पाषाण[ा रत्नराशयः । ] .....  
[रणे] पात्यविलक्षता<sup>2</sup> ॥[७\*] धभू ७ षटकारिणां ७ ७ न — ७ — — ७ — ७  
[भि]त्तितललेखिनां मधु -
- 9 विलिप्तचन्द्रार्पिणा(शाम्) । महो सुमहदद्भुत वचनमद्भुतोद्भाविनां न येन  
विनिवेशितं हृदि कथाप्रसंगादपि ॥[८\*] नेत्रस्थाननिविष्टवारिविसरं रुन्मुक्तकेयोत्क-
- 10 रेहंतालीद्वितयान्तरार्पिततृणस्तम्बे(म्बे) रणप्राङ्गणे । वर्षासूनुतिभाजि मेघपटमे  
यद्वारणाशौहिणीत्वा सेनेव पुराणशास्त्रवधिर)पिण्डास्मि-
- 11 कूटः स्थितं(तम्) ॥ [९\*] पदेनवद्यो निपुणः प्रमाणे वाक्से विपक्वः श्रुतिपार-  
दुषवा । वा(वा)लाग्नि<sup>3</sup>होत्त्री कुशलः कलासु सोमेश्वरस्तस्य व(व)भूव मन्त्री ॥  
[१०\*] धिषणान्वितोपि
- 12 काव्यप्रियोपि दु(दु)धसंगतोपि तच्चित्रं(त्रम्) । यत्सकलपहरहितः श्रीमद्भामि-  
भसूनुत्सो ॥[११\*] सोमस्वामिपुरान्तरालतिलकं स(मु)व्यापकं वापिकारुणं कूपमचीवा[न]-
- 13 [त्स] ७ ७ लादप्युत्तमं पावनं(नम्) । यन्नि[र्मा]पणकालकर्मठवृत्त — — कड  
— ७ — — वतं ७ समन्ततोपि कमठपृष्ठस्य पुष्ट[स्तदः]<sup>4</sup> ॥ [१२\*] [शुभं(भम्)] ॥  
मंग[लं(लम्)] ॥

<sup>1</sup> [The reading may be \*vīraṇya(sa).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [The reading is *Parthivā ślakṣaṇā*.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [Read (kū)l-agni.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [The reading is defective and doubtful and does not suit the metre.—Ed.]



No. 37—UPPUGUNDUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPURISADATA'S TIME, YEAR 19

(I Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 17. 6. 1958)

A fairly extensive site with remains of a Buddhist *chaitya* has recently been brought to light on the west bank of the Buckingham Canal, somewhere between the railway stations of Chinna Ganjam and Uppugundūr, the railway line lying about half a mile south-east of the site. There is a lake, called Rumperu, beyond the railway bridge at that point. The lake is connected with the sea, about 5 miles from there. In ancient times, the sea might have been nearer the site, as it abounds in shells as well as in brickbats, stone pieces and potsherds, lying about or stuck in the ruined structure of the *stūpa* which appears to be of a large size.

The nearest village, Uppugundūr, in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District, is about 2 miles west of the site. The land within which it is situated belongs to one Sri Gogineni Nagiah. The site was accidentally exposed by the landlord's men while digging a deep channel for draining out excess rain-water from the paddy fields nearby. The antiquities laid bare included broken stone statues, sculptured pillars, slabs, etc. Some of these have been removed to Uppugundūr where they are kept in an enclosure, close to the Village Munsif's Office, for safe custody. Among the exposed antiquities was a marble pillar which had some figures and designs carved on the top and a Prakrit inscription incised on its lower part.

On receipt of information regarding the discovery of the inscription, I visited the site on January 21, 1958, in the company of Sri Pallela Pulla Reddi, the acting Village Munsif of Uppugundūr. On arrival there, to our great surprise and disappointment, we found that the inscribed part of the pillar had been broken away and missing. The chisel marks on the remainder of the pillar as well as a quantity of unsoiled chippings strewn thereabout were proclaiming, so to say, that the act of vandalism had been perpetrated freshly. I was told that, at the time of the removal of a damaged Buddha statue and some sculptured pieces to the village of Uppugundūr, the inscribed pillar had been allowed to be left *in situ*, the landlord having taken it upon himself to take care of that. It is a pity that this pillar was not removed to a place of safety along with the rest of the finds. Luckily, the Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavation Project, had already secured an estampage or two of the inscription, a photograph of which is reproduced here.

As may be seen from the photograph, the inscription has undergone some damage at its lower end. The extant portion shows 10 lines of writing, the first six being complete and the remaining ones progressively damaged. Unfortunately, the most important part of the record, in which its object was mentioned, has been lost to us in the portion already broken away. The tenth line, the extant portion of which reads [ya<sup>1</sup>]-pa<sup>2</sup>ana mahā,<sup>3</sup> obviously mentioned the name of the place (ya<sup>1</sup>ana, Skt. *pattana*), followed by what might have been mahāchetsiyam, the erection of which must have been the object of the record.

The script of the inscription is Brāhmī of about the 3rd century A. D., akin to the one used in many a similar stone inscription from Nāgārjunakonda and places round about.<sup>4</sup> The ornamental treatment of the top and bottom strokes of various *akṣaras* is its chief characteristic.

<sup>1</sup> Macron over *s* and *c* has not been used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. Amarāvati, Jaggaṃyapeta and Chaptadāla are some of the other places that have yielded similar inscriptions.



The language is Prakrit as is the case with the majority of the inscriptions just referred to from the same region.

As for its contents, it begins with the auspicious formula *siddham*, followed by a symbol which ordinarily stands for *Om*.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter comes adoration to the Buddha. Then comes the date, the details of which we shall presently notice. After the mention of the date comes the record proper. It states that one Saṅghila, son of a merchant (*vāṇija*, Skt. *caṇi*) or *vāṇija*), called Vaira (Skt. *Vajra*), and grandson of a householder (*gahapati*, Skt. *grāhapati*), called Saṅghila, performed a meritorious deed, the details of which are lost in the missing part of the inscription. It may be observed that the donor is named after his grandfather in accordance with a well-known custom in ancient India.<sup>2</sup> The inscription further informs us that the donor's grandfather hailed from **Dharmākaka**. This place is mentioned also in some Prakrit inscriptions from Amaravati under the variant readings like Dharmākaka and Dharmakaka (both from Skt. Dharmakaka). The Mayilavolu plates<sup>3</sup> of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, however, mention the place-name exactly as it occurs in our inscription. It is generally identified with Dharmakaka.

An indication as to the nature of the pious deed performed by Saṅghila is afforded by the few surviving letters, that read [*yaḥṣṭane maha*, in line 10. Possibly he erected a *mahācetiya* (Skt. *mahācetiya*) at a place the name of which ended in *ṣṭana*. This must refer to a sea-port or a flourishing coastal town which must have existed on the site of the present ruined *stūpa*. Future discoveries will throw more light as to the identity and the history of the place.

Saṅghila allowed a number of his near relations to be associated with himself in the merit of the pious act, who are specifically mentioned. They are his mother Dharmavāṇikī,<sup>4</sup> his brother Nāgilaṇaka, his sisters Budhamaṇikā and Samudamaṇikā, his wife Śāgaramaṇikā, his brother's wife Saṅghamaṇikā, and children.<sup>5</sup> Some more names are mentioned further on, but their relationship with the donor is not clear owing to the damaged condition of the inscription. They are Vairamaṇikā, Nāgilaṇaka, Dharmamaṇikā and Nāgamaṇikā besides those damaged. There is a mention of children again after the name of Nāgilaṇaka in line 8. They possibly refer to the children of Nāgilaṇaka who is most probably identical with Saṅghila's brother mentioned earlier in line 5.

The inscription is dated the 13th day of the 4th fortnight of the Summer season (*gimha*, Skt. *grāhmas*) of the 19th year of (the reign of) the Ikṣāku king Māḍharīputa Śrī-Vīrapurīṣadatta. The highest known regnal year of this king is 20 which is cited in the Jaggaṇyapeta inscriptions already referred to above. On this score, thus, our inscription does not add much to our knowledge. However, by its location, it throws some fresh light on the extent of this king's dominions.

<sup>1</sup> Its occurrence in a Buddhist record is odd, but instances are met with. Inscriptions F and H of Nagārjunakonda have it; but it has been left unread. The same is the case with one of the Jaggaṇyapeta inscriptions. See Plate LXIII in *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggaṇyapeta* by J. Burgess, London, 1887, pp. 116 f. Compare also Fleet's *Coptic Inscriptions* (C.I.), Vol. III, p. 46, note 3, and the Nālanda stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmanadeva; above, Vol. XX, p. 43 and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XX, p. 6 and note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The latter part of the name is the feminine of *vāṇija*. It is also possible that her proper name has not been mentioned here. She is only respectfully referred to here as *Dama-vāṇikī*, i.e., "the pious lady, consort of the merchant" [*Vāja*].

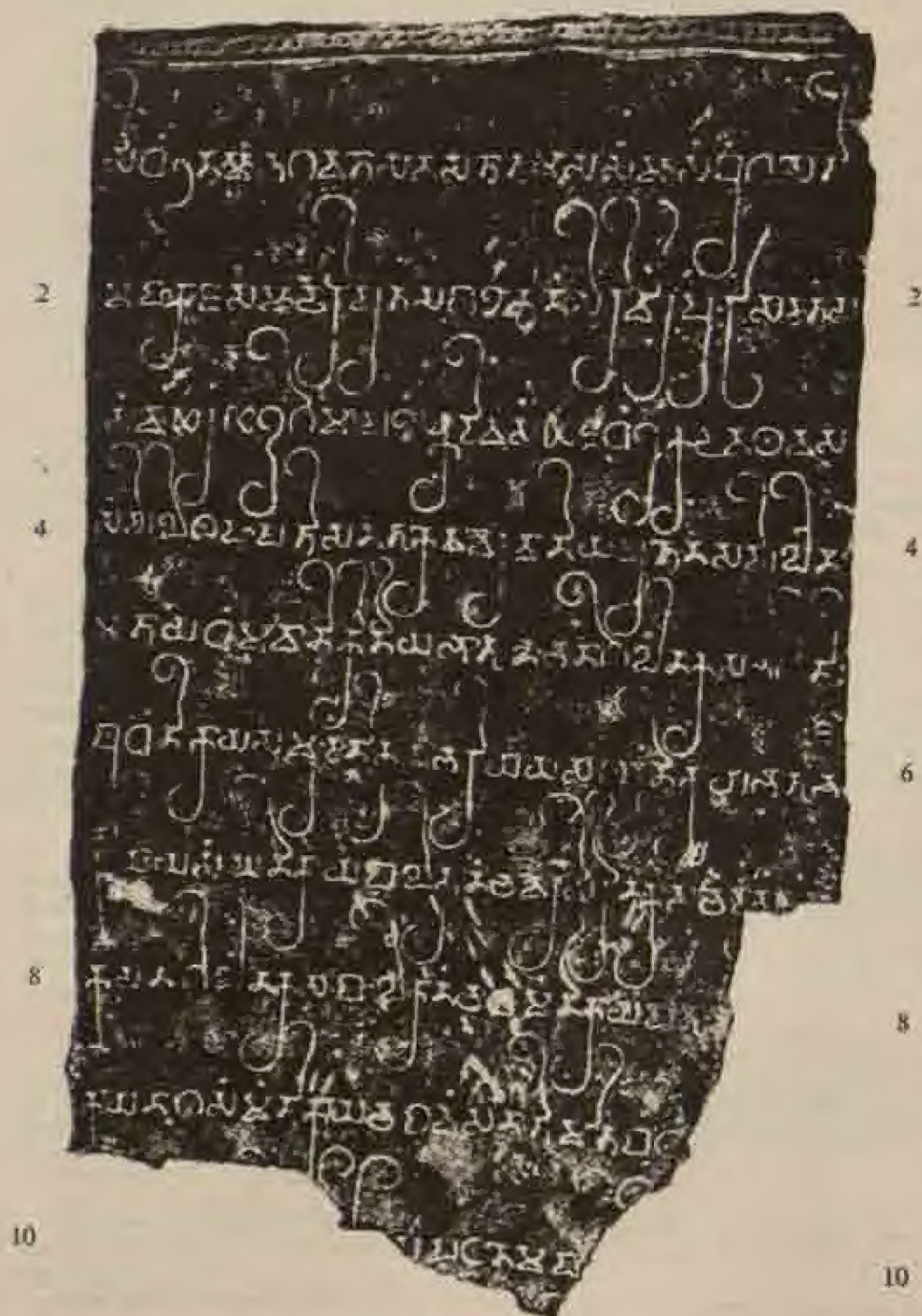
<sup>5</sup> These children may refer to those of the donor himself, for those of his brother are mentioned separately further on.







UPPUGUNDUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPURISADATA'S TIME,  
YEAR 19



(from a Photograph)



My reading of the inscription is based on the photograph which I owe to the courtesy of the Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavations Project.

TEXT

- 1 Sidham Om<sup>1</sup> [[\*] namo bhagavato sava-sat-otamasa Samukhsambudhas-eti [[\*]
- 2 mahā[r]ājasa Mādhariputasa Ikhākunam siri-Virapurisadatas
- 3 samvaccharam 10 9 gimha-<sup>2</sup>pakham 4 divasam 10 3 Dhamfakaḍa-rathavasa
- 4 Saṅgha-gaḥapatasa natukena Vaira-vāṇiya-putena Sa[r]ghilena
- 5 matāya Dhamavāṇikinīya bhātuno cha Nāgilaṇṇakasa bhagini-
- 6 Budbannikāya Samuḥannikāya bhariyāya Sāgasannikāya bhātu-bha-
- 7 riyāya Saṅghanikāya bālak[ā]nam ch. Vairasirnakasa Chanda . . . m. m.
- 8 zasa Nāgilaṇṇakasa bālakānada cha Dhamannikāya patu . . . . .
- 9 kāya Nāgasamannikāya cha evam sa-nāti-mita-baddha . . . . .
- 10 . . . . . -\*[ya]\* pajane mahā . . . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> The form of the *otthara* meant to be *śaka* is not regular.

<sup>3</sup> Two medial i signs are seen here over the damaged letters.

<sup>4</sup> Only the right side of the letter is visible.

<sup>5</sup> [For the symbol in line 1, *wa.x* is a variant of one found in *Kannada* inscriptions, see *Index Inscriptions*, p. 150, note 3. In line 8, the word is *bālakānada* which is preceded by the list of Saṅgha's sons (cf. *bālakānada* in line 7) and followed by that of his daughters. It is better to read *bhaginī* in line 5.—Ed.]



No. 38—MODASA PLATE OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V. S. 1067

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACANUND

(Received on 12. 6. 1958)

A set of photographs of the inscription published here was received from Pandit Purani Utsavalal of **Mōḍāsā**, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Sabarkantha District in the Gujarat area of the Bombay State, through Dr. M. R. Mazumdar of Baroda.<sup>1</sup> The locality was formerly in the Prantij Taluk of the Ahmedabad District. The Pandit's interest was aroused by the mention of the geographical names *Mōhadavāsāna* and *Sayampāja* in the record since he could easily identify them respectively with the present *Mōḍāsā* and the village of *Sinvāḍa* in the *Mōḍāsā* Taluk. Unfortunately the original plates were not available for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, though the inscription is decipherable from the set of photographs referred to above. Considering the welcome light the record throws on the history of the Paramāras of Malwa, it is edited in the following pages.

The inscription is stated to be incised on both sides of a single plate measuring about 9 inches in length and about 6 inches in height. There is a hole in its upper margin; but no ring or seal was available. There are in all 21 lines of writing in the inscription, 15 on the first side and 6 on the second. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory. The weight of the plate is not known.

The inscription is written in *Nāgarī* characters of about the eleventh century A. D. They are rather carelessly engraved and cannot be compared with the beautifully incised letters of the inscriptions of the Paramāras such as the *Gāonri* plates of *Muṣṣja*, dated V. S. 1038 and 1043.<sup>2</sup> They may, however, be compared with those of *Bhōja's* *Beṭmā* plates<sup>3</sup> of V. S. 1076; the characters of which are not as beautiful as those of the *Gāonri* plates but are nevertheless much more carefully engraved than those of our epigraph. It may be remembered in this connection that the present charter is not an Imperial Paramāra record.

An interesting feature of the **palaeography** of our epigraph is the incomplete formation of the letter *ḍ* (without its vertical right limb) in a large number of cases; cf. *ḍaṣi* in line 2, *vāḍaka* (for *vāḍaka*) in line 6, *ḍeṇṭā* in line 7, *Sayana* in lines 8 and 9, *ḍu* (for *ḍu*) in lines 12 and 14, etc. Medial *ḍ* has been written both as *prishṭha-mūlā* and as *śirṣa-mūlā*. In some cases, the *śirṣa-mūlā* type of medial *ḍ* has its top curved towards the right; cf. *paramāvara* (for *paramāvara*) in line 3, *maṇḍalā* in line 6, etc. See also the medial signs of *ai* and *ā* in *āśāna* *Vallo* in line 7. *B* has been written by the sign for *v*. The letter *jā*, rarely found in early inscriptions, is once used in a personal name in line 15.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are many grammatical and orthographical errors in the text. The record is entirely written in prose, there being not even the usual *hastaka* or *paramāvara* four times in lines 3-6 and *ḍaṣi* for *vāḍa* in lines 12, 14, 18 and 20 besides other errors of spelling. There are many cases of the redundant use of a *daṇḍa*, while sometimes it is placed quite close to a letter so as to look like an *ā-mūlā*.

<sup>1</sup> See *A. R. Ep.* 1957-58, No. A 33. See also H. G. Shastri's article on the epigraph in *IAI*, Vol. V, 1946, Supplement, pp. 37-40.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 108 ff., and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 220 ff., and Plates.



The date of the charter is quoted in lines 1-2, both in words and in figures, as **Sunday, the first of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in the year 1067** [of the V. S. which was Kārttikādi]. This date corresponds regularly to the 6th May, 1011 A.D.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the date discussed above. Then it introduces (lines 2-6) the *rājya* of the illustrious *Paramahattāka Mahārājā-kīrāja Paramēśvara Bhōjadēva* who meditated on the feet of (or, was favoured by) *P. M. P. Sindharājadēva*. King Sindharāja is similarly stated to have succeeded *P. M. P. Vāpatirājadēva* who is likewise described as the successor of *P. M. P. Siyadēva*. It is difficult to say whether the expression *Bhōjadēva-rājyē* used in the text means 'during the sovereignty of Bhōjadēva' or 'in the kingdom of Bhōjadēva', since both interpretations would suit the context. But the word *rājya* is generally used in the sense of 'sovereignty' in such contexts in epigraphic records. Lines 6-7 introduce a subordinate ruler named *Vatsarāja* who was apparently ruling over *Mōhadavāsaka* or the *Arddhāṣṭama maṇḍala* in it and is described as *bhōtkāra-mahārājaputra*. In the signature of the ruler copied in line 20, his name is written as *Vachcharāja*. There is no doubt that *Mōhadavāsaka* mentioned in our inscription is identical with the *Mōhadavāsaka viśaya* known from the Harolā plates<sup>1</sup> of *Paramāra Siyaka*, dated V. S. 1005.

The expression *bhōtkāra-mahārājaputra* may be a mistake for *bhōtkī-mahārājaputra*. In that case, *Vatsarāja* is called *Mahārājaputra* probably because he was an as yet unknown son of the *Paramāra* king *Bhōja*, although the possibility of *Vatsarāja* having been the son of some other ruling chief is not precluded. The word *bhōtkī* would suggest that *Mōhadavāsaka* or a part of it lay within the *het* under *Vatsarāja*'s possession. This interpretation is quite probable in view of the passage: *Kīrtanadēva-rājyē vartamānab(h) nī-Kīrtipādādēva-putra(h) Sināgata-bhōtkī-(kīr)-rājaputra-Lakṣa(h)maṇḍala(r)-rājaputra-A(ṭṭ)-A(bhaya)pāla(h)* occurring in a record of the *Chāhamūnas* of *Naṭāla*.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise the passage *bhōtkāra-mahārājaputra* would have to be taken to mean that *Paramāra Bhōja*'s feudatory *Vatsarāja* ruling over the whole or a part of the *Mōhadavāsaka* district was the son of a chief named *Bhōtkāra-mahārāja*. But this is less likely.

Lines 7 ff. record the grant of two *hala* measures of land in *Śayanapāṭa-grāma* made by *Vatsarāja* probably in favour of a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Dēddā* who is described as *Vallōṭakīya* and *Chaturjātakīya*. *Śayanapāṭa-grāma* was situated in *Arddhāṣṭama-maṇḍala* lying within the *Mōhadavāsaka* district, mentioned above. Lines 11-12 give the *Brāhmaṇa*'s name as *Dēddāka* who seems to be further described as belonging to a family pertaining to the *Upānasya gōtra* and hailing from *Harahapura* and as the son of *Gōpādītya*. The *Upānasya gōtra* is not found in early Indian literature and it is difficult to determine whether it is a mistake for *Apamanyava*. The expression *Vallōṭakīya* in the *Brāhmaṇa*'s description suggests that he was either the inhabitant of a locality called *Valiōṭaka* or belonged to a community of *Brāhmaṇas* known as *Vallōṭaka*. The same word also occurs in line 13 as an epithet of certain other *Brāhmaṇas*. The epithet *Chaturjātakīya* (lines 7 and 12) applied to the donee apparently means a member of the *Chaturjātaka* of the *Čitra prakāśī*,<sup>3</sup> which was no doubt an administrative board of four like the *Čauvāṭā* of *Rajasthan* (cf. *Pañcāṭaka* or *Pañchāyat* which was a similar board of five administrators).

The language of the grant portion of the record discussed above is defective and may also indicate that it was the *Brāhmaṇa* *Dēddā* or *Dēddāka* who was the donor of the grant and that *Vatsarāja* merely ratified the transaction. If such was the case, the donee was the son of *Gōpādītya*; but his personal name is not mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 230 ff. and Plates.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 49, text lines 3-5; cf. *ibid.*, p. 5, text lines 2-3, where the same prince is described as *Samādāya-Adādi*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 741 ff.; A. K. Majumdar, *Chandragupta of Gujarat*, pp. 250-51.



Lines 9-10 describe the gift land as producing such crops as *kōdrava* (a species of grain eaten by the poor people), *tala* (sesame), *mūlga* (a kind of pulse), *vrīhi* (paddy) and *kaṣikā* (cumin seed) while lines 10-11 state that the land was given together with a house, a threshing floor, and a quantity of paddy apparently stored there, no doubt in the village of Sayanapāṭa.

Lines 13-15 give the names of the *pārśvika*s [of the gift land]. By the word *pārśvika* was apparently meant persons owning lands in the neighbourhood of the two *kala* measures granted to the donee in the village of Sayanapāṭa. The list of the *pārśvika*s includes the names of the following persons: *Itigāthyakṣa* (probably, 'a judge') *Vidita*; the Brāhmaṇas *Tāta*, *Nāta* and *Pāhlya* who were residents of Vallōṭaka or members of the Vallōṭaka community; the Brāhmaṇa *Gōvarddhana* as also *Kōṭāditya*; *Ṭhakura Rāṇaka*, son of *Dantivarman*; and the *Pottakāla* (i.e. *Pajāl*) *Jhambāka* as well as *Lallāka* and *Gōggaka*.

A similar list of witnesses is found in lines 15-19 and it is stated that the charter was engraved in their presence. This list includes the following names: *Ṭhakura Kōṭavāditya* described as the 'lord of the *Saṁkassakas*'; *Tāmpālīka* and the *Mihara* (village headman) *Vallabharāja*; the *Śrēṣṭhīn* *Jānṇi* and *Bhabha*, both sons of *Kapaṣṭi*; *Vōivāla* (*Valvasvāta* ?), *Gūḍhayati* and *Saṁgēma* (possibly *Saṁgama*); and *Ṭhakura Chundrika*, son of *Kōllā* or *Killa*. The real meaning of *Saṁkassaka* used in this section is difficult to determine. Possibly it is the name of a tribe or community and does not stand for *samśrīṣṭaka*, meaning 'an agriculturist', since 'a lord of the cultivators' is difficult to think of.

Lines 19-20 state that the document was written by the scribe *Chhadḍaka* who was the son of *Annaka*. A copy of the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates under study is found in line 20. But, as already indicated above, the name is given here in the Prakrit form of *Vachchharāja* instead of *Vataarāja* as found in line 7. The document ends with a *maṅgala* in line 21.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, *Vataarāja* mentioned in it is not known from any other source. Secondly, it is the earliest inscription referring to the reign of the great Paramāra king *Bhōja*. Thirdly, it speaks of *Bhōja*'s rule over parts of the Sabarkantha-Ahmedabad region, not far from *Anahilapātaka*, the capital of the contemporary kings of the Chālukya or Solanki dynasty of Gujarat.

The tradition recorded by *Mērutuṅga*<sup>1</sup> and others that *Paramāra Vākpati Muṇja*, also called *Utpala*, was succeeded not by his younger brother *Sindhurāja* but by the latter's son *Bhōja* is contradicted by *Padmānugupta*'s *Navasāhasāṭakachūriṭa*<sup>2</sup> as well as by epigraphic evidence. Like the records of the Imperial *Paramāras*, our inscription, issued by a subordinate ruler, applies imperial titles to *Sindhurāja* and represents him as the successor of *Vākpati* and the predecessor of *Bhōja*. According to *Mērutuṅga*,<sup>3</sup> *Vākpati Muṇja*, while he was leading an expedition against the Chālukyas, was defeated in a battle and captured by the Chālukya king *Taila II* who put him to death at a later date. The Chikkerur (Dharwar District) inscription<sup>4</sup> of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* *Āhavamalla* (i.e. *Satyāśraya*, son of *Taila II*), dated Śaka 917, *Jaya*, *Phālguna*-sudi 15, Saturday (possibly February 18, 959 A.D.), states that he was just then moving towards the north for fighting against *Utpala* (i.e. *Paramāra Vākpati Muṇja*). This not only shows that the *Paramāra* king was captured sometime after February 955 A.D. but seems also to suggest that he was already in the Chālukya territory in the course of his fatal expedition. It appears that the Chālukya crown-prince's movement from

<sup>1</sup> *Prabandhaśāhīnī*, Tawney's trans., pp. 31-32, 36.

<sup>2</sup> XI, 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 33-36.

<sup>4</sup> Above, pp. 121 ff. The inscription of course states that *Āhavamalla* proceeded against *Utpala* in connection with his northern *dis-sujaya* after having subdued his enemies in the south. But the fact cannot be ignored that its date is too near that of the *Paramāra* king's southern expedition. The inscription shows that *Āhavamalla* *Satyāśraya* was then his father's governor in the Dharwar region and that he was under orders of transfer.



the southern part of his father's empire towards the north was part of a scheme of general mobilisation of the fighting strength and resources of Taila II for the defence of the northern regions of his dominions which had been invaded by the Paramāra monarch. Since Mañja was killed some time before the death of Taila II in 997 A.D., it further appears that, from the date of his departure on his last expedition against the territory of the Chālukya king about the beginning of 995 A.D., Sindhurāja was ruling the Paramāra kingdom, first as his brother's representative and then (after Mañja's capture or death) as the latter's successor. The beginning of Sindhurāja's rule may thus be assigned to about the commencement of 995 A.D.

The duration of the rule of Sindhurāja and the date of the accession of his son Bhōja cannot be determined. Some scholars have suggested that Bhōja ascended the throne about 1005 A.D., while others have placed his accession to about 1010 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But there is a definite tradition in the *Prabandhaśaṅkṛānti* and the *Bhōjayrabandha* recording the duration of Bhōja's reign and there is hardly any reason why it should not be accepted as genuine. According to this tradition, Bhōja ruled for 56 years, 7 months and 3 days.<sup>2</sup> While the earliest known date of Bhōja's son and successor Jayasimha is V. S. 1112, Āshāḍha-vadi 13 (probably the 13th June, 1036 A.D.) when his Mandhata plates<sup>3</sup> were issued, the *Chintāmaṇisūrayikā*, composed by Daśabala at Bhōja's court apparently in Śaka 977 (1055-56 A.D.),<sup>4</sup> seems to offer the latest date for the reign of Bhōja. Thus Bhōja seems to have ruled from the middle of 1000 A.D. to the end of 1055 A.D. His father Sindhurāja therefore ruled for about five years between 995 and 1000 A.D. The fantastic stories of Sindhurāja's exploits given in the *Narasāhasāṅkharita* (the date of the composition of which is doubtful although it is sometimes believed to be 1005 A.D.) can scarcely be regarded as an evidence in favour of assigning a longer reign to Sindhurāja.<sup>5</sup>

No inscription of Paramāra Sindhurāja has as yet been discovered; but we have a number of dates for the reign of his son and successor Bhōja. Besides the *Chintāmaṇisūrayikā* composed at Bhōja's court in Śaka 977 (1055-56 A.D.) and referred to above, the *Rājyaṛgāśākakavya*, ascribed to Bhōja, was composed in Śaka 994 (1042-43 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> Bhōja's copper-plate grants discovered so far offer the following dates: (1) Banewāra plates<sup>7</sup> issued on Māgha-sudi 5, V. S. 1076 (probably January 3, 1020 A.D.); (2) Betmā plates<sup>8</sup> issued on Bhādrapada-sudi 15, V. S. 1076 (probably September 4, 1020 A.D.); (3) Ujjain plates<sup>9</sup> granted on Sunday, Māgha-vadi 3, V. S. 1078 (probably 24th December, 1021 A.D.) and issued on Chaitra-sudi 14 of the same year (probably March 19, 1022 A.D.); and (4) Depālpur plates<sup>10</sup> issued on Chaitra-sudi 14, V. S. 1079 (probably March 9, 1023 A.D.). Besides these, there are (1) the British Museum Sarasvatī image inscription<sup>11</sup> of the reign of Bhōja, dated V. S. 1091 (1034-35 A.D.); (2) the Tilakwādā plates<sup>12</sup> issued by Bhōja's feudatory Yaśōrāja of Saṅgamakhōṭa-manḍala on the occasion of the Sōma-parvan on Monday in the

<sup>1</sup> See Bühler, *Pāṇinīyashāstra*, Introd., p. 9; above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bhōjayrabandha*, ed. Vasudev Panikkar, p. 2: *Pañcāśānti-pāñcha varshāni sapta-māsa-dvaya-trayaṃ | Bhōjariyama bhōjariyama sa-tiandā Parāśara-paṭha*. See also *Prabandhaśaṅkṛānti*, ed. Durgashankar Kavalim Shastri, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. II, p. 48; Bhandarkar's List, No. 132. Bühler assigned Bhōja's death to a date after 1002 A.D. on inadequate evidence.

<sup>4</sup> See JOR, Vol. XIX, Part II, 1932, Supplement.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33; cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 220 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *J. Ind. Asi.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53 f.; Vol. XIX, p. 361.

<sup>10</sup> *JHQ*, Vol. VIII, pp. 305 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 126.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 128.



month of Mṛga, V. S. 1103 (possibly November 17, 1046 A.D.); and (3) the Kalvan plates<sup>1</sup> issued by another of the Paramāra king's feudatories, named Yaśōvarman, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Chaitra-vadi 15 (March 17, 1048 A.D.). It will be seen that the earliest date for Bhōja supplied by these records is Māgha-sudi 5, V.S. 1076—January 3, 1020 A.D., although we know that he ascended the throne earlier since Chālukya Jayasīma II claims to have defeated him by Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The present epigraph issued on Sunday, Jyēsthā-sudi 1, V. S. 1067=May 6, 1011 A.D., is nearly nine years earlier than the earliest of Bhōja's inscriptions so far published.

The inclusion of the Sabarkantha-Ahmadabad region in the dominions of Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1000-55 A.D.) is an interesting information supplied by the record under study. So far the said area was known to have formed a part of the kingdom of Bhōja's grandfather Siyaka (c. 948-74 A.D.). Our inscription suggests that, in spite of the foundation of the Chaulukya power at Aṇahilapāṭaka by Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.), the region continued to be under the rule of Siyaka's successors. It is interesting to note in this connection that the inscriptions of Mūlarāja and his immediate successors do not mention any place to the east of the upper course of the Sabarmatī river, which was probably the eastern boundary of the Chaulukya kingdom during the period in question.<sup>3</sup>

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are : (1) the district of Mōhaḍavāsaka ; (2) the sub-division of Ardhāhṭanna-maṇḍala (literally, 'the sub-division of 7½ [villages]') in the above district ; (3) Śayanapāṭa-grāma in the above maṇḍala ; and (4) Harshapura. Whether Vallḍṭaka was the name of a locality near Śayanapāṭa cannot be determined. Of these, the location of Mōhaḍavāsaka and Śayanapāṭa-grāma has been indicated above. The identification of Harshapura, whence the donee's family hailed, is uncertain. It may be modern Harsōlā in the Prantīj Taluk formerly of the Ahmadabad District but now of the Sabarkantha District, though the name also reminds us of the place of the same name mentioned in the Harsandā (old Harshapura in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh) inscription<sup>4</sup> of Paramāra Bēvapāla, dated V. S. 1275 (1218 A.D.).

### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

#### *Obverse*

1 Siddham<sup>6</sup> | Samvatsara-śatēshu daśaśu(su) saptaśaptīya(ṣṭīya-a)dhikāpna(śhu)  
Jyēsthā-śukla-patka(kṛhā)-pratipa-

2 dāyāra Samvat 1067 Jyēsthā(ṣṭīya)-[śu]di 1 Ravāv-ady-āha samanta-vṛtī(bṛī)kad-  
rāj-āval-

3 pra(pū)rvvaṇ(rvva)-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Siyakadēva-  
padanulhyata'-pa-

4 ramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Vākpatira(rā)jadāva-pād-ānudhya-  
(dhyā)ta-paramabhaṭṭā-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff. B. D. Banerji's views (*ibid.*, p. 70) that the issue of the grant by a feudatory indicated the decline of Paramāra power and that the charter was issued during the troubled days after Bhōja's death are unconvincing.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. I, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Ujjain*, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 316 ff.

<sup>5</sup> From a set of photographs.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by symbol. The following mark of punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pād-ānudhyāta*.



[illegible]



[illegible]



- 5 nana-ma[ra(nā)]rāja(jā)dhīrāja<sup>1</sup>-paramēśva(śva)ra-śi<sup>2</sup> **Sirīdhurājadēva** ja(pā)l-ānandīya(dhīyā)  
ta-paramābhaṭṭāraka-ma-
- 6 ha(hā)rāja(jā)dhīrāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-śi<sup>2</sup> **Bhōjadēva-rā**jyē śi<sup>2</sup>-**Mōhadavā[śa(sa)]k-**  
**Ārdhāshṭama-mamḍalē**
- 7 bhōtkāra<sup>3</sup> mahārājaputra-śi<sup>2</sup>-**Vatsarāja**ō(ja) ilu aiva Vallōjakīya-chāturjātakiya<sup>4</sup>-[ś]rut-ādhyā-
- 8 yana-sa[mh\*]āra(mā)-pravarā-Vrā(Brā)hmanya-Dērdhīśya<sup>5</sup> | **[Śa]yanapāṭa-grāmē** pradatta-  
hala-dva-
- 9 ya-bhūmī-sā(sū)sanatī prayachchayaty<sup>6</sup>-dvayā yathā | **[Śa]yanapāṭa-grāmē** kōḍrava-  
tila-[\* mu]ḍga-[\*]
- 10 vīthi-[\* kanti(gi)k-ādi-(ksh)ṭṭra-bhūmī
- 11 dhānya-samōṭā asya Vrā(Brā)hmanasya **Harahapura**-emīrggatāya Ujāinasya<sup>7</sup>-sagōttrāya [\*
- 12 Gōpādītya-[śu(su)]tāya [\* chāturjātakiya-śi(vi)ra-Dēddākaśya<sup>8</sup> dharmā(rma)-bōtavō  
sā(śā)nan-āka(hā)rāṇa prada-
- 13 itā | bhūmī-pārasikā<sup>9</sup> lakhyatā<sup>10</sup> | [\* rājādīya(kōṣa)-Vidita(h\*) | Va[llo]jakīyā Vrā(Brā)-  
hmanā(h\*) Tāta(h\*) Nāra(h\*) [\*
- 14 tā(ta)thā [\* Pāhīya(h\*) | Vrā(Brā)hmana-Gōvarīdīhama(h\*) | Kōla(lā)ḍītya(h\*) | Dar-  
tīvarma-ś[śu]pāṭa- [\* bhakura- [\* Rāṇaka(h\*) pa[ti]ta-
- 15 kīla-[\* Jhāmavā(mā)ka-[\* Laḍāka-[\* Gōggaka-ādhīhī | parisakatvā<sup>11</sup> bhūmī datitā<sup>12</sup> |

Repete

- 16 sā[kṣhī]gōḷ(gō)lī(hī)khyantē || tratrā<sup>13</sup> || Saṅkasaśānām=adhipati- [\* bhakura-Kōśavādītya-  
[h\*)
- 17 tathā Tāmpāḷka(h\*) | mōhama Vallōdhārājā | Kapashī(hī)śrī-anta-śrēś(hī)hī-Jāndī(h\*)

<sup>1</sup> The *dhāra* ja is written below the line.

<sup>2</sup> As indicated above, this may be either a mistake for śādītya or, less probably, the personal name of Vatsarāja's father.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the expression *chāturjātakiya-vijaya* in line 12 below.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Dērdhīśya*; but, as indicated above, it is difficult to determine whether Dērdhī was the donee or the real donor of the grant which was ratified by Vatsarāja probably with Bhōja's permission. The name of the Brāhmana is written as *Dēddāka* in line 12 below.

<sup>5</sup> Read *prayachchayaty*.

<sup>6</sup> The *dvayā* is redundant.

<sup>7</sup> Read *\*śpāṭa-asāgūtā*.

<sup>8</sup> This may be a mistake for *Aspāṭasāgūtā*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Dēddāka*; but, as indicated above, it is difficult to say whether Dēddāka was the donee or the donor of the grant in favour of the son of Gōpādītya. The name of the Brāhmana is written as *Dēddā* in line 8 above.

<sup>10</sup> Read *patirikā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *līkhyantē*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *\*dātulā pārasikatā*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *dattatī*.

<sup>14</sup> Better read *yathā*.



- 18 Kapashēḥi(shtī)-śu(su)ta-Bhahha[h\*] | idhā Vēiva[ā]u[h\*]<sup>1</sup> Gu(Gū)dhayab[h\*]. Saṅgāmā<sup>2</sup>  
Kil[i]jā<sup>3</sup>-śu(su)ta-<sup>4</sup> thaku-
- 19 ra-<sup>5</sup> Chaṇi[r]ik-āḍi<sup>6</sup>-samasā-jana-pratyakṣa[m\*] sūsanāḥ samukṛitāḥ<sup>7</sup> || likhitaḥ
- 20 chētata<sup>8</sup> likhya(lēkha)ka-<sup>9</sup> Annaka-śu(su)ta-Chchhadakēna ||<sup>10</sup> iti || śrī-Cha(Va)chchha-  
(tsa)rājasya<sup>11</sup> [i\*]
- 21 maṅgalatṛ mahā-śrī[h\*] [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say whether the intended name is Vāśuvata. The intended reading may also be Vāśu-rata.

<sup>2</sup> The intended reading may be Saṅgamaḥ |

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading may be Kilā followed by an unnecessary *daḍa*.

<sup>4</sup> The *daḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Chandrika ity-āḍi*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *amulāram*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śi-mat*.

<sup>8</sup> The *daḍa* is redundant. *Sandā* has not been observed here.

<sup>9</sup> The *daḍas* are superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> This represents the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates. Note that the name of the donor is written as Vatsarāja in line 7 above.

<sup>11</sup> There are two spiral symbols here between the double *daḍas*.



No. 39—KANCHIPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ACHYUTARAYA,  
SAKA 1453

K. G. KRISHNAN AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7. 12. 1957)

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the east wall of the old Sabhānāyaka shrine in the Ēkāmrānātha temple at Kāñchīpuram in the Chingleput District, Madras. The inscription contains two parts, one in Sanskrit engraved in Grantha characters and the other, which is incomplete, in Tamil in the Tamil script mixed with Grantha. The Sanskrit portion is couched in verses in *Anuṣṭubh* intercepted by a prose passage which has also been numbered along with the rest. There is nothing particular to note regarding palaeography or orthography. The inscription is important from the point of view of literary history as it throws light on the authorship and date of four literary compositions in Sanskrit.

The epigraph is dated in the reign of Achyutarāya of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and the details of the date, viz., Śaka 1453,<sup>2</sup> Khara, Kumbha śu. 3, Rāvati, Friday, correspond to 1532 A.D., February 8, the nakṣatra being current till 34 of the following day.

The epigraph commences with two stanzas invoking respectively the gods Viṣṇuśvara and Śiva. Then it introduces king Achyuta of the Tuluva dynasty, whose greatness is described at length and who is described as the son of Narasa. The king's commander-in-chief Sajaka Tirumala is described next as the lord of Ōṇḍāga-maṇḍala. It is stated that he defeated the Pāṇḍya and Kōṛala kings and acquired sovereignty over them. This Tirumala is then stated to have installed Bhōgarāja, son of Timmarāja of the solar race, as governor at Kāñchī. Then the record proceeds to narrate an important event that happened during the governorship of Bhōgarāja at Kāñchī. Bhōgarāja worshipped Lord Ēkāmrānātha and summoned an assembly of learned Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, Māhātmyas and temple officials before the god Ēkāmrāśvara. Two other persons, one described as Rāmachandra's brother and the other as Nārāyaṇa, were also present. On that occasion, the assembly listened to four literary works in Sanskrit composed by Śrinivāsa, viz. *Śimabhaktivillāsa* (stated to have been an account of the lives of the 63 Śaiva devotees), *Charaṇāṇḍīstara*, *Bhōgāvali* and *Nāṇḍavali*. Śrinivāsa, the author of these works, is represented as the son of Śītārāma of the Bharadvāja gōtra and as a resident of Chōyārūr. He is also stated to have been well-versed in the Sāmaveda and to have performed the Vājapēya sacrifice acquiring thereby the singular privilege of carrying the white umbrella.<sup>3</sup> In appreciation of the compositions mentioned above, the *sabha* is said to have made presents of ornaments and clothes to the poet and to have also arranged for the poet's permanent residence at Kāñchī by purchasing a house for him. The house stood on a site, 40' wide<sup>4</sup>, in the northern part of the eastern row of houses in Nallakampa-vīthi to the south of the outer *prākāra* of the Ēkāmrānātha temple. The poet also received a *hīnamāna* of rice daily and five *bhāvas* of grains and five *poṇas* per month, to be enjoyed hereditarily. It was further enjoined upon the members of the *sabha* to see that this gift continues uninterruptedly. The Tamil portion, which is unfinished, refers to the above four works, to the assembly and to Bhōgarāyadāva-mahārāja, the *karṭta* of the place.

<sup>1</sup> A. E. Sp., 1955-56, App. B, No. 274.

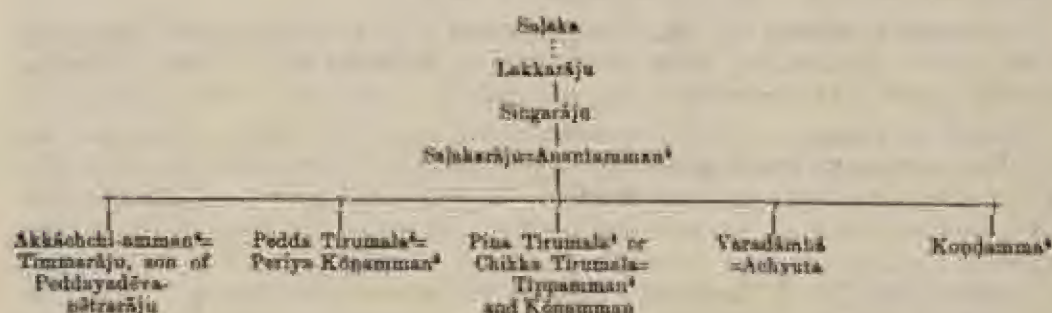
<sup>2</sup> The Śaka year is obtained from the chronogram *Śakāvat. 1453* which is apparently a mistake for *Lakṣmī. 1453* because the latter form, besides being more sensible, agrees with the cyclic year Khara which corresponds to Śaka 1453. The chronogram is based on the *Kotapogōḍi* system.

<sup>3</sup> That the persons who performed the Vājapēya sacrifice were entitled to hold the white umbrella as an honour is indicated by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa*, Canto 45, verses 22-23, and Gōvindaśa's commentary thereon.

<sup>4</sup> The length of the site is stated to have been the same as that of the adjoining house.



Salaka's son Tirumala, described in the record as Achyuta's commandar-in-chief, is the well-known brother-in-law of the king. Tirumala is described as the lord of Ōndāpa-maṇḍala. Ōndāpa is unknown to us as the name of a territory. But, among the numerous inscriptions referring to this chief, two, one from Gūḍūr<sup>1</sup> in the Nellore District and the other from Vēmulūrupāḍu<sup>2</sup> in the Guntur District, mention *Ōndāpamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa* as one of his titles, meaning perhaps the chief of the *maṇḍalika*s each of whom had an elephant. It does not seem to refer to any *maṇḍala* Ōndāpa by name, as our epigraph would make us believe. It is possible that the composer of our record arrived at this form in his attempt to transliterate this *biruda* of Salaka Tirumala without knowing its significance. But there is no doubt that this Tirumala is identical with Pedda Tirumala whose genealogy, as gathered from the Vēmulūrupāḍu inscription and some other inscriptions, from Srīraṅgaṇa, may be recorded here.



Bhōgarāja, installed as *karttar* at Kāñchi, is called Bhōgayalēva-mahārāja in the Tamil section of the record. Some inscriptions<sup>3</sup> from the North Arcot and South Arcot Districts mention a Bhōgayalēva-mahārāja always in association with Salakarāja Tirumala. One of them<sup>4</sup> from Tirupparaṅḡāḍu states that, when Tirumalayalēva-mahārāja was camping at Kāñchi in the month of Makara in Śaka 1453, Khara, after having captured Vira-Narasimharāya-nāyakkar, Bhōgayalēva-mahārāja enquired at his instance into a complaint lodged by the authorities of the temple at Tirupparaṅḡāḍu against the misappropriation of 50 *paṇ* of *jōḍi* by the captured chief. The amount is stated to have been formerly remitted by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Narasimharāya-nāyakkar withheld the amount even after a reminder from Sāḷuva Timmayar. Bhōgayalēva

<sup>1</sup> *Ins.Nel. Dist.*, Part I, Gūḍūr, No. 108. The text given there reads *Ōndāpa-maṇḍa*. A Tamil inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1919, No. 576) from Kāñchi-nūcam gives this expression as *Ōndāpai-maṇḍa*.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1909, No. 344.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1932-39, No. 70.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1950-51, No. 318; cf. also Nos. 323-24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1932-39, No. 9; 1950-51, No. 340.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1924, No. 179.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1906, Nos. 174, 175 and 253; 1921, No. 356; 1939-40, No. 266.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1907, Part 6, para. 60.



recovered this amount. In another inscription<sup>1</sup> from Elavānāśūr, a Bhōgayadēva is referred to as the son of Tippayadēva-mahārāja who is described as *Chōla-kula-tilaka* and *Upaiyūr-puravar-ādihīvara* and stated to have served Tirumalayadēva-mahārāja. Bhōgayadēva is mentioned in our record as the son of Timmarāja and as having belonged to the Sūrya-varma. If *Timma* and *Tippa* can be regarded as variants of the same name, Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja of the present record would be identical with his namesake mentioned in the Tirappapaṅgādu and Elavānāśūr inscriptions.

The theme of Śrinivāsa's *Śivabhaktivilāsa*, stated to be a *kāvya* dealing with the lives of the 63 devotees of Śiva, is the same as that of the fine Tamil poetical work entitled *Periyapurāṇam* also known as *Tiruttanḍarperāṇam* composed by Śākkijār in the first half of the 12th century. *Śivabhaktivilāsa* has been noticed in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.<sup>2</sup> *Charaṇādīstava*, called *Pādādīkṣastava* in the Tamil portion, is evidently the same as *Ēkāmaṇḍastava* noticed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*.<sup>3</sup> The works are assigned by Aufrecht to Śrinivāsa-dīkṣita who is no doubt identical with Śrinivāsa-yajvan of our record, the titles *yajvan* and *dīkṣita* being synonymous. *Charaṇādīstava* was no doubt a description of the god commencing from his sacred feet and ending with the glory of his crown or the head. It is sometimes composed also in the reverse order. It appears that both the types were chosen to describe a god while the latter was employed only to describe a man. The other two works *Bhōgūrali*<sup>4</sup> and *Nāmaṇḍali* are evidently names of two types of compositions. Apparently they too were compositions on *Ēkāmaṇḍa*. The munificence of the gifts made to the poet is sufficient indication of the patronage that men of letters enjoyed during the period in question.

Chayarūr, the native place of the poet, cannot be identified due to want of further details.

#### TEXT\*

- 1 śubham-astu ||\*| Vām-āṅk-ārūḍha-vāmākṣī-vakṣhōj-āakta-ṇa-
- 2 śikaram | vārayaṁ viḥva-tamasāṁ Vāraṇāsyam-upāsmahō ||1|\*| Kāmā-
- 3 kṣi-tuṅga-vakṣhōja-kankṣa-āṅkita-vakṣasam\* | ślayē sthi-
- 4 tam-Ēkāma-mūle Bālśuḍaśekhara'm | 2|\*| Yasy-ājñāśā sarva-
- 5 bhūpālā vahantō nija-mūrdhasthū | nīrājayanti kōṭṭa-ratna-di-
- 6 ṇaiḥ pad-ā[m\*]hojāta | 3 | \*| Na[ta]-mūrdhha-pad-āṅguṣṭha-nakḥ-āgra-kṛita-randhrataḥ |  
yat-pratāp-śaśi-
- 7 jvalā-jālair-ut-erppibhiḥ-muhuh | 4 | Brahmāṇḍam makha-nikṣipta-nava-palla[va\*]-saṁ-
- 8 hatōḥ | suvarṇa-pūṇa-kumbhāsa vibhramatī vahatī sphuṭam | 5|\*| [Na]-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 1906, No. 174.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 670.

<sup>3</sup> See ib.

<sup>4</sup> For the nature of this composition, see *Pratāparudhīya* (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. LXV), Kāya-prakaraṇa, p. 98.

\* From the original and inked impressions.

\* Cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Ārjatasakam*, verse 15.

\* Tamil is used here.



- 9 [a-Nābhāga-Nahuha-Nṛiga-Rāma-mukhān nṛipān | atisṛṣṭe pavitrēṣa charitē(izē)ṣa  
 10 nijēna yal | 6 | Asan Narasa-bhūpāla-tanayō vinay-ōjva(jjva)lāḥ | Achyutēndra-  
 11 mahārāya-nāmā śmā su-vartmanām | 7 | Yadā bhujēna Bhōgēndra-bhōga-ka-  
 12 lpeṇa sat-prahluḥ | vahaty-aśṣha-vasudhā-valayash valayash yathā | 8 | Tadā tasya chamū-  
 nāthas-sarva-sāmā-  
 13 [ya-dhūr-vahāḥ | Ōudāṣa-maṇḍal-ādhitās-Saṣaka-keṇaśpa-bhūr-abbūt | 9 | Yal Pāṇḍya-  
 Kēraḷa(ā)dhīman(ān) parā-  
 14 jitya tataḥ karam | karan-tat-prithivī-rājya-lakṣmīyā iva tad-āgrahit | 10 | Asan Tirumala-  
 keṇaśpa-ta-  
 15 sy-āptam prāpta-tōjasaṁ | Sūryya-vaśā-ābdhi-kāśānam Surēndra-sama-vikramam | 11 | Ti-  
 mmarāja-bha-  
 16 [va]m Bhōgarājām Kāśhyān-ayavōṣayāt | sa tatra kātayaṁ pūjām-Śikharōṣaṣya  
 bhūyasām | 12 |  
 17 Sakshinibhāgyāḥ Śakasy-ābdā Khar-ābdā Kumbha-gō Ravau | sita-pakṣhā  
 tṛitīyāyām  
 18 Rōvatyā(rā\*) vāsarō Bhṛigōḥ | 13 | Praṇamy-Aikāntaramaṇan-basy-āgrā samupāvidat |  
 Rī-  
 19 machandr-ānujanmā<sup>1</sup> Nā[rā\*]yaṇō<sup>2</sup> pi cha | 14 | Gautamā<sup>3</sup>-cha Bharadvāja(h\*) Kausīkā(h\*)  
 Kāśyapās-tathā | Aḡa-  
 20 tyāḥ-cha mahānmā(tmā)naś Śiva-dviṣa-kol-ōttamāḥ | 15<sup>4</sup> | Kulē ślō sad-āchārō tyāgō bhōgō  
 śamēdamē | prathitāḥ  
 21 kiścha(ū-cha) kṣālās-sakalāu kalāu cha | 16 | Mahāśvarāś-cha mahitāḥ | <sup>5</sup> karaṇās-cha  
 guḥ-ālayāḥ | [ \* ] ā-  
 22 [y]-Aikāntanāthasya purataś-tridaśā iva | 17 | Tadā tata(tō) Bharadvāja-Sita(tā)rāma-  
 ntaś-sudhīḥ | Vāspēy-ārjjita-ācēta-  
 23 [a(chchha)tra-maṇḍala-maṇḍitaḥ | 18 | Pada-vākya-pra(mā)ṇeshu Bharat-ādī-kalāu cha |  
 prathitāt-Chēyarūr-grāma-vāś

<sup>1</sup> See p. 199, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> After "jaṇmā" we have to read *cha* *brāhma* to suit the metre.

<sup>3</sup> The letters *śikṣ* are written below the line.

<sup>4</sup> The number 13 was originally engraved and later it appears to have been corrected into 15.

<sup>5</sup> This *darṣa* was wrongly engraved here instead of at the end of this hemistich.

<sup>6</sup> The sign for medial *ai* is engraved at the end of the previous line.



- 24 Bām-āb̄dhi-pāragah | [19]\* Śrīnivāsā-Śivasy-ājñā(jñā)-vaśata[h\*] svēna nirmmitam | tri-  
[sha\*]bh̄ji-bhaktā-chāritra-dyōtakam kāvyam-utta-
- 25 mām | 20 | Śivabha[kti]\*vilās-ākhyam-āśrāvayad-imām sabbām | Cha[ra]ḡāḡistavam Bhōgā-  
valin Nāmāvalin<sup>1</sup>-api | 21 | Etā-
- 26 n prahandhān-ākṛṣya santuṣṭās-(t)ē sabhāsadaḥ | prasannam Śivam-āla<sup>2</sup>\*kshya lakṣma-  
bh̄h̄ pūrva-sam(tam)aitaiḥ | 22 |
- 27 Praśa-sy-aitam kavim bhūṣhā-vastr-ādyaiḥ pratipūjya cha | kṛi(ka)lpayanti sma / ch-āvāsadh  
Kānchyām-ēv-āśya santatam | 2[3] | ]
- 28 'Ēkāmaranātha-bāhya-prākārād-dakṣiṇātō Nallakampa-vādhi(thi)-ār̄ch̄thi-rathyā-pūrva-  
śrōṇy-(u)ttara-prānta-sthi-
- 29 ta[n̄h\*] dakṣiṇ-ūtterataē-chatvāritāsat-pada-vistṛitam | prativēśa-grīha-prācharayāma<sup>3</sup>-sam-  
āyānam Ēkāmrē-
- 30 sēna ka(kṛa)ya-laladham ni[dh]y-ādy-aṣṭa-bhōga-sahitam-ōka-nikētanatō-ch-āsmō(smāi)  
Śrīnivāsa-
- 31 yajvanō dattavantaḥ | 26 | Ēkāmrēā-ālayāt prāpyam-amunā [ka]vin-ānv-aham |
- 32 Śiva-māna-mitam sālī-taṇḍulānān-cha māchayam | 27 | Māsē māsō tataḥ  
prāpya[n̄h\*]
- 33 viliḡḡām bhōra-paṣchakam | paṇānam paṣchakamam-api<sup>4</sup> prasādam Pārvatīpatēḥ |  
2[8] | ]
- 34 Etat-sarvvan-dvija[cy-ā\*]jya bhōjyam putr-ādikair-api | yath-ēṣṭa-viniyōg-ārham-ā-  
kalpāntam-akalpa-
- 35 yam | 29 | Śrīnivāsēna viduṣhā prāptam-Ēkāmrān[ā]yakāt | prasannād-ētaḡ-akhilam pāla-  
niyan-na-
- 36 rādhīpaiḥ | 30 | Mūhēśvarair-Mmahādēva-divy-ājñā-paripālakaiḥ | sthānakait-cha Śiva-
- 37 prīti-kartṛi-dharmm-ārttha-kām̄kṣhībhiḥ | 31 | Kāmākṣhī-ku[cha]-mudr-āthkas-Śaṅkaraḥ  
kimkarān-nijān | avyā-
- 38 ā-avyāja-kāruṇya-kallōlita-dṛig-añchalaḥ | 32 | Śobham<sup>5</sup>

\* Below *ti* there is another unnecessary letter looking like *thi*.

\* The word *Nāndatū* is written below the line.

\* The letter *la* is written below the line.

\* The passage running from this upto *dattavantaḥ* in line 31 is in prose; yet it is enumerated as though it is equal to three verses, thus carrying the number to 26.

\* Read *prachār-āpāna*. The vertical line of *cha* appears to have been projected downwards.

\* Read *paṣchakam-ak-āpi*.

There is a punctuation mark here consisting of two symbols resembling the Tamil figure 10 flanking a sign resembling the letter *o*.



39. Tiruvēkambam-ōḍaiya Nayinār Arupatti(ttu)mūvar-purāṇam Śaśakṛta-bā(hā)śaiyir(yiḷ)-  
chey-
40. ḍa Śivabhaktavilāsattaiyum<sup>1</sup> tammuḍaiya Bhōgāvali(liyai)yum<sup>2</sup> Nāmāvali(liyai)yum<sup>3</sup>  
Pātā(dā)dikāśastavamm<sup>4</sup>
41. ugandu tiru(ch\*)chevi-ch\*chātti aruḷuga(gai)yil i-kkōyil Tāṇattārum Māhāvararum  
eantōshi-
42. ttu sthulattukku kattar(ṛttar)-āma Bhōgayadēva-mahārājā<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letter *yim* is indicated by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> Read *stuvattaiyam*.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *ā* is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> The writing stops here abruptly.







Ujjayini and that one of these records mentions an early Aulikara king as having his capital at Daśapura, while, on the other hand, there is absolutely no evidence to show that the Aulikaras—earlier or later—had anything to do with Ujjayini.

Verse 2 of the fragmentary Mandasār inscription of Gauri reads as follows :

*Jitvā ripu-balam samkṣhā(khṣ)ṣaṁ ramyaṁ pura[m\*] daś-ādi . [ ]\**

...[na]ra-vyāghrē narēndr-Ādityavarddhanaḥ ||<sup>1</sup>

In my opinion, the damaged *akṣara* at the end of the first half of this stanza is certainly *kaṁ* while the word lost at the beginning of its second half, as I have suggested, may be restored as *pālayati* or *prahṣati*. The above restoration is supported by the style of epigraphic records including the Mandasār inscription of Bandhuvārman (verse 29) referred to above. There can be little doubt that the stanza represents Ādityavardhana, probably an Aulikara, as the ruler of Daśapura ; that is to say that he had his capital at Daśapura. Prof. Mirashi, it is interesting to note, admits that 'the name Daśapura appears [in the verse quoted above] in a fragmentary form', that Ādityavardhana is said to have 'done something to a town whose name contained the word *daśa* (probably Daśapura)', that 'as the name of Ādityavardhana is used in the locative case, the intended meaning seems to be that he was ruling at the time', and that the kings Ādityavardhana and Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana 'were connected in some way or other with Daśapura (Mandasār)'. In spite of all these admissions, however, he, strangely enough, comes to the conclusion that the said stanza 'gives no clear indication' as regards Ādityavardhana's relations with Daśapura. But, if it is admitted that the name of Daśapura occurs in the verse in the accusative along with that of Ādityavardhana in the nominative absolute, I do not see how Prof. Mirashi can easily escape, without resorting to unwarranted conjectures, from the natural conclusion that the king was ruling at the city in question.

It will be seen that, while in our opinion verse 2 of the fragmentary Mandasār inscription of Gauri apparently speaks of Daśapura as the capital of Ādityavardhana, it offers no indication on the point to Prof. Mirashi. It is, therefore, natural to expect that he has stronger grounds to show that Ujjayini, and not Daśapura, was the capital of Ādityavardhana as well as of Dravyavardhana and Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, all the three kings probably belonging to the same family. Unfortunately the two points Prof. Mirashi has raised as evidence in support of his theory do not appear to be convincing at all as both of them are based on misunderstanding.

The first point raised by Prof. Mirashi in this connection is based on the mention of *Mahārājadhīrāja* Dravyavardhana as an *Āvantika* or *Āvantika-nripa*, i.e. 'the king of Avanti', in the following stanza of Varāhamihira's *Brhat-samhitā*, to which reference has been made :

*Bhāradaśya-mataṁ dṛiṣṭvā yach-cha śrī-Dravyavardhanaḥ |*

*Āvantikaḥ prāha nripo mahārājadhīrājakaḥ ||*

Prof. Mirashi takes the name Avanti occurring in the expression *Āvantika*, to indicate the city of Ujjayini. But unfortunately he forgets that Avanti was primarily the name of a people or their country (identical with West Malwa) and only secondarily the name of the chief city of the said people or country.\* Of course it is well-known that, during certain periods of the history of the Avanti country, Ujjayini was its chief city. The expression *Āvantika* thus means both 'the lord of the Avanti people or country' and 'the lord of the city of Avanti (identified with Ujjayini)'. One has to note that the Paramāra kings like Bhōja are called 'king of Avanti' even though they had their capital at Dhārā and not at Ujjayini. It will, therefore, be seen that the epithet *Āvantika* applied to Dravyavardhana does not prove that his capital was at Ujjayini and not at Daśapura.

<sup>1</sup> I do not find any justification for Prof. Mirashi's remark, "The metre appears defective."

\* See Fargiter, *Mahābhārata Purāṇa*, trans., p. 344, note; Apte, *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, App. III, s.v. *Avantī*.

\* Cf. *Avanti-Māpāla* in Monier-Williams' *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Avantī*.



Prof. Mirashi's contention that 'the aforesaid passage from the *Bṛhatkasmhitā* thus suggests that the later Aulikara kings Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Vishnudevardhana (Yaśōdharman) ruled from Ujjayini' therefore stands on a shaky foundation.

Prof. Mirashi's other argument in support of his theory is based on the Mandasor inscription<sup>1</sup> of V.S. 589 belonging to the reign of Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana. He says, "It (i.e. the Mandasor inscription of V.S. 589) tells us that the country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra (Aravali) mountains was being governed by one Nirdōsha who was a *Rājashūniya* appointed by Yaśōdharman and had his headquarters at Daśapura. This clearly indicates that Yaśōdharman himself was ruling not from Daśapura but from some other place like Ujjayini." He refers us to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 154, with the following remark: "The name of the viceroy was Nirdōsha and not Daksha as shown by Kielhorn." We are sorry to note that there are not only several errors in these statements but also that the inscription does not prove Prof. Mirashi's theory at least to our satisfaction.

In the first place, the inscription does not really mention any 'country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra mountains'. Verse 19 of the record actually speaks of the land bounded by the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra and the Sea (Arabian Sea) apparently meaning the region lying to the west of the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra and to the east of the Arabian Sea. There is nothing in the record to show that the city of Daśapura was situated in this land. As a matter of fact, the area indicated seems to have been situated to the west of the city in question. Secondly, the person represented in the stanza as the *Rājashūniya*, i.e. viceroy or governor, of the said region is not Nirdōsha but his father's elder brother Abhayadatta. Verses 20-21 suggest that, on the death of Abhayadatta, the vicereignty of the above land fell on Dharmadōsha who was a son of the former's brother Dōshakumbha. Thirdly, it is uncertain whether Abhayadatta was a contemporary and a viceroy of Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana, although Dharmadōsha was in office in V.S. 589 when his younger brother Nirdōsha excavated a well apparently at Daśapura in the name of his deceased uncle Abhayadatta. Verse 21 of course seems to suggest that Dharmadōsha was a viceroy of Yaśōdharman; but he may have been mentioned by Nirdōsha merely to indicate his own importance as the brother of an important personage like the governor of a district. Fourthly, for similar reasons, Nirdōsha's mention of his relations with Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha scarcely proves that Daśapura, where he excavated the well, lay within the territory under the vicereignty of his elder brother and paternal uncle, even if both of them were viceroys under the Aulikara king Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana. Fifthly, the inscription does not mention Daśapura as the headquarters of Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha, not to speak of Nirdōsha who is not stated to have been a ruler. Sixthly, the mention of the two names together in two different stanzas shows that Daksha was the second name of Nirdōsha.<sup>2</sup> Seventhly, even if Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana had his capital at Daśapura, Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha could have acted as governors of the metropolitan district of the Aulikara empire with their headquarters at the capital city.<sup>3</sup>

The points raised above will make it clear that the Mandasor inscription scarcely proves the location of Yaśōdharman's capital at Ujjayini. Prof. Mirashi's statement that 'all these kings (viz. Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana) were ruling from Ujjayini' is thus an unwarranted conjecture, especially in view of the discovery of most of the Aulikara inscriptions at Daśapura and of the fact that verse 2 of the Mandasor inscription of Gauri

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 150-59.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 392, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that, when Mahārāja Brahmadatta or Mahārāja Jayadatta was ruling over Pundravardhana-bhukti with headquarters apparently at the city of Pundravardhana, there was also the office of an *Ayuktaka* (no doubt the governor of the district round the city) at the same city. See above, Vol. XV, pp. 135 f., pp. 138 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.



apparently represents Daṣapura as the capital of Ādityavardhana just as the earlier Aulikara king Bandhuvarman is mentioned as the ruler of the same city in another Mandasor inscription.

Prof. Mirashi thinks that Mahārāja Gauri had his capital at Daṣapura. But this view seems to go clearly against the evidence of verse 2 of his Mandasor Inscription, unless of course Gauri is identified with Ādityavardhana. As indicated above, we have only the following two inscriptions of Gauri: (1) the Chhōṭī Sāḍṛī epigraph, and (2) the Mandasor inscription recording the excavation of a tank by him in the suburbs of Daṣapura for the merit of his deceased mother. Of course Gauri's activities recorded in these inscriptions do not prove that he had his capital at either of the two places where his records have been found or at a third place, since a ruling chief could build a temple or excavate a tank at his capital or elsewhere in or outside his own territory. Thus according to an inscription<sup>1</sup> of Śaka 983 (1060 A.D.) from Barsur in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh, a Telugu-Chōḍa *Mahāmaṇḍalēvara* named Chandrāditya-mahārāja, who had his headquarters at Ammagrāma, is known to have built a temple of Śiva called Chandrādityāśvara and excavated a tank called Chandrādityaśarōvara at Būtasūru which was the capital of his Chhindaka overlord, Mahārāja Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa.

Another fact that cannot be ignored in this connection is that Daṣapura was in early times one of the celebrated holy places in Western India<sup>2</sup> and that death at a place of pilgrimage was considered by the people as highly meritorious.<sup>3</sup> Gauri's mother may, therefore, have visited Daṣapura on pilgrimage with a view to meet her end at the holy place. The excavation of wells at Daṣapura by both Nirdōsha and Gauri in the name of their dead relatives in such a case becomes clear.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, as already indicated above, verse 2 of the Mandasor fragmentary inscription of Gauri suggests that Daṣapura was the capital of his overlord Ādityavardhana probably of the Aulikara dynasty. It is, therefore, impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that Gauri of the Mānavāyana family, who was a feudatory chief and not a governor, had also his capital at the same city of Daṣapura.

We also find it difficult to agree with Prof. Mirashi's view regarding the date of Dravyavardhana who is mentioned in the *Bṛhatkasmīnī* and may be supposed to have belonged to the Aulikara family. The date of the composition of this work is uncertain, although it may have been written some time about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.<sup>5</sup> It is, therefore, impossible, without further evidence, to prove whether Dravyavardhana ruled in the fifth or sixth century A.D. or whether he was a predecessor or successor of Ādityavardhana. Prof. Mirashi conjectures that Dravyavardhana was a successor of Ādityavardhana and a predecessor of Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana and says, "Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana of Avanti mentioned by Varāhamihira (c. first half of the sixth century A.D.) must, therefore, be placed in the period V. 552 to 589. He may have ruled from c. V. 552 to 572 (A.D. 495-515). He was thus a predecessor of Yaśōdharman and might have been his father." He lays special emphasis on the last sentence by putting it in italics. Unfortunately, however, all these statements appear to us to be nothing more than guesses unsupported by any evidence worth the name.

<sup>1</sup> See *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1908-09*, pp. 111 ff.; Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, pp. 154-59; *The Classical Age*, pp. 216, 220. For another similar inscription, see Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 141, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JAHNS*, Vol. XIX, p. 267.

<sup>5</sup> Varāhamihira probably composed his *Pañchasaiddhāntikā* in Śaka 427 (503 A.D.) since in that work the said Śaka year has been taken as the basis of calculation. The *Bṛhatkasmīnī* appears to have been composed at a later date. The tradition that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509 (587 A.D.) is now generally regarded as of dubious value. Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 323.



# No. 41—MALGA PLATES OF SAMANTA INDRARAJA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 18.7.1958)

About the middle of the year 1957, Pandit L. P. Pandeya of Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, informed the Government Epigraphist for India of the existence of a copper plate inscription lying in the possession of Shri Badri Prasant Rai of Dhobahar in the Bilaspur District of the same State. Under his instructions, Shri Rai was good enough to send the inscription on loan to the Government Epigraphist for India in July 1957, and it was soon returned to him after examination. The owner of the plates was stated to be Thakur Ratansinghji of Malgā, P. O. Kotma, District Shandol, Madhya Pradesh.

The inscription is written on a set of three plates which measure about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 4 inches each and are strung on a ring measuring about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in thickness. The ring passes through a hole about the middle of the upper side of the plates. The first plate has writing only on the inner side while the other two plates are inscribed on both the sides. The record contains 30 lines of writing, 7 lines each on the inner sides of plates I and III and the obverse and reverse of plate II, and only 2 lines on the outer side of plate III. The rectangular seal soldered to the joint of the ring contains only the legend *śrī-Indrarājāś* (correctly *sr-Indrarājāś*) in embossed characters. The three plates together with the ring and seal weigh 119 tolas.

The characters belong to a variety of the Siddhamātrikā alphabet and are assignable to a date roughly between the Bodhgaya inscription<sup>1</sup> (c. 588 A. D.) of Mahānāman and the Apsad inscription<sup>2</sup> (c. 670 A. D.) of Ādityasēna, that is to say, about the first half of the seventh century. The letters are, however, more angular in shape and their top is formed by a hollow triangle of a bigger size than the solid triangle at the top of the letters of the Bodhgaya and Apsad epigraphs. Letters with a hollow triangle forming the top are sometimes met with in early inscriptions, e.g., in the recently discovered Mallar (Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh) plates<sup>3</sup> of Vyāghrarāja, written in Southern characters assignable to the 6th century A. D.

Among initial vowels, *a* occurs in line 29; *ā* with length indicated by a curve in lines 1 and 8 and by an angular sign in lines 13, 16, 21 and 24; *i* in lines 6, 8, 26 and 28; *u* in line 28 and 29; and *ē* in line 29. The medial signs of *ā* and *ē* (cf. also medial *o*) are sometimes a *śrīś-mātrā* and sometimes a *prishtha-mātrā*. Medial *u* is written with a downward vertical stroke (cf. *uphulla* in line 2), or a curve attached to the lower end of the letter (cf. *tuṅga* in line 3). The sign has been written differently in *ru* in *gugur-u* in line 1 and *chāru* in line 2. Medial *ū* is indicated by a downward curve added to the left of the vertical stroke of a medial *u* (cf. *mūrti* in line 4), or a curved stroke added to the right side of the *u* sign (cf. *śrībhūtrā* in line 16). The sign for medial *ū* in *bhūgnā* in line 23 is of a different type. The subscripts *ch* and *v* are not clearly distinguished (cf. *svastī* in line 1 and *ś-chāru* in line 4). The letter *m* is written with a straight stroke or a globular mark added to the lower left corner of *p* (cf. *śrīmā* and *matī* in line 6). The form of subscript *y* is angular and the top of the letter *ś* is flat. In the ligature *vy* (cf. *paryanta* in lines 5 and 13),

<sup>1</sup> *OII*, Vol. III, pp. 274 ff., and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> No. 6 of 1958-59, App. A. Cf. also above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15.



r looks different from the form of superscript r added to other consonants. *Visarga* is represented either by two dots (cf. *samaḥ* in line 1) or by two slightly curved strokes placed one above the other (cf. *i-śānagaḥ* *ta-parikaraḥ* in line 11).

The orthography of the record shows a considerable amount of carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. Words like *arakaṭi* for *arhati* (line 24) exhibit the influence of local pronunciation. Though a separate sign for *ḍ* was not unknown (cf. the erased word *Buḍayakā* in line 9), the letter has been represented by *ṛ* throughout as is generally done in the contemporary inscriptions of North India. Occasionally consonants are doubled in conjunction with *r* (cf. *mūrttiṛ* in line 4 and *pittrṛ* in line 13). Sometimes the signs for *anusvāra* and *visarga* have been either omitted (e.g. in *ya[m\*]* *śri[ḍ\*]* in line 2), while often one of them is written for the other (e.g. in *pakṣaḥ* for *pakṣam* in line 5, and *vāsinam* for *vāsinah* in line 11). In some cases, *visarga* is unnecessarily added (e.g. in *ghaṭṭanaḥ* in line 4). Class nasals have been generally used instead of *anusvāra* (cf. *Indra* in line 1; *paṇḍita* in lines 2-3; *tuṅga* in line 10). *Anusvāra* is once wrongly changed to *a* in *vaṇa* for *vaṇaḥ* in line 17. While it is wrongly used for final *m* in *phalaṁ* in lines 20 and 26, it is wrongly retained in *daṭṭam-aḥ* in line 22 and *saṁsaṛ* in line 30.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, and the composition is a mixture of prose and verse. For instances of grammatical errors, see *Śailāndarājā* for *\*rājāḥ* in line 3, *nirjīta* for *nirjītaḥ* in line 5, *Indrarājā* for *\*rājāḥ* in lines 6-7, *śāminarya* for *śāmi-aḥ* in line 15, *rājānā* for *rājāḥ* in line 19, etc.

The record belongs to the time of *Sāmanta Indrarāja* and is dated in his regnal reckoning without mentioning any era. The details of the date are given as the *eleventh day* of the *first fortnight* of the month of *Jyēṣṭha* of the *first* (or, *eleventh*) *year* apparently of *Indrarāja*'s reign, the week-day being *Tuesday* and the *nakṣatra* *Uttarabhaḍra-pada*. The month was no doubt *Pūṣpimānta*. The details are, however, not sufficient to determine the exact date of the record. As indicated above, the palaeography of the inscription suggests a date about the first half of the 7th century A. D.

The document starts with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. The first verse that follows introduces *Sāmanta Indrarāja*'s father whose name was probably *Kṣhītipati*. The next verse describes the donor of the grant, *viz.* *Indrarāja*, as a great fighter.

A long passage in prose in lines 7-17 records *Sāmanta Indrarāja*'s declaration from his residence at *Maṇḍaka* to his officers including the *grāmatūṣa* (village-headman) and the chief persons and residents of *Sālagrāmāmantamaraka* (or *Sālagrāmamantamaraka*) within *Gulagrāmaka* which was situated in *Ākāśa-rāṣṭra* forming a part of the *Chhōḍḍaparāṅga* *vishaya*. The village was granted as a tax-free holding to *Bhavasvāmin*, son of *Nāgasvāmīśarmā* of the *Śāpḍilya* *gotra* and the *Vijayantya-Mādhyandina śākhā*. The order regarding the execution of the grant was passed by *Indrarāja* himself. The above section is followed by *Indrarāja*'s request in lines 17-19 to the future kings to protect the grant. After seven imprecatory verses, some of which are not usually met with, the document is said in lines 27-28 to have been written by *Rājaputra Dēva* and engraved by *Dr̥ṣṭāka*, son of the goldsmith *Īvara*. The date of the charter, quoted at the end of the record in lines 28-30, has been already discussed.

The inscription under review is interesting in that *Sāmanta Indrarāja* and his father are known for the first time from it. Unfortunately we have no clue to determine the dynasty to which they belonged. *Indrarāja* was a *Sāmanta*, i.e. a feudatory ruler. But there is no mention of his overlord. The issue of the charter, dated apparently in his own regnal reckoning, without any reference to the overlord, suggests that *Indrarāja* was a semi-independent chief, although

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *śāminarya* in the Umachal rock inscription (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 67).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *rājānā* in one of the Panduhoṃkar plates (ibid., p. 209.)



he seems to have been the ruler of a small territory in the Shahdol region in the former Rewa State. The area was under the kings of Kausāmbī in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.<sup>1</sup> and later came under the possession of the Imperial Guptas.<sup>2</sup> In the 8th century, the Maukharis of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, whose dominions are known to have comprised the neighbouring Kālañjara region of Bundelkhand,<sup>3</sup> may have extended their power over the Rewa area. It is, therefore, not impossible that Indrarāja originally owed allegiance to the Maukharis and ruled semi-independently for sometime between the death of Maukhari Grahavarman about 605 A. D. and the establishment of Harshavardhana's power over the former Maukhari empire shortly afterwards. The semi-independent period of Indrarāja's rule may possibly also be assigned to a date following Harsha's death in 647 A. D. In such cases, the record under study may be assigned roughly to the second decade or the middle of the 7th century.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the record, Maṇḍaka whence the grant was issued seems to have been the capital of Sāmanta Indrarāja. It is difficult to say whether the name of Malgā, the findspot of the inscription, is a modification of that of ancient Maṇḍaka. The gift village is called Śālagrāmāmantamaraka or Śālagrāmamantamaraka which is apparently made out of the names of two localities, viz. Śālagrāma and Amantamaraka or Mantamaraka. These two localities forming one unit was a part of the village called Gula-grāmaka which was situated in a *rāṣṭra* or subdivision called Ākāśa within the *viśaya* or district called Chhēṇḍaparaṅga. None of these can be identified.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

[Metres : verse 1 *Śrīlūlarikṛīḍita* ; verse 2 *Stagilharō* ; verses 3-9 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> svasti [||]<sup>6</sup> Āsi(s)ḍ=Indra-samah kabitau Kshita(t)patu[h\*] śaktyā ktri(kri)-  
yābhīr-gupair-u-
- 2 tṣhull-āmala-chāru-vimva(mba)-vadanā ya[m\*] Śrī[h\*] sadā sēvatō | yō dēva-dvīja-sādhn-  
[pa]-
- 3 ṇḍita-janasy-ādhā<sup>7</sup>ra-bh[ā]tō ha vā<sup>8</sup> oiddh-[ā]dhyāsita-hēma-tuṅga-śikharaḥ Śaila(l[ā])ndra-  
rājā(jō) yathā [||]<sup>9</sup> !<sup>10</sup>
- 4 Jāta(s=ta\*)jy-ātma(jō)=pi prakṣa-gha(ga)ja-ghaṭa(tā)-ghaṭtanah(na)s=ch[ā]ru-mūrtti-  
[r\*]=nitya[m\*] dāt-ābhīmā-

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription of Candagupta has been found in the former Rewa State, while Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in Chettigarh. See *ibid.*, pp. 267-68; below, pp. 206 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 25; above, Vol. XVII, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>4</sup> From photographs and impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>6</sup> The letter dā is written above the line.

<sup>7</sup> Better read "ādhā-ābhīmā".



- 5 ul raga-chapala-paṭuḥ<sup>1</sup> bhānta-paryanta-[h]ṛti[h] (\*) nirjivā(ty-ā)ratī-pakṣaḥ(kṣhaṇ)  
prasabham-upaḥi(hṛi).  
6 tō(tā) yēcha(na) lakṣmi viśālā sa śrīmā(h\*)=śrī-nikētaḥ prati-mati-suchitaḥ **Indra-**  
7 raja(jō) narēndraḥ || 2\*] Maṇḍakāt-para[ma\*]māhēvma(rō) mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyātāḥ  
śrī-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 8 sāmā(ma)nia Indrarājaḥ Chchhē(Chhē)ndaparaṅga-vishaya-prativaddhaḥ<sup>2</sup> Akśā-  
rāshtrē Gula-  
9 grāmakō<sup>3</sup> Sālagrām-mantamarakō<sup>4</sup> grāmaku(kū)ṭa-diṣṭāṅika-  
10 gaṇḍakāśyaka<sup>5</sup>-dēvavārika(kā)n\*) sarvāmē(n=ē)va pramukhā(n\*) yathā-prativāsinath-  
(naḥ) samājñā-  
11 payati viditam=astu bhavati(h\*) yathā-samābhita-aya(n\*) grāma(h\*) s-ōdraṅgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ  
12 a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēḍa<sup>6</sup> sa-nidīḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ(dhū)ś-chōra-dayḍa-yalitaḥ<sup>7</sup> chaṭuḥ-dī(dī)-  
13 m-ādāna-paryanta ś-chandr-(ī)ṭka-kāṭi-tārakā-nirōdhēna<sup>8</sup> mātā-pitṛ-ātmanā-cha  
punyā(ny-ā)-  
14 bhividdhayaḥ<sup>9</sup> Śa(Śa)ṇḍilya-gōtra-Vājasaneyā-Māddhyandina-Nāgasvāmi-puṇa(trā)-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 15 Bhavasvāmināya<sup>10</sup> pratipādita-ēty-a<sup>11</sup>vagemya<sup>12</sup> yathā-ōchita-bhōga-upana-  
16 yanta(h)<sup>13</sup> śjñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair-bhūtvā sukhaḥ prativā(va)stavyam=itī svayam-ā-  
17 jñāparā<sup>14</sup> yē ch-āmad-vacāt<sup>15</sup> samū(mu)tpadya(taya)ntē rājānaḥ(na)s-tairapanīya<sup>16</sup>  
dattir-ano-

<sup>1</sup> Read *paṭuḥ*. Originally *dā* may have been engraved in the place of *pa*. The reading of the word may possibly be *\*manāḥ* also.

<sup>2</sup> Read *racānta-ō-Indra*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *\*uddhā*.

<sup>4</sup> The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> The letters *lagrām* are engraved where *\*lāḍyā* were originally written and afterwards erased. Between *\*marakā* and *\*grāmānā*, the four letters *lāḍyā* were originally written, have been erased. If the *ā* sign of *mā* is regarded as the part of an erased letter the reading may be *Sālagrām-Mantamarakā*.

<sup>6</sup> These two expressions are not known from any other record. It is difficult to say whether they are mistakes for *dēvavārika* and *śāpānāyana*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pramukhā*. There is an unnecessary slanting stroke after *dh*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *carjitaḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *nirōdhān*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *\*śvāmīnā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *prativāśināyana*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *\*yadbhāḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *\*vāṇā*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *\*vapānā*.



# MALGA PLATES OF SAMANTA INDRARAJA

1 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अष्टाध्याय्ये अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 2 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ २ ॥  
 4 अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदो वीर्यवान् द्रुपदो वीर्यवान् ॥ द्रुपदो वीर्यवान् द्रुपदो वीर्यवान् ॥ ४ ॥  
 6 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ ६ ॥

8 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ ८ ॥  
 10 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ १० ॥  
 12 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ १२ ॥  
 14 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ १४ ॥

16 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ १६ ॥  
 18 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ १८ ॥  
 20 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ २० ॥



22	...	22
24	...	24
26	...	26
28	...	28

30

30



- 18 pālanṭy=ātu(nu)mōdanīyā cha | yā=ch=ēmō(māh) datti[m\*] viṣṣam=āpādayishyat aa  
 19 pañchalhir-mahāpātakaiḥ saha sahyuktam(ktah) sya(syā)[t] [i\*] [Ba\*]hubhir=vasudhā  
 bhūtvā rājānā<sup>1</sup>  
 20 Sagar-āji(di)bhū[h] [\*] yaṣya yaṣya yadā bhūmi[\*]=tasya tasya tadā phala[m](lam) [i] [3\*]  
 Shaahpi-  
 21 varisha\*-sahasrāpi evargē mōdati bhūmidah [i] śchhō(chchhō)ttā ch=ānumaātā

## Third Plate, First Side

- 22 cha ttā(tā)ny=ōva nara\*kē vasō[t] [i\*] Sva-dattām para-dattāmyā<sup>2</sup> yō karēti(ta) vaundharā  
 [m] [\*] kapilā-sata-ghā-  
 23 thām=ānāsā pratipadyatō [i] 5\* Khila-bhugnā<sup>3</sup> tu yā bhu(bhū)mi[r\*]=yā cha bhuktā  
 dā=āparō [i\*] śa[ta][m\*] yā-  
 24 [va]ntu(t=tu) yā bhuktā na rājā hantum=arabati<sup>4</sup> [i] 6\* Āsphōṭayanti pitara[h\*] pra-  
 valganta(nī) pitāmahā[h] [\*]  
 25 tvana=ēkō=nni(snu)t-kulō jātā(tah) aa mattrā bhavishyati<sup>5</sup> [i] 7\* Prāpayasō vipula[n\*]  
 bhōgā[n\*] pūrva-dattō(tta)sya tat=pha-  
 26 lam(lam) [i\*] punar=dāh=ati dānābhi(d=dhi) punar=bhōgi bhavishyas [i] 8\* Iha rōka-  
 kṛtām karmā tat=pa[ra\*]ttr=ōpi[pa]-  
 27 bhujyati(tē) | tala=iktasya vṛkshasya phalam śikhāsa dṛīyati<sup>6</sup> [i] 9\* līkhitam=cha  
 rājaputtā(ttra)-Dēvō[na\*]  
 28 utkirṇa[m\*] suvarṇakara-ḥ=ānā<sup>10</sup>-putrēṇa<sup>11</sup> Drōṣākēna samō[ta]cha(ō=ch=ē)da[m] āsana-  
 [m\*] Jyashṭa<sup>12</sup>-prathā<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read bhuktā rājānāḥ.<sup>2</sup> Read sursā for the sake of the metre, though the form varishā is also recognised.<sup>3</sup> The letter ra is written below aa.<sup>4</sup> Read \*dattāsa rā.<sup>5</sup> The word intended is bhugnā which has been used in the sense of bhogā. Cf. Apte, *Pract. Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v.<sup>6</sup> Read \*parā. Originally pa was written.<sup>7</sup> Read karmā-arabati. The stanza seems to refer to the right of persons who bring fallow land under cultivation for the first time or enjoy the possession of a plot of cultivated land for a period between 10 and 100 years. Many authorities, however, speak of 20 years' possession of land and 10 years' possession of movable property as leading to proprietary right. Cf. *Mādhakara* under *Yājñavalkyaśrauti*, II, verses 24 and 27.<sup>8</sup> Read aa (or from) mattrā bhavishyati (or's).<sup>9</sup> Read dṛīyati.<sup>10</sup> Read \*kār-Ēvara.<sup>11</sup> The letter aa is engraved below the line.<sup>12</sup> Read Jyeshṭha.<sup>13</sup> The letter śa is engraved below rā, the third letter of the line.



*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 29 ma-paksha Urattara'bhādrapada(dē) |<sup>1</sup> Aḡārā(m)-vāra(rē) ddi(di)vasa #kādāśa(āś) |  
 prava(r\*)ddhamāna-
- 30 vijaya-rājya-samvat'parah<sup>2</sup> 1 |<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Read *Uḡārā*.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Read *atvāntara*.

<sup>4</sup> The reading may possibly also be *11*.



# No. 42—MAHUDI PLATES OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V. S. 1074

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4. 7. 1958)

This is a set of two copper plates, lying in the possession of Shri Ratansinghji Saindhawa of the village of Mahudi in the Jabar Tahsil of the Shehore District of Madhya Pradesh. One set each of unsatisfactory impressions and pencil-rubbings of the inscription was received for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Mr. V. S. Wakankar of Ujjain.<sup>1</sup> An attempt to secure the original plates on loan failed. The inscription is, therefore, edited in the following pages on the basis of the above material.

The plates measure each about 13.75 inches in length, about 9 inches in height and .2 inch in thickness. They bear writing only on the inner sides. The two holes, separated by an intervening space of 5 inches and meant for the rings on which the plates were strung, are found in the lower margin below the writing on the first plate and in the upper margin above the writing on the second. There are in all 29 lines of writing in the inscription, 15 lines on the first plate and 14 on the other. The preservation of the writing appears to be satisfactory. The last 8 lines of the record (lines 22-29) on the inner side of the second plate are shorter than the other lines by 4 inches as a rectangular area at the left lower end of the surface, about 4 inches in length and 5 inches in height, is occupied by the engraved figure of Garuda which was the emblem of the Paramāra rulers and is generally found on their copper-plate grants.

The inscription is written in Nāgari characters of the eleventh century A.D., which closely resemble those of the charters of the Paramāra king Bhōja (c. 1000-35 A.D.) who was also the donor of the grant under study. The letters may be compared with those of Bhōja's Banawara<sup>2</sup> and Betma<sup>3</sup> plates of V. S. 1076 (1020 A.D.) as well as of his Ujjain plates<sup>4</sup> of V. S. 1078 (1021-22 A.D.) and Depalpur plates<sup>5</sup> of V. S. 1079 (1023 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> The inscription uses the *anugraha* once in line 29 and the initial vowels *a* in lines 15, 21 and 28, *i* in lines 16, 25 and 27 and *ai* in line 1. The letter *h* has been indicated by the sign for *c*. The orthography of the record also resembles that of the epigraphs referred to above. Both *anusvāra* and the class nasals have been employed. Although final *m* has been used correctly in some cases, it has often been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of a sentence or of the second and fourth feet of stanzas. The change of final *m* to *anusvāra* before *v* has been wrongly avoided. No stop has been indicated at the end of the second foot of stanzas and the last word of this foot is sometimes joined in *sandhi* with the first word of the next foot. Consonants like *g*, *ṅ*, *bh*, *m* and *v* have been reduplicated when they follow *r*. But *rbbh* has been written wrongly for *rbbh*. As regards *visarga-sandhi*, we have both *chatur-septa*<sup>7</sup> (line 7) and *chatur-sinā* (line 12). The word *śarmasāga* in line 15 is one of the grammatical errors in the composition of the record.

The charter bears two dates. The grant is stated in lines 7-8 to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvana

<sup>1</sup> See *J. E. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. A 26. See also Mr. Wakankar's article on the inscription in the Hindi periodical *Ushā* (Bhoj-śāka, pp. 30 ff.), published from Dhar, Madhya Pradesh.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 181 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 220 ff. and Plates.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53 f. and Plates; cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361.

<sup>5</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. VIII, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

<sup>6</sup> For some other epigraphs of Bhōja's reign, see Shandekar's *List*, Nos. 120 and 128; above, pp. 192 ff.; Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff.



in the year 1074 [of the V.S.]. But line 28 quotes the date of the charter as *Samvat* (i.e. V.S.) 1074, *Āvina-sudi 5*. There is no doubt that the grant was actually made on the first date, though the document which was later incised on the plates under study was prepared on the second date quoted in the record. The year was no doubt *Kārttikādi*.<sup>1</sup> The details of the first date are, however, irregular. V.S. 1074, *Śrāvana-sudi 15*, corresponds to the 30th July 1018 A.D. But the week-day was Wednesday and not Thursday as given in the inscription, while there was no lunar eclipse on that date according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. V.S. 1074, *Āvina-sudi 5*, seems to correspond to the 17th September 1018 A.D. The present charter is the second of the copper-plate grants issued during the reign of Paramāra Bhōja, the earliest date of his time being offered by the plates of his son or feudatory Vatsarāja, dated V.S. 1067 (1011 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

The introductory part of the inscription beginning with the *Siddham* symbol followed by two stanzas in adoration of the god Śiva and introducing the donor as *Paramabhaṭṭāśaka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhōjadēva*, who was preceded on the throne successively by *P. M. P. Sindhurājadēva*, *P. M. P. Vākpatirājadeva* and *P. M. P. Śtyakadēva*, is similar to that of the other charters of Bhōja. Lines 5 ff. record, in the usual style, the grant of the village called *Dugāryī-grāma*, situated in the territorial unit called *Bhūmigrīha-pāschima-dvipaśchāśaka*, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa by the king when he was stationed at *Dhārā*. The name of the district seems to indicate an area consisting of 52 villages and lying to the west of a locality called *Bhūmigrīha* while *Dhārā* was the capital of the Paramāra king. The name *Bhūmigrīha-pāschima-dvipaśchāśaka* reminds us of such districts as *Nāgadrūha-pāschima-pathaka* and *Ujjayinī-pāschima-pathaka* mentioned respectively in the Ujjain and Depalpur plates referred to above. Similarly, the word *dvipaśchāśaka* in the name reminds us of such names as *Nyāyapadrasaptadaśaka* mentioned in the Betma plates. The donee of the grant was *Mārkaṇḍeśarma* who was the son of *Bhaṭṭa Śrīpati* and grandson of *Bhaṭṭa Gōkarna* and belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family hailing from a locality called *Śrāvapabbadra* in *Gauḍa-dēśa* (modern West Bengal). The village was granted as usual with the right to receive all the *śādaya* or imposts such as *āraṇya* (taxes in cash), *bhāga* (share of the crops produced), *bhōga* (periodical offerings) and *aparikara* (additional cess or tax on temporary tenants). This part of the record is in the same style as in the king's other grants. It ends with some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.

The letter *śāka* thrice repeated in line 27 indicates the end of the document proper. This is followed in the next line (line 28) by the date (V.S. 1074, *Āvina-sudi 5*) when the document was prepared. In the same line, which ends with a usual *maṅgala*, we have also the statement that the king himself was the *ājñā*, which seems to mean that the announcement of the gift was made by the king himself. The passage *eva-kṛtā-yam mahārāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvarāja* in the next line (line 29) represents the king's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates. The charter ends with the statement that *Jāsa* was the *dāpaka*. The word *dāpaka* means 'one who causes another to give'. It is thus not impossible that *Jāsa* was the real donor of the village of *Dugāryī* in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Mārkaṇḍeśarma* and that king Bhōja merely ratified the creation of the rent-free holding.<sup>3</sup> The word *dāpaka*, however, occurs in many other grants especially of the Paramāra kings and is generally understood in the sense of *dāta* or *dātaka*, i.e. the executor of a grant.<sup>4</sup>

The Banuwara plates of Bhōja were issued in V.S. 1076, *Māgha-sudi 5* (probably the 3rd January, 1020 A.D.) on the occasion of what is called *Kāṁkara-tijaya-purva*, while his Betma

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361, No. 169.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 192 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 178 and note 2; cf. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 32, note 1.



plates were issued in V.S. 1076, Bhādrapada-sudi 15 (probably the 4th September, 1020 A.D.) on the occasion of *Kōṅkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijaya-parvān*. Hultzsch interpreted the expression occurring in the Banswara plates as 'the anniversary of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa,' while D.B. Bhau-darkar suggested 'the festival day in consequence of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa'.<sup>1</sup> D.B. Dikalkar thinks that the Banswara plates refer to Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa, and the Betma plates to his occupation of the country.<sup>2</sup> It, however, appears to us that both the expressions mean the same event, viz. Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa. The silence of the present record on this achievement of the Paramāra king may suggest that Kōṅkaṇa was conquered by Bhōja sometime after the dates of the present grant, probably in 1019-20 A.D.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Dhārī, the capital of Bhōja, is the modern Dhār in the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The location of the gift village of Dugāryī and the district called Bhūmigrīha-pāścīma-dvīpaśchāsatka as well as of the locality called Śravaṇabhadra in the Gaṇḍa country is uncertain.<sup>3</sup>

## TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1-2, 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 3, 7 *Varaṇatīlaka* ; verse 6 *Indravajrā* ; verses 8 *Sālīnī* ; verse 9 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

## First Plate

- 1 Siddham\* [[\*] Jayati Vyōmakēśō-sau yaḥ sarggāya vi(bi)bhartti tān(tām |) aindaviṭh  
śīrasā ūkbāḥ jagadvī(d-bī)j-ākūkur-ākṛitīm [| 1\*] Tanvanta vaḥ
- 2 Smarārātēḥ kalyāṇam=anīta[m] jaṭāḥ [[\*] kalp-ānta-samay-ōddāma-taḍid-valaya-pi-  
ṅgalāḥ [| 2\*] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārā-
- 3 jādhirāja-paramēvara-śrī-Siyakadōva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-  
paramēvara-śrī
- 4 Vākpatirājadōva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-śrī-  
Sindhurājadōva-pād-ō-
- 5 nudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-śrī-Bhōjadōvaḥ kuśal |  
Bhūmigrīha-pāścīma-dvīpaśchā-
- 6 śatka-āntahpāti-Dugāryī-grāmā samupāgatān=samasta-rājapuruṣhān-Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇ-  
ōttarān=pratinivāsi-paṭṭakila-ja-
- 7 napad-ādīna-cha samādīsaty=astu vaḥ sanviditam yathā | śrīmad-Dhār-āvaśthi-  
tair=samābhīś-chatuḥsapṭaty-adhikā(ka)-dāna-śa-
- 8 \*a-samva\*tsarē Śrāvapa-sudi-pauruṣamāsyām Gurau samjāta-sōma-grahaṇa-  
parvvaṇi snātvā char-śchara-gurum=bhagavanta-
- 9 m=Bhavānīpatyām(tīm) samabhyarohya saṁśārasy=śāśatām jātva tatā hi | Vāt-  
ābhra-vibhraman=īdadi vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpā-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> A stanza in the Tilakwade plates has been read as *Tat-pāda-kamala-dhāpā Kanyakubho-rini(ā\*)iri(eri)taḥ |*  
*saśā Śravaṇabhadra-śrāvāpāṇi sarā(r-ē)tharā |* (*Proceedings and Transactions of the First All-India*  
*Oriental Conference*, p. 324). It is possible to think that the Śravaṇabhadra mentioned in the verses originally  
lived at the village of Śravaṇabhadra mentioned in the Mahudī plates as situated in West Bengal.

\* From impressions and pencil-rubbings.

\* Expressed by symbol.

\* Read *snāva*°.



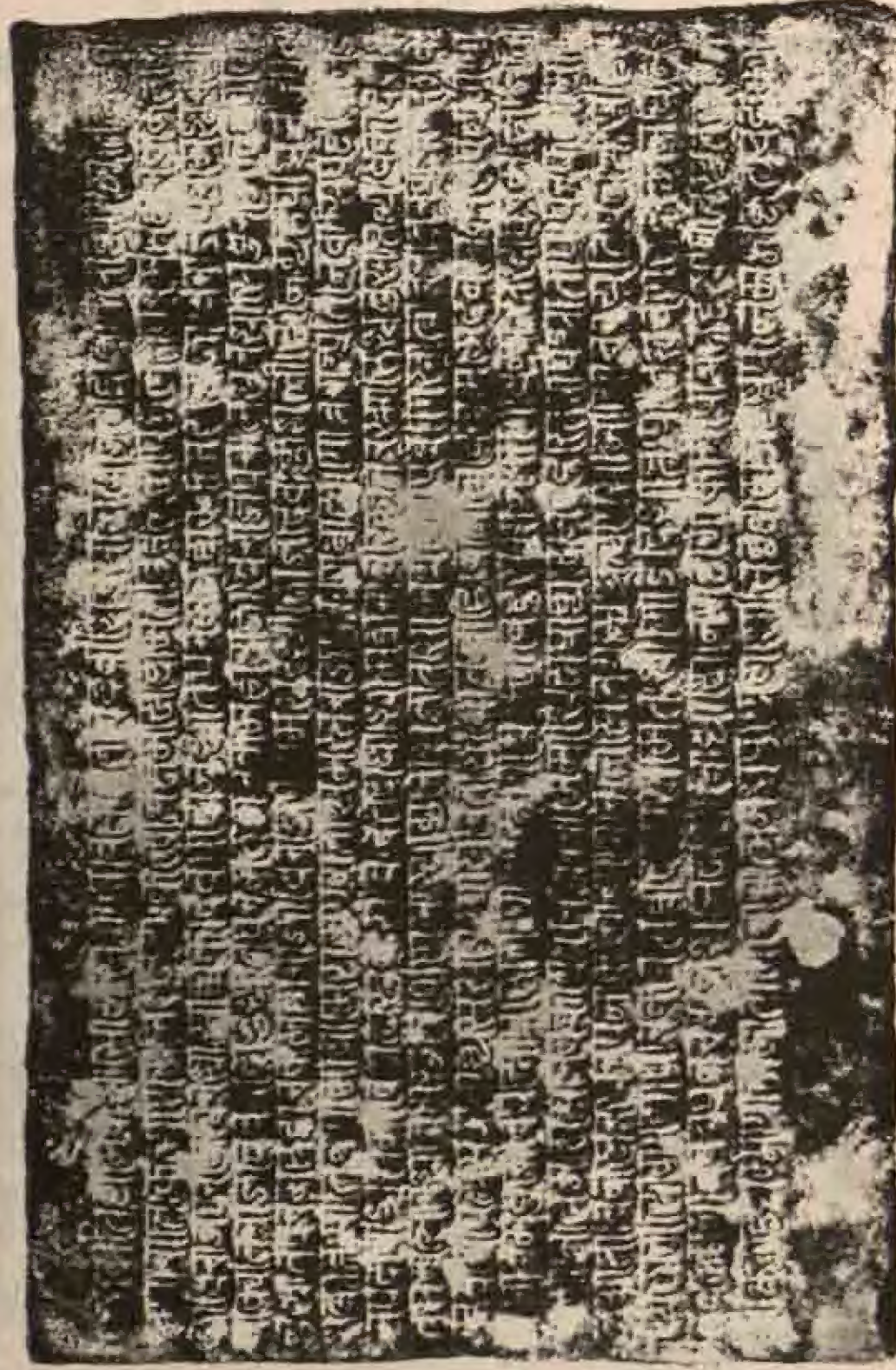
- 10 ta-mātra-madhurē viśhy-ōpabbhōgaḥ [1\*] prāpā=īṭṭa-āgā-jala-vimūḍa-samā narāgaḥ  
dharmmaḥ vakhā param=abō para-īḥ-
- 11 ka-yānē [11 3\*] Bhatmat-saḍ sāra chakr-āgra-dhāt-ādhārām=imāḥ śriyath(yam )  
prāpya yē na dadue-tēbhāḥ paśchāt-tāpaḥ parath phalam=iti [11am ] 4 iti)
- 12 jagatō vinasva(śva)ra-sva(rū)ḥpam-ākalyay-ōpari-likhita-grāmaś=chatus-śmā-gōchata-  
yūti-paryantaḥ sa-hira-
- 13 oya-bhāga-bhōgaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sarv-ādāya-samētaḥ śrī-Gauḍa-dēś-āntahpātī-Śravapa-  
bhādra-athāna-vinirgga-
- 14 ta-Vāṭya-gōtra-pamena-privasa-Vāṣaṇēya-ākh-ādhyāyīnē Bhaṭṭa-Gōkarappa-patra-  
Bhaṭṭa-Śripati-anta-pamḍita-
- 15 [M]ārkkaṇḍakarmmapāya<sup>1</sup> mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhividdhayaś adriśṭa-  
phalam=sōgikṛitya chaṇḍr-ārkk-āroṇa-

## Second Plate

- 16 [va]-kahiti-sama-kālam yāvat-parayā bhaktyā āśanēn=ōdaka-pūrvvakam pratipādita-  
iti matvā tan-nivāsi-pa-
- 17 [ṭṭa]ḥḥa-jaṇapad-ādibhir-yathā-diyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kura-hirapy-ādikam=ājñā-śravapa-  
vidhēyairbhūḥ(ī=bbhū)tvā sa-
- 18 rvyam=sama<sup>2</sup> samupanētavayam(vyaro) | sāmānyam ch=aitat-puṇya-phalam vudhv=  
ā<sup>3</sup>mad-vamśajair=anyair=api bhāvishirbhūḥ(ī=bbhū)ktipihir=s-
- 19 amat-pravṛtta-dharmma<sup>4</sup>(rma) dāyōyam=apumantavyā(vyāḥ) pālaniyāś=cha |  
uktam cha | Va(Ba)kubhur=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbhīḥ Sagar-ādī-
- 20 bhīrya(bhīḥ) | yaṇya yaṇya yaśō bhūmū=asya tasya tadā phalam [11 5\*] Yān=ha  
dattāni purā natēndrair=ddānāni dharmma-ātha-
- 21 ya[ḥ]ākarāpi [1\*] nirmālya-vāsta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhu[b] punar-  
ādedita [11 6\*] Aimat-kula-kṛmnam=udā-
- 22 ram=adāhatadbhir=anyais=cha dānam=idam=abhyānumōdan(yam) lakshmi-  
(kshmyā)s=taḥid-va[ḥ]a-
- 23 ya-vudvuda<sup>5</sup>-chaṇchalāyā dānam, phalam para-yaśāḥ-paṇipālanaḥ cha [11 7\*] Sarvān-  
=ātām-bhāvi-
- 24 naḥ pāthivīśmādrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmatibhadraḥ [1\*] sāmānyō=yath dharmma-  
sāta-
- 25 r=anipāpāḥ kālā kālā pālaniyō bhavadbhīḥ [11 8\*] Iti kamal-dal-āmbha(mbu)-vishṭa-īḥ-
- 26 lām śriyam=anucakṛitya manushya-jīvitam cha [1\*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitam cha  
vudhvā<sup>6</sup> na
- 27 hi puruṣaḥ para-kṛttayō vilōpyā iti(pyāḥ [11 9 it) ] chha [11 chha [11 chha ]
- 28 Samvat<sup>7</sup> 1074 A/Āśvina-sudi 5 [1\*] śvayam=ājñā || māḥgalas mahā-īrṭh [1\*]
- 29 sva-kṛatōyath mahārāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvasya || dāpakō=tra śrī-Jānaka[ḥ] [1\*] ||

<sup>1</sup> Read "karmmapā".<sup>2</sup> Read "buddha" = "d".<sup>3</sup> Read "buddha".<sup>4</sup> Read "buddha".<sup>5</sup> Read "Sukhet".







[illegible]



# No. 43—PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265

(3 Plates)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7.3.1958)

The set of plates was received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1946-47 from the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, then Assistant Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Endowments Board, Madras.<sup>1</sup> The set consists of 10 thick plates each measuring 5.25" x 9.5", except the last one which is slightly smaller than the rest. The plates have a round hole in the left margin for a ring to pass through, though the ring was missing when the plates were received for examination. Of the ten plates, the first eight are inscribed on both the sides. They are numbered consecutively on their reverse. The ninth and tenth plates are each inscribed on only one of their sides. The tenth plate, as will be seen below, contains a post-script to the document and is also slightly smaller than the rest of the plates. The ninth plate contains a human figure, standing astride, with its head formed by two heads of birds facing opposite directions. It holds two elephants by their trunks, one in each hand. An explanatory passage engraved on the left of this figure says that the donor Bhaktirāja enjoyed the title *Gaṇḍabhārūḍa*, thereby indicating that the figure depicted was that of the mythical bird Gaṇḍabhārūḍa. This bird is usually depicted as a double-headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks or claws. In mythology, however, two more fabulous creatures which are said to be the incarnations of Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively, intervene between the elephant and the mythical eagle. They are the lion, more powerful than the elephant, and the eight-legged *Śarabha* stronger even than the lion.<sup>2</sup> Although the representation of the Gaṇḍabhārūḍa on our record does not conform to its traditional form, it is represented in the same shape in epigraphs like the Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District) inscription<sup>3</sup> (Śaka 1310) of Annadāva, the son and successor of Bhaktirāja, and the Vinukonda (Guntur District) inscription<sup>4</sup> (Śaka 1377) of the time of the Sāyī chief Gannama-nāyaka. The same emblem is embossed in relief on each of the four granite pillars of an imposing *gōpura* at Śrirāṅgam.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the plate bearing the emblem of the mythical bird served the purpose of the seal of the charter under review and was a later addition like the one bearing the post-script. The seal of the Madras Museum plates<sup>6</sup> of Bhaktirāja depicts the same figure in a very crude form.<sup>7</sup> An earlier charter showing an excellent representation of this figure on its seal is the Edavalli plates<sup>8</sup> of the Kōṭa chief Kōṭa III.

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1948-47, App. A, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao has explained the significance of these mythological figures sculptured in a frieze depicting 'the chain of destruction' in the Hucchēvara temple at Kōṛamaṅgala in Mysore and has cited examples of different kinds of representation of the Gaṇḍabhārūḍa in the Kannaḍa and Telugu areas. See *IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 341 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 254 of 1905.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 323 of 1913.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1929-37, p. 77, para. 42.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. T. N. Ramachandran describes the figure as that of a man. The two heads of the mythical bird are here depicted so indifferently that they give the appearance more of a grotesque human head or that of an owl rather than that of two birds. But a closer examination clears this illusion. It must be noted, however, that the elephant usually associated with this bird is absent in the crude motif on the seal rendering its identification somewhat difficult.

<sup>8</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1915-16, App. A, No. 5; cf. p. 128, para. 55.



*Bhērurūpa* occurs as a title of Sutyarasa, a feudatory of Chālukya Jayasīma, while some of the later rulers adopted titles like *Gaṇābhērurūpa*, *Rājagajagadabhērurūpa*, *Gajrajagadabhērurūpa*, *Arirājagajagadabhērurūpa*, etc.<sup>1</sup> The soldiers of a Hoysala regiment are referred to as *bhērurūpas* in inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

The record is throughout in Sanskrit verse engraved in Telugu characters. It is more neatly executed than the Madras Museum plates of the donor and its composition resembles that of other charters of the period such as the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka<sup>3</sup> and the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadōva-Chōḍa.<sup>4</sup> The medial signs of *ā* and *au* and the initials *bi* and *chi* are written alike.

The date of the charter is quoted in verses 44-46 (lines 79-81) as **Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika, Śaka 1265** (*likāte tarka-waka*), when there was a lunar eclipse. The date is irregular as there was no lunar eclipse in Śaka 1265, either expired or current.

The first few verses of the charter praise the primordial couple (Śiva and Pārvatī), the elephant-faced god (Gaṇēśa), the Primeval Boar (i.e. Viṣṇu), the Sun and Moon, and Brahman. The mythical lineage from Brahman down to king Dēvānka through Marīchi, Kāśyapa, Bhānu (Sun), Vairasvata-Manu, Iśabāku, Kakutṣtha, Dīpa, Raghu, Aja, Dasaratha, Rāma, Kuśa, Atithi, Nishadha, Nala, Nabha, Puṇḍarika and Kāśhmadhanvan is delineated in the next few stanzas (verses 7-13). Verses 13-17 speak of Nalla-Bhīma, born in Dēvānka's lineage, and his wife Kāmā; their son Dāma and his wife Sōmā; their son Pōta and his wife Anyamā; their son Bhīma and his wife Pōtā; their son Dāma and his wife Lakṣmī; their son Sōma and his wife Sōramā; and their son Gaṅga. When Gaṅga came of age, his father Sōma of the Solar lineage contemplated the marriage of his son with a bride of the Lunar race (verse 18).

Verses 19-23 mention the following members of the Lunar family: Kumāra and his wife Gangamā; their son Chandra and his wife Gaurī; their son Brahman and his wife Sōramā; their son Dēva and his wife Abbidēvi; their son Kāma and his wife Lakṣmīyambā; their three daughters and two sons respectively named Irugāmbā, Dēvāmbā, Abbidēvi, Veṅga and Tamma; and Veṅga's three wives named Mahādēvi, Anyamāmbā and Chennamāmbā.

According to verses 24-28, Gaṅga of the solar or Kāśyapa lineage married Irugāmbā of the lunar race (*Mānava-sakula*), who gave birth to Kāma named after his maternal grand-father and also called Bhakta. The following two stanzas (verses 29-29) speak of the accession of Bhakta or Bhaktirāja and the overrunning of the Āndhra country by the Yavanas (Muham-madans).

The Musunūri family, to which Bhaktirāja owed allegiance, is described in verses 30-33 as follows: Pōchi-nāyaka of Vēṅgi-vishaya; his son Prōlaya-nāyaka who left Vēṅgi along with Vēṅga and repaired to a fort in a forest (*vanu-durga*) surrounded by hills. Prōlaya-nāyaka and Vēṅga are stated to have together subdued the pride of the Turuṣka horses and reconquered the Āndhra country. The four following stanzas (verses 34-37) describe how, on Vēṅga's death, the son of Pōchi-nāyaka (i.e. Prōlaya) installed [in his uncle's estate] his (i.e. Vēṅga's) sister's son Bhaktirāja and how the young king defeated the infantry and cavalry forces of the Yavana lords. According to verses 38-42, Anyamā, Anyamā and Lakṣmī were the three wives of Bhaktirāja who enjoyed the title *Rājavēṅgābhūjaṅga* and was ruling over Chintalapāṇṇa, Vēṅgi, Chintalapūṇi and Gōrūpūru. Verses 43-44 state that, on Prōlaya's death, his cousin (*pūtriya-suta*) Kāpaya-nāyaka, installed Prōlaya's son Vōchi-nāyaka on the throne.

<sup>1</sup> *IHQ*, XX, p. 341, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. V, Co. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Ahere*, Vol. XXXII, p. ....

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.



According to verses 45-48, on the date already discussed above, **Bhaktirāja**, having obtained **Vāchi-nāyaka's** approval, granted to **Brāhmanas** well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* the village of **Pentapādu** which was clubbed together with the villages of **Enarīngoddu**, **Mulākala** and **Jalāpalli** in **Vēngi-vishaya** and named **Gaṅgādhara-pura** after **Gaṅga-bhūpati**.

Verse 49 prays for the success of **Bhaktikāhita** who enjoyed the title *Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa* and *Gaṇḍabhṛṅga*. This is followed by twenty-eight verses in various metres enumerating the names of the seventy-six donees together with the share or shares allotted to each of them as well as their *gōtras* and *sākhās*. There were, among the donees, persons learned in the *Vēdas*, *Vēdāṅgas*, *Vēdānta*, *Tarka*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Jyōtiṣa*, *Pada*, *Padakrama*, *Purāṇa*, *Sāmudrikasāstra*, etc. Four among them received two shares each and one only a share and a half, while the rest of the donees were assigned either a single share or half a share each. One of the major shareholders was the priest of **Bhaktirāja**. A learned man named **Bhāratī** is mentioned in the post-script. Whether he was the composer of the charter is not known.

It is noteworthy that the majority of the donees bear the title or epithet *Ghaṇḍāsisa*. This term occurs in inscriptions and literature in several forms such as *Ghaṇḍāsīsi*, *Ghaṇḍiyāsīsi*, and *Ghaṇḍāsīsi*.<sup>1</sup> To these may be added the form *Ghaṇḍāsi* or *Ghaṇḍāsi* met with in Kannada inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

The rest of the document, with the exception of the last four benedictory stanzas, enumerate the boundaries of the village granted and mentions, among others, the places **Darīapattu**, **Mudunūru**, **Vīrappattu**, **Kommanu**, **Kātapattu**, **Nakkakurja**, etc.

#### List of donees

Name	Gotra and Sakhā	Shares
1. Kīrtihana-yajvan (teacher of <i>sūtra</i> and <i>Yajus</i> and versed in <i>Vēdāṅga</i> )	Hārta, Yajurveda	2
2. Vallabha-yajvan (versed in <i>Yajus</i> , priest of <i>Bhakti</i> )	Do	2
3. Gaṅgadhara-ghaṇḍāsīsi	Do	1
4. Emikaya-bhāṭṭa	Do	1
5. Prāṇi-ghaṇḍāsīsi	Do	1
6. Dēvaya-ghaṇḍāsīsi	Do	1
7. Śūri-bhāṭṭa (versed in <i>Ṛg</i> and <i>Vēdānta</i> )	Hārta, Rīgveda	1
8. Gaṅgadhara-ghaṇḍāsīsi	Do	1
9. Mallaya-ghaṇḍāsīsi	Do	1
10. Nīlāyana-ghaṇḍāsīsi	Kaundinya, Rīgveda	1
11. Gaṅgadhara-ghaṇḍāsīsi (versed in <i>Taṭa</i> )	Kaundinya, Yajurveda	1
12. Koppaṇḍīla-bhāṭṭa	Do	1
13. Sūma (versed in <i>Vēdānta</i> )	Do	1
14. Vēṇi-ghaṇḍāsīsi (versed in <i>Dharmaśāstra</i> )	Do	1
15. Nēya ( <i>Jyōtiṣa-śāstra</i> )	Do	1

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journal of the P. S. S. Society*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 288 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.* No. 268 of 1953-54.



Name	Ācāra and Śākhā	Share
16. Kṛishṇa-ghaṭāśālin (Jyōtīśāstra)	Kaupḍiaya, Yajurveda	1
17. Nāṭikana-ghaṭāśālin	Kauṣika, Yajurveda	1
18. Dhānina-bhaṭṭa (versed in Dharmasāstra)	Do.	1
19. Nārāyaṇa (versed in Pāda)	Do.	1
20. Pōti-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
21. Pōtaya-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
22. Mārāya (Pudakramagṇa)	Do.	1
23. Mallāya (versed in Śipṭa)	Kāśyapa, Rīgveda	1
24. Pōti-ghaṭāśālin (Do.)	Do.	1
25. Kāmāya-ghaṭāśālin	Kāśyapa, Yajurveda	1
26. Vonnāya-bhaṭṭa (versed in Tarka)	Do.	1
27. Annāya (versed in Jyōtīśāstra)	Do.	2
28. Pōti-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
29. Bādāya (versed in Vṛkṣakṣa)	Do.	1
30. Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa (Do.)	Do.	1
31. Pūyāmārti (versed in Ātī)	Parāśara, Rīgveda	1
32. Ananta-bhaṭṭa (versed in Parāśara)	Do.	1
33. Vallabha-bhaṭṭa (versed in Pāda)	Parāśara, Yajurveda	1
34. Kundaḍāya (Chaturveda)	Bhāradvāja, Yajurveda	1
35. Mallāya (Sāmudrikasāstra)	Do.	1
36. Bhīmāya-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
37. Agastī-yajvan	Do.	1
38. Prōti-bhaṭṭa (Pāṇḍita)	Bhāradvāja, Rīgveda	1
39. Mallāya-ghaṭāśālin	Śvetāśa, Yajurveda	1
40. Malli-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
41. Bhīmāya-ghaṭāśālin	Ātrēya, Yajurveda	1
42. Mallāya-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
43. Vallabha-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
44. Ananta-ghaṭāśālin	Gārgya, Yajurveda	1
45. Vallabha-ghaṭāśālin	Abharadvāsa, Yajurveda	1
46. Gōhala-ghaṭāśālin	Hārta, Yajurveda	1
47. Kūchma-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
48. Vallabha-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
49. Bhadrāya-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1



Name	Gotra and Sākha	Shares
50. Appana-ghataśālin	Hastha, Rīgvēda	1
51. Vallabha-ghataśālin	Do.	1
52. Kēṭana-ghataśālin	Kauṇḍīnya, Yajurvēda	1
53. Līngya-ghataśālin	Do.	1
54. Dūrmata-ghataśālin	Do.	1
55. Mallaya-ghataśālin	Do.	1
56. Sūmāya-ghataśālin	Kauṇḍīnya, Kṛtya	1
57. Allāḍi	Kauṇḍīnya, Rīgvēda	1
58. Ellaya	Ātrēya, Rīgvēda	1
59. Ramga	Ātrēya, Yajurvēda	1
60. Dōchaya-ghataśālin	Kātyāya, Śāmarvēda	1
61. Sūmāya-ghataśālin	Kātyāya, Yajurvēda	1
62. Varadaya-ghataśālin	Mandalya, Yajurvēda	1
63. Gaṇapaya-ghataśālin	Pātīmācha, Yajurvēda	1
64. Chāmana-ghataśālin	Kapi, Yajurvēda	1
65. Mallāra-ghataśālin	Bhāmdvāja, Yajurvēda	1
66. Kāḍava-ghataśālin	Do.	1
67. Appana-ghataśālin	Do.	1
68. Śrīpati-bhaṭṭa	Śrīvatas, Yajurvēda	1
69. Narehari-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
70. Kāmāya-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
71. Pinnaya	Do.	1
72. Mārāya-ghataśālin	Śrīvatas, Rīgvēda	1
73. Kōmmāya-ghataśālin	Kandika, Yajurvēda	1
74. Lakṣmīnā-ghataśālin	Maitrēya, Rīgvēda	1
75. Pōṭaya-ghataśālin	Lōhita, Yajurvēda	1
76. Bhāratī	Kauṇḍīnya, Bahvricha	2

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The record supplies some new information about some of the earlier members of the donor's family as also of the chiefs of Musunūru. The Muslim invasions into Telingana that followed the downfall of the Kakatiyas and the attempts of the Nāyakas of the coastal region to stem the tide of the enemy hordes are well known and it has been shown how the chiefs of the various families such as the Panṭa-Redḍis, the Uppirījās, the Rēcharla chiefs, etc., numbering altogether seventy-five according to the Kaluvachēru grant,<sup>1</sup> rallied round their leaders, the chiefs Prōṭya-nāyaka and Kāpaya-nāyaka of Musunūru and offered stiff resistance to the Muslims. The more prominent

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, pp. 107 ff.



among these chiefs were inter-related by ties of matrimony. Of them, the Chōḍas of Ēruva appear to have been a powerful ruling family of which Bhaktirāja was the most eminent member. In tracing the descent of this chief who was also called Kāma, the charter furnishes his ancestry for seven generations on the paternal side and six generations on the maternal. A comparison of the details of the families as indicated below, with those furnished by the Madras Museum and Rajahmundry Museum plates<sup>1</sup> reveals some new facts.

*Solae and Lunae families*



It will be seen from the above pedigree that Dāma who married Lakṣmī was preceded by four generations, viz., Bhīma, Pōta, Dāma and Nalla-Bhīma. The Madras Museum plates mention Nalla-Bhīma merely as a predecessor of Dāma, omitting the three intervening generations, and Kaṣṭhā as the latter's distant forebear, while according to the Rajahmundry Museum plates, Dāma's predecessor was Ēruva-Bhīma. This Ēruva-Bhīma or merely Bhīma as he is called in our record, is obviously the same person who took the name of his great-grandfather. The name of Bhīma's father, viz., Pōta, is not mentioned in the Madras Museum plates and his name and those of his predecessors supplied by this record are lost in the Rajahmundry Museum plates. Pōta's wife's name occurs as Annemāmbā in the Rajahmundry Museum plates and as Anyamā in the present inscription. The pedigree on the donor's maternal side refers to five generations backwards from Irugāmbā, mother of Bhaktirāja. Irugāmbā's brothers were Vāṅga and Tamma, of whom the former is mentioned in our record as an intimate associate of Prōlaya-nāyaka. We have seen that Prōlaya repaired along with Vāṅga to a fort in a forest when the Āndhra country was overtaken by the Yavanas (Muhammadans). This place has been identified with Rōkapalle, mentioned in the Vilasa grant as Mount Mālyavanta and as the capital of Prōlaya-nāyaka.<sup>2</sup> In the course of the struggle leading to the reconquest of the country by Prōlaya and

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 135 ff.; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 254.



Vāga, the latter lost his life. It seems as though Vāga died without any issue, for, on his death, his overlord Prōlaya-nāyaka installed Vāga's nephew Bhaktirāja to his estate (verse 35). We do not know whether Bhaktirāja held his ancestral principality of Ēruva in addition to this newly acquired territory round about Vāgi, although that seems to have been the case, nor are we told what became of Vāga's brother Tamma who must have, in the natural course, succeeded to his late brother's estate had he survived him. On the death of Prōlaya-nāyaka, his son Pōchi (or Vōchi)-nāyaka<sup>1</sup> ascended the throne with the help of his uncle Kāpaya-nāyaka. Bhaktirāja now owed allegiance to Pōchi-nāyaka and obtained the latter's permission to make a gift of certain villages.

It will be seen that the donees who numbered 75 held 63½ shares altogether. The post-script adds the name of Bhāraṭi as a holder of two shares given to him by the donees at the instance of the donor. This brings the total number of shares distributed among the donees to 65½. But the post-script specifies the number of shares contained in the gift land as 66 and says further that Bhaktirāja added Uttanampūṇi to the gift land. This Uttanampūṇi was thus a piece of land which constituted the remaining ½ share out of the total of 66 that the gift land comprised.

The post-script referred to above calls for some remarks. It is dated **Ananda**, Pauṣa, Kṛishṇa-dvādāśī, when the sun was in Makara. The cyclic year **Ananda** after the date of the main grant, viz., Śaka 1265 (1342 A.D.), corresponds to Śaka 1296 (1374 A.D.) and thus the interval between the two dates comes to about 32 years. Bhaktirāja's reign probably continued beyond Śaka 1296, Śaka 1310 (1388 A.D.) being the earliest available date for his son and successor Annadēva.<sup>2</sup> The present grant gives the earliest date so far known for Bhaktirāja, earlier nearly by a decade and a half than his Madras Museum plates,<sup>3</sup> the interval between this and the earliest date cited above for Annadēva being 45 years. Bhaktirāja's success against the Yavama forces referred to in verses 36-37 shows that he associated himself with his uncle or uncles (Vāga and Tamma) against the Muhammadans. The events that followed, viz., the death of Vāga and perhaps also of Tamma in these battles, made Prōlaya-nāyaka confer on the young Bhaktirāja the chieftaincy of his uncle's estate. The defeat of Boggara, Dābaru-Khān and other Muhammadan warriors in the neighbourhood of Gulāpūṇḍi and Pedakondā by Bhaktirāja while he was yet a youth, as referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva, evidently refers to the same achievement. Bhaktirāja's success was at the latest contemporaneous with the date of our charter, viz., Śaka 1265 (1342 A.D.).

As regards the **localities** mentioned in the record, Chintapēṭa, Chintalapūṇi, Vāngi and Gom-jūru, over which Bhaktirāja is stated to have ruled and which perhaps formed the central part of Vāga's territory to which his nephew succeeded, may be identical with Chinnampēṭa, Chintalapūṇḍi, Peddavāgi and Gaujūru respectively. Of the places clubbed with Pentapāḍu, viz., Euralagoḍḍu, Mulkala and Jalāpalle, the first is possibly the same as Yānaralāpalle, about a mile and a half due south-west of Pentapāḍu, the other two being insignificant hamlets of the same village. Of the villages of Darapūṇḍi, Padmara-Vipparru and Kommarā, the first is about a mile due east of Pentapāḍu (or Pentapāḍa-agrahāraṇ as it is now called) in the Tadepalligudem Taluk of the West Godavari District, the second about 4 miles south-west and the third also about 4 miles due south-south-west of the same. The stream called Veyyāru runs from west to east about a mile and a half due south of Pentapāḍu. Mudunūru, another village mentioned among the

<sup>1</sup> The name of this chief was wrongly read in *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, App. A, No. 3, as Vōchi-nāyaka.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 284 of 1905. This date is expressed by the chronogram *śata-vibha-Mārga Vibhara Mārga Śatānta-grahāṇ*. The chronogram yields the Śaka year 1310 corresponding to the cyclic year Vibhara and the occasion indicated is a lunar eclipse in Mārga. The above details regularly correspond to the 14th November, 1388 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.



boundaries, still retains the same name and is about 2 miles due south-east of Pēṭṭapāṣu. Tallā-  
reddikunja and other such names ending in *kunja* probably indicate certain ponds. I am unable  
to identify the other names.

I express my thanks to Messrs. K. H. V. Sarma and V. S. Subrahmanyam for having carefully  
checked the text of the inscription and offered many useful suggestions.

### TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1, 41 *Mālinī*; verses 2, 5, 7-21, 23-33, 42-47, 78-80, 85-84, 86-91, 93-97,  
99-103, 105-109 *Anuṣṭup*; verse 3 *Uḍḍi*; verses 4, 40 *Bākṣodhātā*; verses 6, 22, 34-36,  
38-39, 43-44, 46-47, 81, 83, 98, *Gāi*; verses 37, 65, 83 *Āgā*; verse 92 *Indravajrā*; verse  
104 *Śilpi*.]

#### *First Plate, First Side*

- 1 Ōm Jayati mathanam-ādyaṁ jātārā-āru-
- 2 p-ābham ravi-śāśīkhi-nōtram rāja-rēkhā-vātantaṁ(sam) [1\*]
- 3 chataya-kamala-chaiṁchāch-chaiṁchārik-āmar-āam
- 4 śaraṇam-uparātānūṁ śāvat-ānadhā-dāyī [1 1\*]
- 5 Pratyāha-timira-vrāta-parākarapa-pa-
- 6 mājitaṁ(tam) | Ilhaṁ-śchal-śchitam nityam bhaja Gaja-
- 7 mukhaṁ mukhaḥ [2\*] Asta-mudē Vārāham vapu-
- 8 r-anibhaṁ vāsumati śasya | vilāḍ-āmaśṭrā-śkha-
- 9 rō vilasati bhāṇṇa-iva kōtaka-mukalē [3\*]

#### *First Plate, Second Side*

- 10 Kairav-ōtkara-kavāra-kumchikā pāṁcha-bāga-niganta-pampath-
- 11 chikā | rājatō vityati rāja-rēkhikā pāṁcha-tōka-paribhā-
- 12 va-rēkhikā [4\*] Prabōdhāt-ābja-kumudē bhāṣētām bhāṣit-ā-
- 13 khilē | nayanē Naga(jābhartur)niṁś-divasaṣṭhī ppa(pa)ti [5\*] Nā-
- 14 rāya(a-nābhi-śaraṇa-mājātām satatam-avatu vō mahi-
- 15 nām(nam) | yatra madhuvrata-nikarō yamibhir-avēd-ārtita-
- 16 vādam-ātatanū [6\*] Tatas-samudalibhāt-Brahmā Marichir-Brahmaṇ-
- 17 mutab | Kaśyapaś Kaśyapād-Bhānur-Bhānūr-Vvācavātō Manuh [7\*]
- 18 Ikahvākur-ammin-samitānē dīkehv-ātata-mahā-yasū | Kakatethah Kā-
- 19 śyapināthas-tat-kulē śaraṇi-prabhah [8\*] Dītpabhūpa-tad-vamāyō
- 20 Raghur-śtasya namdanah | Aja-tad-ātmajaś-tasya dātā Da-

\* From impressions.

\* This is preceded by a floral design.

\* The figure 1 is engraved against this line in the margin.



PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265—PLATE I

Fig. 1

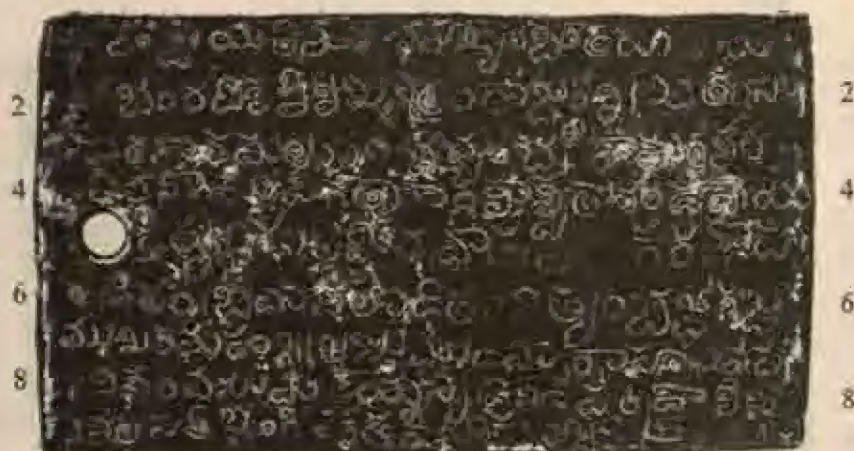


Fig. 2

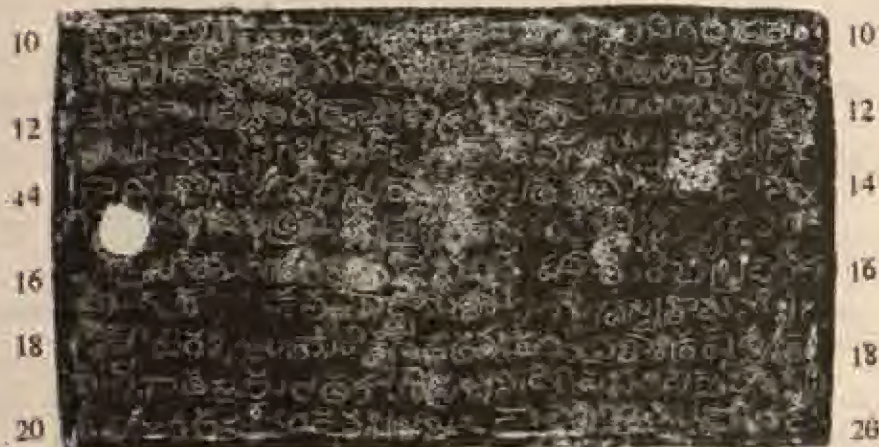
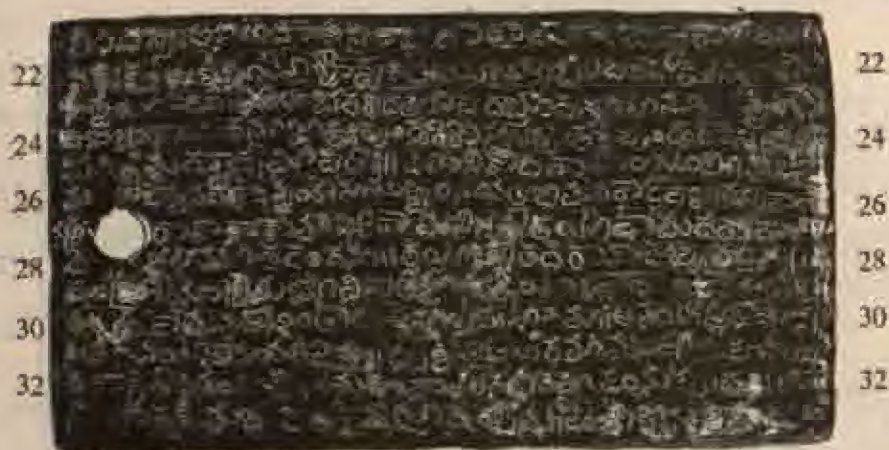


Fig. 3

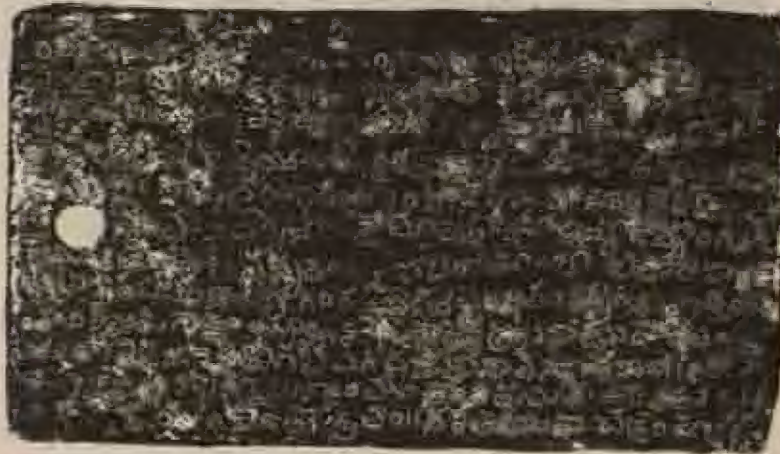


Scale : One-fourth



ii, b

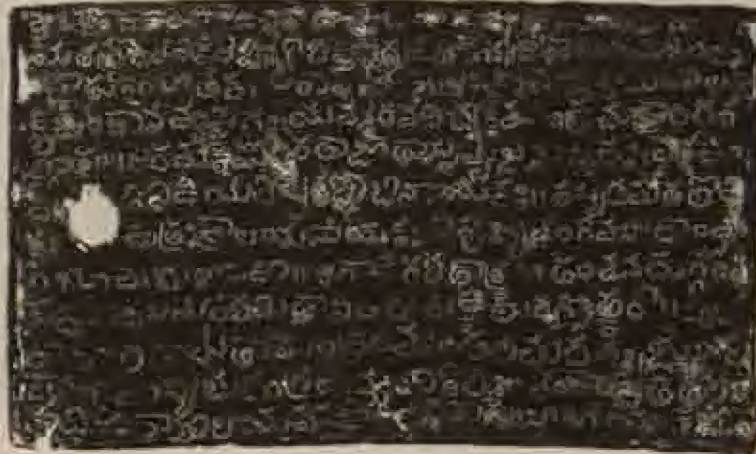
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34  
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iii, a

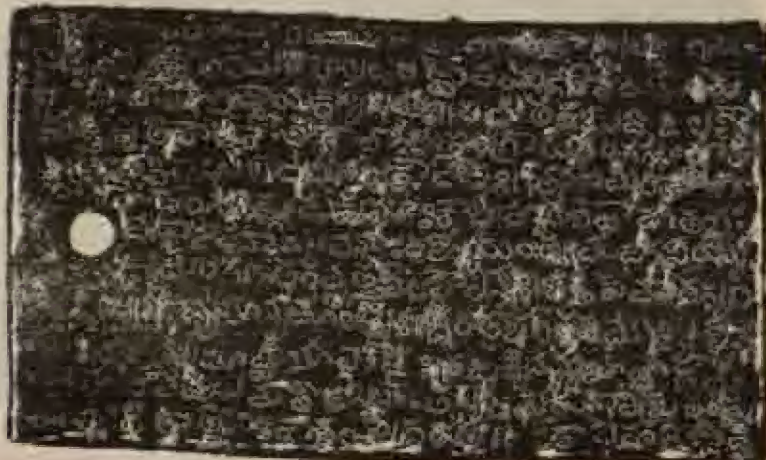
48  
50  
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48  
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iii, b

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70



60  
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66  
68  
70



*Second Plate, First Side*

- 21 śarathas-sutaḥ || [9\*] Tad-ātma-sambhavo Rāmō rājanya-kula-śekhara-  
 22 ḥ | Kuśaḥ kuśāsya-śbh-śkshas-tanayas-tasya bhūpatēḥ || [10\*] Kuśasy-Ātithi-  
 23 samutpannō(nō) Nipa(sha)dhō-tithi-sambhavaḥ || [11] Nalō Nishadha-bhūpasya sūna-  
 sūrita-bhā-  
 24 shapaḥ || [11\*] Nabhā Nala-tanū-jātaḥ Puṇḍarikō Nabhas-sutaḥ | Puṇḍarikaasya  
 putrō-  
 25 bhūt-Kaśemadhanvā khamāpatēḥ || [12\*] Dēvāntkō dharāpālas-sambhūtaḥ Kaśē-  
 26 madhanvanah | tad-anvayō samutpannō(nō) Nalabhīma-narādhipaḥ || [13\*] Tasya kāmā-  
 27 tar-ākārā Kām-ākhyā kāmīni sati | tayōr-Dāma-dharāpālō  
 28 jānō Sōmā tad-anḡanā || [14\*] Tayōḥ Pōta-dharānāthaḥ putras-tasy-Ānya-  
 29 mā priyā | Bhīma-bhūmipatir-jātas-tayōḥ Pōt'-āsya vallabhā || [15\*]  
 30 Tayōr-Dāma-nripō jātō Lakshmiś-tasya manōramā | anayōs-Sōma-nri-  
 31 patis-tanayō vinay-ānvitaḥ || [16\*] Mahābī Sūram-āmeshya mahantya-  
 32 tar-ākṛitēḥ | tayōr-Gaṅga-mahāpālō gabhīra-hṛdayas-sutaḥ || [17\*] Bhū-  
 33 mi-bhāra-kshama-bhujē tasmīn-ārūḍha-yauvanē | Sōmāśō-sya vivāh-ārha-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 34 śh Sōma-varāham-amanyata || [18\*] Kumārō nāma nripatir-vidyātō Vidhu-va-  
 35 śhājah | śtasya Gaṅgamā dēvi Gaṅgā vārinidhēr-iva || [19\*] Tayōs-Chandra-mahā-  
 36 pālō jātō Gaṇī tad-anḡanā | Brahma-bhūpas-tad-uditās-Sūramā ta-  
 37 sya suhādarī || [20\*] Tayōr-Dēva-nripas-sūnur-Ābbidēvy-asya vallabhā | Kāma-khittas-  
 ta-  
 38 t-putrō Lakshmyambā tat-priyā sati || [21\*] Jātā Kāma-mahāśāt-kanyās-tīras-su-  
 39 tāv-ubhau ch-āsyāmb(ayām) | Irugāmbā Dēvāmb-āpar-Ābbidēvi cha Vēm-  
 40 \*ga-Tamma-nripau || [22\*] Vēṅga-kshamāpatēs-tīrō dēvyō divy-ānḡan-ō-  
 41 pamāḥ | Mahādēvy-Anyamāmbā cha Chetnamāmb-ābbidh-āparā || [23\*] [Ka]-  
 42 syap-ānvaya-sambhūtō Gaṅga-kshītitalāvarah | Mānavya-sakul-ōttadish-  
 43 śh mānīnīm-Irug-āhvayām(yām) || [24\*] Kanyām kāmātatar-ākā[rā]m-upāyānata  
 44 yathā-vidhī | śā tatō garbham-śdha[ita\*] bhuvan-āvana-kāraṇam[ṇam] || [25\*] Asū-  
 45 ta putram-puṇyō'hni puṇyam mūrttam tatām-iva | uditō tanayō  
 46 tasmīn-ubhayaḥ vidit-ōstavarah(vam) || [26\*] Nīrti vasudhā-chakram hav[ṇa]-

\* The Rajahmundry Museum plates (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 42) read *Prādhānī*.

\* The numeral 2 is engraved against this line.

\* This half verso completes the sense of the previous stanza.



*Third Plate, First Side*

- 47 aṭṭam trivāṭṭapaṇḥ(pam)\* | nāmnā Kāma-nipālaśya pītā autam=ayōja-  
 48 yat || [27\*] Śaīkavā=pi Śivē bhaktyā Bhakta ity=aparōṇa cha || ( ) tatō Gaṅga-mahipā-  
 49 lō trātun yātē=maṭ-ālayam(yam) || [28\*] Bālō=pi Bhakti-bhūpālās=sa-  
 50 dhis=sautānavaśa=chhritāḥ | Yavanair=avanī-chakram=Ānūhram=att=āditarē  
 51 kṛitam(tam) || [29\*] Adharmā-karma-nirātā jātās=sā[r\*]vvō janās=tataḥ | vikramī  
 52 Vēṅgi-vishayō vidyatō Pōchi-nāyakaḥ || [30\*] Tasya dharmā-ratō vī-  
 53 taḥ putrah Prōlaya-nāyakaḥ | viśṛjya Vēṅgi-vasadhān Vēm-  
 54 ga-bhūmibhujā saha || [31\*] Agād=aga=at=ākramāṭaḥ vana-durggadh vi-  
 55 chakṣhaṇaḥ<sup>1</sup> | samarē samit-āśēsha-Turushka-turag-ōtkaran || [32\*] Puna-  
 56 r=āharatām=ētāv=Āriddhram māṇḍalam=ariddhataḥ | bhujāv-i-  
 57 va Varāhasya bhuvadh pralaya={vā}cidhāḥ || [33\*] Vēṅga-kahititā[nā]-  
 58 [thō] vihat-ākhiḥa-Yavana-vāhīn-nāthaḥ | adhāyyakam=iva

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 59 karttun samarēśhu Śachipatē=agā[r\*]-tridivam(vam) || [34\*] Tad-rājyē tad-bhagint-ta-  
 60 nayam Bhakti-kahitīsam=apī lālāḥ(lam) | aśhāpayad=ari-jayināḥ Ka-  
 61 māram=iva Pōchi-nāyakaśya sutāḥ || [35\*] Paṭutara-bhujā-bala-ā-  
 62 || Bhakti-kahitipālākō=tha hālō=pi | saṅgrāma-rāga-saṅhṛita-  
 63 Yavan-ādhiṇa-subhāṇa-ghōṭak-āpōpaḥ || [36\*] Tēna samarēśhu s-  
 64 rddhant saṅgharashāḥ sōdhum=akhamāḥ kv=āpī | kuta-āśhātā hṛita bha-  
 65 \*vanā javanā Yavanāḥ palāyashita || [37\*] Mahaniyya(nīya)-  
 66 vanā-jātā mathgalatara-vṛitta-āśhā-āśhīnyāḥ | Bhakti-kumārasy=ā  
 67 san={d}jōvya=tiarō=nyam=Ānyamā Lakṣmīḥ || [38\*] Bharata-Bhagīrathe-mukhyāśh-ōhira-  
 68 m=upabhukt=āpī pūrvvā-bhūpālāḥ | rajyaty=ananya-pūrvvā rama-  
 69 gē ramaṇ=iva vasumatī taamin || [39\*] Tasya dharmā-gupa-viārutam sm-  
 tam pūrīt-ārithi-nikar-ālayau āyau | varjit-ānya-harigīdṛi-

\* This half verse completes the series of the previous stanza.

\* The numeral 3 is engraved against this line.



## Fourth Plate, First Side

- 71 **śō(śau)** dīśau valī-rāja-mukut-śapadam padam(dam) || [40\*] Vitarapa-suradhēnu-  
 72 r-vividvad-ambbōja-bhānu-sa jayati Śiva-līnga-dhyāna-sakt-āntaramgaḥ |  
 73 bala-vibhava-Surāmdrō **Bhakti**-bhūpāla-chaṇdrō rāṇa-kṛta-ripu-bhauḡō rā-  
 74 ya-vōyā-bhujāṅgaḥ || [41\*] **Chintapēmṭa**-sthalaṁ **Vēṅgim**-api **Chintalapūṅgā-**  
 75 **m(gām)** | **Gomṭūri**-vṛttim-opy-ś[ha] śāśi **Bhakti**-mahīpatīḥ || [42\*] **Kālēna** tridivam  
 76 yātō tataḥ **Prōlaya**-nāyakō | tat-pitṛivya-sutas-tasya rājyō **Kāpaya-**  
 77 **nāyakaḥ** || [43\*] **Tad**-śtmajam vira-**Vōchi**-nāyakam naya-kōvidaḥ |  
 78 abhyashēchayad-ātmya-prathā(dhā)napurnashair-yutaḥ || [44\*] **Ath**-ānuma-  
 79 tim-āśādyā tasya **Bhakti**-mahīpatīḥ | **Śāk**-ābdō bhūta-tarkk-ārkkā-ga-  
 80 pītō mālī **Kārttikō** || [45\*] **Pārnimāyārṇ** Gurōr-vārō grahaḡō śitarō-  
 81 chishah | vitatō **Vēṅgi**-vishayō sarvva-sasya-rūdhī-śālīni || [46\*] **Pemṭa**(ta)pā-  
 82 ḡur-iti khyātō grāmaḥ kaichana vidyatē | **Enarilagodḡu**-Mulkala-[Ja].

## Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 83 lēpallibhīr-anvitaḥ || [47\*] **Vidvad**bhyō viprēbhyō vidit-ākūla-vēda-śāstra-  
 84 tatvō(ttvō)bhyah | **Garḡgādharapura**-satijhama tam prādād-**Gadga**-bhūpa-  
 85 tēr-nāmnā || [48\*] **Gandḡda**(ḡa)ragamḡḡō(ḡō) **Bhakti**-kahitipatir-**Arirāyaga**-  
 86 mḡabhbhērubah | sukṛitēna tēna itvād-ā-jinakatam-api cha mōdinīh  
 87 pāyāt || [49\*] **Rahīr**-iva **Rīchchana**-yajvā **Hārīta**-Sāma-Yaju-  
 88 r-apādhyāyah | bhāga-dvaya-bhāg-asminn-adhigata-nigam-āṅga-  
 89 nikara-nichpātah || [50\*] **Bhakti**sasya parādihā **Vallabha**-yajvā **Vasishṭha** i-  
 90 va sākshāt | **Rāmasya** Yajushī nipuḡō **Ha**(Hā)ritō bhāga-yuga-  
 91 lavān-asmin || [51\*] **Garḡgādharā**-ghaṭāśālī **Rudraya**-bhaṭṭas-cha **Prōli**-ghaṭāśā-  
 92 śī | **Dōvaya**-ghaṭāśālī syur-**Hārītā** bhāginō-'tra yā'ashkāt || [52\*] **Ri-**  
 93 chī nipuḡō **Vēdām** **Hārīta**-Sūri-bhaṭṭa **Prāmā** | **Garḡgādharā**-ghaṭāśā-

\* The two verses together form a yugma.

\* The four verses ending with this one form a Kalāpada.

\* The figure 4 is engraved against this line near the ring-hole.



- 94 at Hāritō bhāgavāśa=cha Rīgvēdi || [53\*] Tad-gōtras=ta d-vēdi Mallaya-ghaṭasāśi-nā-  
 95 makō='mutra || ( ) Rīgvēdi Kō(Kau)mdin[y\*]ō bhāgi Nārāyaṇ-ākhyā-ghaṭasāśi || [54\*]

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 96 Gaṅgādihara-ghaṭasāśi tarkka-jñāḥ Koppaṇātha-bhaṭṭas=cha | Sōm-ākhyō Vēdā-  
 97 mti dharma-vid=anyō='pi Pōti-ghaṭasāśi || [55\*] Jyōtiḥ-śāstri [Sō]raya-  
 98 nāmā Kṛishṇ-āhvayaś=cha Ghaṭasāśi | Kō(Kau)mdin yāju[ahkā]=sarvvē pra  
 99 tyēka-bhāginō='mutra || [56\*] Nūdikana-ghaṭasāśy-abhidhō Dāsana-bhaṭṭa-  
 100 ś=cha dharma-śāstra-jñāḥ || ( ) Nārāyaṇ-nāmō='nyāḥ pada-vēttā ch=ā-  
 101 'tha Pōti-ghaṭasāśi || [57\*] Pōtaya-ghaṭasāśy=anyō Mārāya-nā-  
 102 mā pada-krama-jñō='pi || ( ) pratyēka-bhāginō='mun=yājuahkāḥ  
 103 Kō(Kau)śik-ānvay-ōdbhūtāḥ || [58\*] Rīgvēda-vidau Mallaya-ghaṭasāśy=anyō='pi  
 104 Pōti-ghaṭasāśi | Kāmāya-ghaṭasāśy=anyō Vennaya-bhaṭṭas=cha tarkka-śā-  
 105 stra-jñāḥ || [59\*] Annāya-nāmā Jyōtiḥ-śāstra-jñō='nyāś=cha Pōti-ghaṭasāśi | Vyākara-  
 106 ṇa-jñāḥ=anyau Rudraya-Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa-namānau || [60\*] Kṛishṇa-gōtrās=sa-  
 107 rvvē yājuahkā bhāgavāśinō='muhmin | Annāya-nāmā jyō-

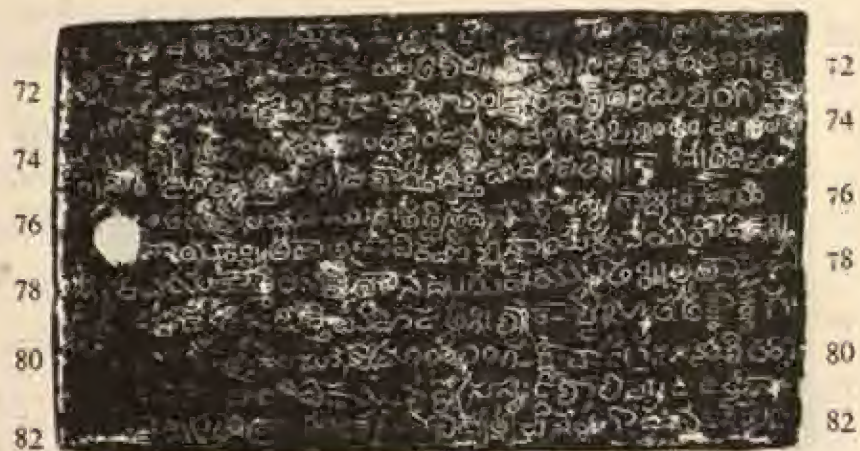
*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 108 tiā-śā[stra]-jñō bhāga-yugālavān=śāhu || [61\*] Rīchi Puṇyamū-  
 109 rtir=ā[śh]yō='py=Ananta-bhaṭṭaḥ purāṇa-pāragataḥ | Yāju-  
 110 śhkaḥ pada-vēttā Vallabha-bhaṭṭaḥ Parāśar-ānvayinaḥ || [62\*] Pratyēka-  
 111 bhāgavāśtas=tataḥ param Kūṇdayaś=chaturv[ēdi] | Mallaya-śā-  
 112 'mudrikō=[pi\*] Bhīmāya-ghaṭasāśy=Agastī-yājuś=cha || [63\*]  
 113 Bhāradvāj-ānvayinō Yājuahkā bhāga-śālinas=sarvvē |  
 114 śtēśhu s=ārdha-bhāgi Kūṇdaya-nām-śhkitas=chaturvvēdi || [64\*] Rīgvē-  
 115 di tad-gōtri vēdānti Prōli-bhaṭṭa śk-āśhā | Mallaya-ghaṭasāśy=anyas=tata-  
 116 ḥ param Mōli-bhaṭṭ-ākhyāḥ || [65\*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jātau Yājuahkau bhāga-śālinā-  
 117 v=atra | Bhīmāya-Mallāya-Vallabha-ghaṭasāśy-abhidhā Yājur-vidas=sarvvē || [66\*]  
 118 Ātrēya-gōtra-jātās=tatrā pratyēka-bhāga-bhājas=tē | Gā[r\*]gya-kn[ō]=nachit=śa-  
 119 khyō Ghaṭasāśi bhāgavān=Yājurvēdi || [67\*] Vallabha-ghaṭasāśy=śhāśi [Yā]-

\* Between this and the next line the numeral 3 is engraved against the ring-hole.



PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265 PLATE II

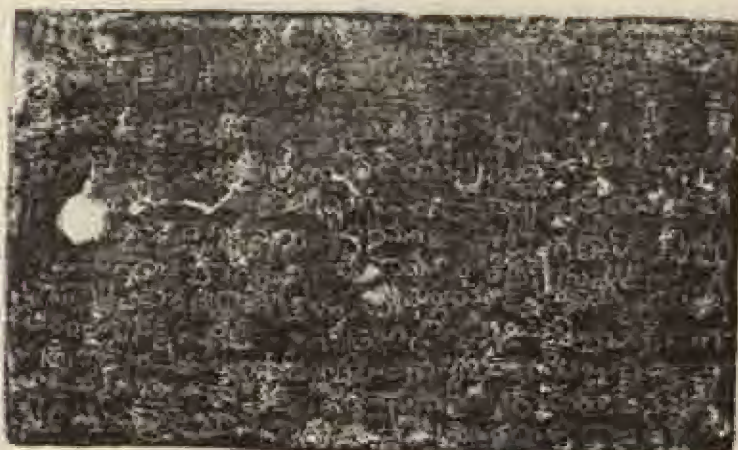


Scale : One-fourth



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108  
110  
112  
114  
116  
118



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114  
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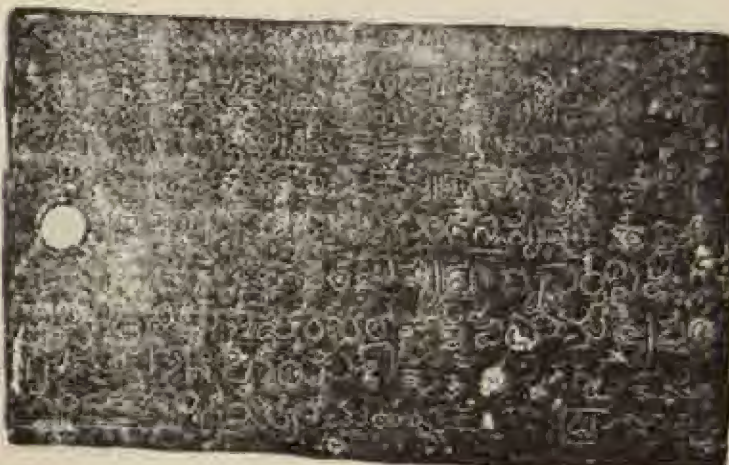
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142



*Sixth Plate, First Side*

- 120 juahkō='py-Ābharadvasōr=vrāṇāyāḥ || ([) Ōbhala-Kūchana-Vallabha-Bhadraya-  
 121 ghaṭasāśinō='rddha-bhāg-ārḥāḥ || [68\*] Hārītā yājuahkās=tad-gotrāv-a-  
 122 rddha-bhāgināv=anyau | Appana-Vallabha-ghaṭasāśy-abhidhānau dvāv=adhta-  
 123 Rīgvēdau || [69\*] Kō(KR)ṭana-Liṅgaya-Dommāna-Mallaya-ghaṭasāśināś=cha yā-  
 124 juahkāḥ | Kāp-ādhtī Sōmaya-ghaṭasāśy=Allādit=api cha: Rīgvē-  
 125 dī || [70\*] Kaumḍinya-gōtra-jātās=sarvō bhāg-ārdha-sālināś=tatra | Ā-  
 126 trēyāv=ardh-āṁśāv=Ellaya-Raṅgan cha Rīg-Yajur-vvēdō(dau) || [71\*]  
 127 Dōchaya-Sōmaya-ghaṭasāśy-abhidhānau Kāsyap-ānvay-ōdbhū-  
 128 tau | Sāma-Yajur-vvēdō-jñau kramēṇa bhāg-ārdha-sālināv=atra || [72\*] Varada-  
 129 ya-Gaṇapaya-Chāmana-ghaṭasāśy-abhidhāś=trayō Yajur-vvēdāḥ || [\*]  
 130 Maudgalya-Pūtimā[ah]ja-Kapī-gotrās=ch-ārdha-bhāgināḥ kramasāḥ || [73\*] Mal-  
 131 lāra-Kōśav-Āppana-ghaṭasāśy-ākhyā Yajur-vvidas=tatra | bhāg-ārdha-bhā-  
 132 ja śtā Bhāradvāj-ānvayō samudbhūtāḥ || [74\*] Śrīpati-Narahari-bhaṭṭau Kā-

*Sixth Plate, Second Side*

- 133 maya-bhaṭṭō='pi Pinṇay-ākhyas=cha | Śrīvats-ānvaya-jātā yāju-  
 134 ahkās=ch=ārdha-bhāgināś=sarvō || [75\*] Rīgvēdī tad-gotrō Mārāya-ghaṭasāśi-nā  
 135 makō='rdh-āṁśāḥ | Kauṭika-gotrō(trāḥ) Kōmmaya-ghaṭasāśy-abhidhō Yajur-vvi-  
 136 dau' tadvat || [76\*] Rīgvēdī Maltrēyō Lakṣmaṇa-ghaṭasāśi-nāmakō='rddh-āṁśāḥ |  
 137 Lōhita-gōtraḥ Pōṭaya-ghaṭasāśy-ārdh-āṁśa-bhāg-Yajur-vvēdī || [77\*]  
 138 \*Sīmā prāchyām Bōḍugunṭas=tasya dakṣiṇatō='pi  
 139 cha | Tall-ākhyā-reḍḍigunṭō='sya prāchyām sīmā  
 140 babhūva saḥ || [78\*] Goḍḍunballēr=Ddarāpazṭōr=madhyē mā-  
 141 rgō mahān hī yaḥ | Kumārasvāminō  
 142 gunṭas=tasya-āgnāyyām=amuhya cha || [79\*] Prāchyām=ma-

\* Read \*rid=api.

\* The numeral 6 is engraved near the ring-hole.



*Seventh Plate, First Side*

- 143 rggō mahān=āst-simā tatra sa ēva yaḥ | Goḍḍumballēr=Ddarāpaṛrō-  
 144 r=Mudunūrōs=cha saṁdhi-gaḥ || [80\*] Dakṣiṇatō='muṣhy=āstn=Mucheḥanapallēs=cha  
 145 Goḍḍumballēs=cha | Mudunūrōr=api ch=aivam grāma-traya-saṁdhi-madhya-  
 146 gō mārggaḥ || [81\*] Tat-paśchimatas=simā Mucheḥanapallēs=cha Goḍḍu[m\*]ballēs=cha ||[\*]  
 147 Uttenapūṇēs=samdhāv=api rachutō mya(mṛi)ttikā-rāsiḥ || [82\*] Tad-vā-  
 148 yaviya-kakubhi mṛid-rāsis=sima-lakṣaṇam(ṇam) | tasy=ōttarasyā-  
 149 m=apy=āstn=Nattū-kuly-āstima-sthal || [83\*] Tad-vāyaviyya(vīya)-kakubha(bh)  
 150 Māra-bhaṭṭasya Koppaṇōḥ | kaḥētram lla(la)kaṇam=ōstaya prācīhyām  
 151 Kamdigumtakah || [84\*] Mārapachemga-kaḥētram tan-nairṇityām=amu-  
 152 shya dakṣiṇataḥ | Śiṁgi-ōṭṭi-Malla-kaḥētram tat-prācīhyām mrunma(mṛiṇma)yyō  
 153 rāsiḥ || [85\*] Tasya dakṣiṇatas=simā Veyyēgur=atha dakṣiṇā ||[\*]

*Seventh Plate, Second Side*

- 154 āgnēyīm diśam=ārabhya simā sādhu pradarāyatē || [86\*] Āgnē-  
 155 yyām=api Veyyēgur=tasya paśchimato='pi cha | Mōḍu-kshā-  
 156 trasya nairṇityām Perrumballīya-kulyakā || [87\*] Tasyā u-  
 157 dīcīhyām simā tu Mōḍōr=vāyavya āharaḥ | tasya paśchi-  
 158 'matas=simā dakṣiṇas=ōstūr=āhyatē || [88\*] Ertuma[1\*]y-ākhyā-  
 159 gumtasya tasya paśchimato='pi cha | Perrumballēs=cha Vi-  
 160 pa(ppa)ṛrōr=Gangādharaपुरासा cha || [89\*] Saṁdhan mārggas=sima-saṁdhir=abhū-  
 161 d=ā Nakkakumtataḥ | Nakkakumt=ōttar=ōttunga-sthal tatra tu la-  
 162 kaṇam(ṇam) || [90\*] Tasyāḥ prācīhyām Nāgadēva-kaḥētra=ōstv=annaśrataḥ || [91\*] Ta-  
 163 sy=ōttarasyām khalu Kāṭapaṛrōr=Gangādhara-ākhyasya

*Eighth Plate, First Side*

- 164 puraśya śmni | sētur=hi simā tad-anu prasārān=mṛit-saṁdha[ya]-  
 165 ḥ paśchima-dig-vibhāgē || [92\*] Sētur Kāru-taṭākasya prācīyō='sy=ōttaratō-  
 166 'pi cha | Pēndlikumtō='sya ch=ōdīcīhyām mṛid-rāsiḥ=lakṣaṇam sa cha || [93\*] Kāṭapaṛrō-

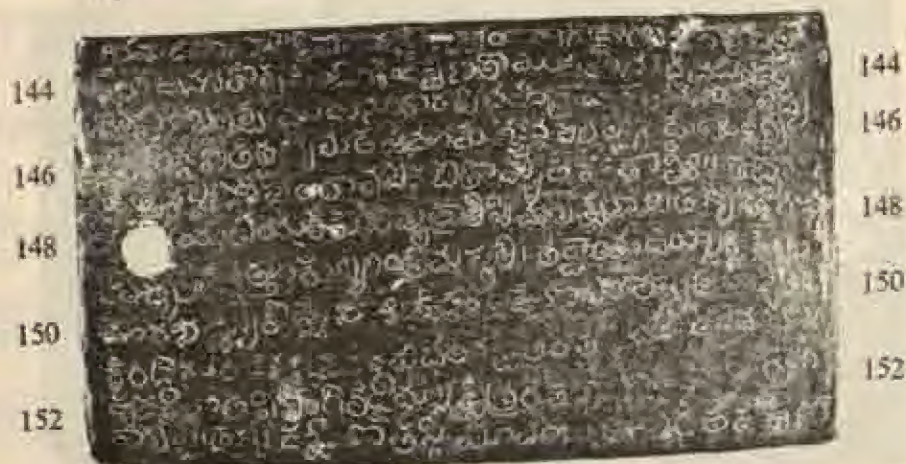
\* The numeral 7 is engraved near the ring-hole.

\* This is a half verse.

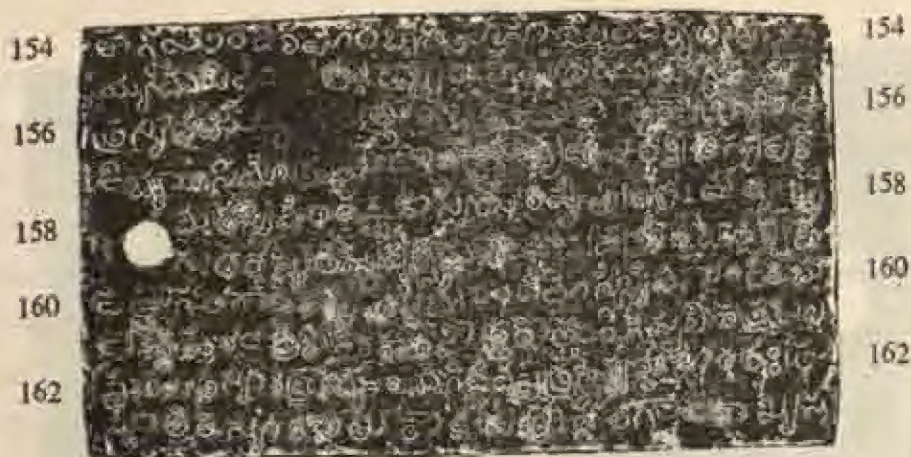


# PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, ŚAKA 1265—PLATE III

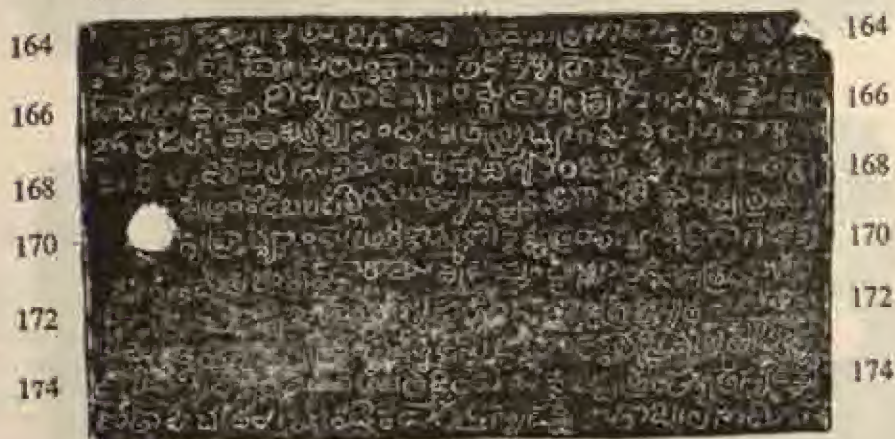
Pl. II, a



Pl. II, b



Pl. II, c



Scale : One-fourth



176 176  
 178 178  
 180 180  
 182 182  
 184 184

12



13

192 192  
 194 194  
 196 196  
 198 198



- 167 r-Jōlepallāḥ Pārrapallāḥ=cha samdhi-gaḥ | tat-prāchyāḥ mṛṣmayōr(yō) rāsia=ta-  
 168 d-ndīchi-diśa=sthalē || [94\*] Gulikumtō='sya pūrvasyāḥ diśi sīmā babbūva tat |  
 169 kahētram<sup>1</sup> Dibalepalliyāḥ tasya dakahinatō='pi cha || [95\*] Koṭṭhāri-kahētram=ēta-  
 170 sya prāchyāḥ Pālūri-Kommaṇḍōḥ [ | \*] kahētram tasy-āgni-dig-bhāgē bhāṇa-  
 171 chārairtatmaprabhāḥ<sup>2</sup> || [96\*] Kēdārō='mushya pū<sup>3</sup> pūrvasyāḥ Dēva-kahētrīya-  
 nārū(sarū)-  
 172 di(dhi)-[ga\*]ḥ | stambhō dakahinatō='musya(shya) Kurraṇ-kūṇṭaḥ prasasyatē || [97\*]  
 Samaya-  
 173 samudras=tasya prāchyāḥ diśi varīma tasya dakahinataḥ | Śāstrimalla-kahētrē mṛi-  
 174 d-rāsia=tasya pāśchimasyāḥ tu || [98\*] Tadiyam=ēva cha kahētram tasya<sup>4</sup> tasya dakahi-  
 175 natō='pi cha | Tall-ākhyā-redḍi-kēdāras=tasya dakahinato=' pi [cha\*] || [99\*] Lasāmika(?)=ta-

*Eighth Plate, Second Side*

- 176 ākasya prāchyas=ētur=amushya cha | dakahinasyāḥ Darāparrō-  
 177 r-mārga-sarūdhaṇ mṛidaś=cha yaḥ || [100\*] Ā-chaṇḍr-ārkaṇ=sarū viprā  
 178 Gaṇḍigādharaपुराṇ śubham(bham) | putra-pautra-prapautr-ādi-sarūta-  
 179 tyā='nubhavanītv=idaḥ(dam) || [101\*] Bhānu-varṇa-pradīpasya Bhakti-bhū-  
 180 \*pasya āśanaṇ(nam) | bhūyād=ś-chaṇḍra-tār-ārkaṇ  
 181 bhūmāv=udadhi-sīmanī || [102\*] Saṁtatir=vardhatām=asya satāṇi  
 182 saṁtōṣa-kāripī | pālayatv=akṣiṇāḥ prithivīḥ chatur-arṇa-  
 183 va-mākhālām(lām) || [103\*] Sāmānyō='yam dharma-sētur-nṛpāgāḥ kālē  
 184 kālē pālantīyō(yō) bhavadbhīḥ | sarvān=ētāṇ bhāvīnaḥ pāṛthivēndrān  
 185 bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachaṇḍrah || [104\*]

*Ninth Plate\**

- 186 Bhaktirā-  
 187 jūgārī  
 188 birudu  
 189 Gaṇḍabhāḥ-  
 190 rathīḥ || [105\*]

<sup>1</sup> There is an unnecessary anuvāda here.

<sup>2</sup> Read "ādī" for "ā".

<sup>3</sup> This letter is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> This word is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> The number 8 is engraved near the ring-hole between this and the next line.

<sup>6</sup> Against the writing giving the title of the donor is engraved the figure of the mythical man-bird Gaṇḍabharuṇḍa.



*Tenth Plate<sup>1</sup>*

- 191 Anarid-ābdē Peusha-kṛishṇa-dvādaśyām Makar-āyanē | Gaṅgā-  
 192 dharapurē pūrvvam dāpayitvā dvij-ōttamāḥ || 106\* | Dvaḥ bhāgau Bhāra-  
 193 ti-nāmnē vidushē Bhakti-bhūpatih | as paśchād-Uttanampū-  
 194 nim grāma-grāsāya dattavān || 106\* | Gaṅgādharapurē bhā-  
 195 gāsh-ahaṭ-ahaahṭis-cha tatō-bhavan | Gaṅgādharapurē bhā-  
 196 ga-yugmī Bhārati-kōvidaḥ || 107\* | Bām(Ba)hṛi(hvṛi)chas-sarvva-śāstra-jñāḥ  
 197 Ko(Kau)mḍīnyas=sudhiyām varāḥ | dakṣiṇasyām=ath=ījñā(gnē)yyā-  
 198 m prāchyām ch=aiva yathā-kramam(mam) || 108\* | Veyyēṭur=Jammi-guḍḍa-  
 199 ā=cha Kāśekunṭas=cha śima-bhūḥ || 109\*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This forms the post-script to the grant.

<sup>2</sup> This is a half verse.



# No. 44—PALIAD PLATES OF BHIMADEVA I, V.S. 1112

(1 Plate)

A. L. BASHAM, LONDON

(Received on 30. 8. 1958)

This set of plates was discovered at **Paliad**, a village in Eastern Saurashtra, just off the main road from Wadhwan to Bhavnagar, about ten miles north-west of Botad and about the same distance south-west of Ranpur. The plates, deposited in the Rajkot Museum, were sent in 1953 to the Government Epigraphist for India, Cuttack, for examination.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is edited below from inked impressions and photographs received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of two plates, each measuring 9" long, 5·4" broad and ·1" thick. They are held together by a ring (about 1·75" in diameter) passing through holes (about ·5" in diameter) made about the centre of the lower margin of the first plate and the upper margin of the second. No seal is attached to the plates which, together with the ring, weigh 133 *tolas*. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and the writing is fairly well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.D. and generally resemble those of records like the Palanpur plates<sup>2</sup> of Bhīmadēva I and the Kādī plates<sup>3</sup> of Mūlarāja. No special remarks are called for in respect of orthography.

The date of the inscription (line 1) is given as **V.S. 1112, Chaitra śu. 15**. It is further stated in line 4 that there was a **lunar eclipse** on the said date. These details correspond to the **2nd April, 1056 A.D.**

The grant was issued when *Mahārājādhirāja* **Bhīmadēva** was residing at **Ākāśikā-grāma** (lines 1-2). Bhīmadēva is evidently the first king of that name of the Uhaḥlukya family of Gujarat, who ruled in c. 1024-1066 A.D. The present record does not add any new information of historical or chronological importance.

The grant is addressed (lines 2-4) to the king's officials, the Brāhmanas and the people of the 116 villages attached to the city of **Vāyaḍa**. Its object (lines 4-5) is to record a grant made by the king in favour of the Jain monastery situated at the said city. The grant consisted of a piece of land measuring two *āḥas* and belonging to a merchant named **Sādāka**, together with another plot measuring two *Kaśikāśūpa*<sup>4</sup>, which was attached to the said land of **Sādāka** and was separated from the border of **Guḍuḥulā** by a *charī* (pasture land).<sup>5</sup>

The position of the merchant **Sādāka** in the transaction is not altogether clear. Since the peasants are told that they must now pay their dues direct to the monastery, it seems that he was not the occupant of the land, but, until the issue of the grant, was the landlord and intermediary between the cultivators and the king. Evidently he was now deprived of his rights over the land in question; but the grant gives no evidence of the means whereby this was done. Possibly **Sādāka** died without leaving heirs; or he may have had his land confiscated for an offence.

<sup>1</sup> The plates are registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, No. A 15, and are briefly noticed *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.

<sup>4</sup> *Kaśikāśūpa-vāga* = *Kaśikāśūpa-vāga* means a plot of land sufficient for sowing two *Kaśikāśūpa* of seed. *Kaśikāśūpa* reminds us of *Deśaśūpa* known from many records.

<sup>5</sup> The word *charī* in this sense is not found in standard Sanskrit Dictionaries, but is common in this sense in Hindi.



of some sort; or the land was resumed by the king and transferred to the temple with the payment of compensation to the merchant. We are inclined to support the last suggestion, since the transfer takes place on the occasion of an eclipse. At such a time the king, anxious to ward off evil influences by a work of piety, might well have commandeered part of Śādāka's estate in return for compensation. Moreover, if Śādāka were dead or had forfeited his property on account of a crime, this, we might expect, would have been mentioned in the grant.

Lines 8-12 give the boundaries of the gift land as follows: in the east—the field belonging to *Kalyāpāla Kēśarin*; in the south—the royal pasture land; in the west—the field belonging to the merchant *Bhādhala*; and in the north—the road leading to the village of *Pālavaḍa*. Lines 11-15 state that the grant made in favour of the Jain monastery should be protected by the descendants of the king and others. This is followed (lines 15-16) by an imprecatory verse.

The writer of the grant was *Vajśvara* who was the son of *Kāyastha Kāśchana* (lines 16-17). This *Vajśvara*, son of *Kāśchana*, was also the writer of a copper-plate grant of *Bhīmadēva*, dated in the year 93 of the *Śaka* era, corresponding to V. S. 1093.<sup>1</sup> The *dātaka* was the *Mohādandhivigraha* *Bhōgāditya* who is also known from the *Palampur* plates referred to above. The record ends with the sign-manual of *Bhīmadēva*.

As regards the localities mentioned in the inscription, *Ākāśikā-grāma*, whence the grant was issued, and *Guḍuhulā* mentioned in connection with the gift land, cannot be identified. *Vāyaḍa* may be the same as modern *Botad* referred to above. *Pālavaḍa* is evidently modern *Paliad* where the plates were discovered.

## TEXT\*

### First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> Vikrama-samvat 1112 Chaitra-sudi 15 ady-ēha Ākāśikā-grām-āvāsē samasta-
- 2 rāj-āvalī-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-ri-Bhīmadēvaḥ || Vāyaḍ-ādhiśthāna-prati-
- 3 va(ba)ddha-vō(khō)jā-ōttara-grāma-śat-āntaḥ-pāti-samasta-rājapurushān Vra(Brā)hma-  
n-ōtta(rān)ja-
- 4 napaddānta-cha vō(bō)dhayaty-anta vaḥ sadividitān yathā adya Sōma-grahaṇa-parvati  
char-āchāra-
- 5 guru(m) Sarvajñam abhyarchya Vāyaḍ-ādhiśthāntya-vasatikāyai atre-aiva Vāyaḍ-ādhi-  
śthānē
- 6 [cha]ri-khētr-āntaritatā Guḍuhulā-pālī-samlagnayā vanika(pik)-Śādāka-bhūmi-sam(va(ba)-  
dhya)-
- 7 mānyā kalasikā-dvaya-vāpa-bhuvā sah-āy-aiva Śādākasya satkā<sup>3</sup> hala-dvayasya 2
- 8 bhūḥ āsana(nē)u-ōdaka-pūrvam-samābhīḥ pradati-ā'ryaḥ-cha bhūmēḥ pūrvasyām diti  
Kalya-
- 9 pāla-Kēśari-satkadī kabētrān dakṣiṇasyām cha rājakiyā chart | pāschimā-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 116 ff.; cf. Bhattacharya's List, No. 1404.

\* From impressions and photographs.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> There is an unnecessary sūtra sign after this.



100

18







## Second Plate

- 10 yāṁ cha vāpiya(ja)ka-Bhābhaliyam kahētram=uttarayāṁ cha Pālavāḍa-grāma-mā-  
 11 rgga iti chatur-āghāṭ-ṣpalakahitāṁ bhuvam=ētām=avagamya ētan-nivāsi-janapadai-  
 12 r=yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi sarvvam=ājñā-[śrava]ṇa-vidhēyai.  
 13 r=bhūtv=ā'syai vasatikāyai samupanētavyaṁ sāmānyam ch=aitat=punya-phalaṁ matv=  
 ā'[sma]-  
 14 d-vamāajair-anyair-api bhāvi-bhōkṭṛibhir-asmat-pradatta-dharma-dāyō-'yam=anu-  
 mantavyaḥ  
 15 pālanīyaś=cha || uktam cha ||<sup>1</sup> bhagavatā Vyāsēna | Śhaabṭir-varsha-sahasrāpi svarggā  
 tiśṭhati  
 16 bhūmidah | āchohṭtā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam(kē) vasēt || lūhitam=idam  
 Kāyastha-  
 17 Kāuchana-suta-Vaṣṭavarēṇa | Dātakō-'tra mahāsādhivigrahika-śri-Bhōgāditya ||(ti)<sup>2</sup>  
 [ ||\*]  
 18 śri-Bhīmadēvasya ||

<sup>1</sup> The *duplas* are unnecessary.<sup>2</sup> The *chakara* ti looks like a symbol. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 172, note 13.



## No. 45—STRAY PLATE FROM NANANA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACANUND

(Received on 5. 9. 1958)

Sometime ago I received for examination an old photograph of the inscribed face of a copper plate from the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. There are marks of two ring holes on the photograph and it appears that the inscription was originally engraved on the inner side of two copper plates strung on two rings as is the case with the copper-plate grants of many of the West Indian ruling families. The plate is stated to have been found at the village of **Nāhāpā** about three miles from the Bhagwanpura station on the Western Railway. Bhagwanpura is 27 miles from Marwar Junction. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum for the year ending 31st March 1937*, pp. 3, 9 (No. 6).<sup>1</sup> There are, however, some minor errors and inaccuracies in the notices.

In July 1958, Dr. Dasharath Sharma of the Delhi University was good enough to send me a copy of his article on the same inscription published without illustration in the Hindi periodical *Marubhārati*, Vol. VI, No. 2, July 1958, pp. 2-4. This aroused my interest in the record and I checked Dr. Sharma's transcript with the photograph of the epigraph in my possession. It was found that, while the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory and some letters here and there are undecipherable on the photograph, there are some palpable errors in Dr. Sharma's transcript and that most of the many lacunae in it could be filled up with confidence. A number of errors were also noticed by me in the introductory part of Dr. Sharma's paper. Dr. Sharma takes the document to be a charter issued by Chāhamāna Ālhaṇa of Nāḍol in V. S. 1205. But this belief is absolutely unwarranted since, as a matter of fact, the epigraph contains a large number of small documents only one of which records a gift of the said ruler. Dr. Sharma reads *vyavasthābhāṇḍiyā* in line 1 and *drumaka* in line 9 and regards the three words as the names of particular coins, the first to be identified in his opinion with *Pāṇḍā* (equal to 5 cowrie shells), the second with *Lāhaḍiyā* (equal to 20 *Pāṇḍās*) and the third with the well-known *Dramma* (equal to 20 *Lāhaḍiyās*) also mentioned elsewhere in the record under study. But the first of the two passages in question clearly reads *tathā vāṇī(vāṇī)ḍika-Lhaṇḍiyāka*, 'and the flute-player [named] Lhaṇḍiyāka'. The word read as *drumaka* is again certainly *stoma(ḍa)ka* meaning 'a bunch [of flowers]'. Dr. Sharma also thinks of the possibility of the word *pada* in lines 1 and 3 signifying a class of coins. The suggestion is, however, impossible in view of the adjectives *ṣaḍḍāśama* (i.e. sixteenth) and *saptarāśama* (i.e. seventeenth) qualifying the word respectively in lines 1 and 3. It may be pointed out that, though Dr. Sharma failed to read *saptarāśama* in line 3, he has read *ṣaḍḍāśama* correctly in line 2. Among other errors of omission and commission in Dr. Sharma's reading and interpretation of the record, mention may also be made of his reference to 'the *Kumara-drōṇa* of wheat belonging to Śōbhikā' as occurring in line 15 of the record and the suggestion that *Kumara-drōṇa* may have been a bigger measure of capacity than *Drōṇa*. As will be seen below, this is all imaginary and unwarranted.

The fragmentary inscription is written in Nāgarī characters of the twelfth century. But it is not engraved by a single person. There are many records of different dates, which were

<sup>1</sup> For three other copper-plate grants from Nāhāpā, see *Ind.*, pp. 2-4, 9, Nos. 7-9; cf. *A. M. Sp.*, 1956-57, No. A 79.







From the ductus of the writing, the inscription can be divided into different sections engraved on different dates. In most of the cases, a section contains more than one transaction. Some of these transactions relate to arrangements (*sthā*) and not gifts actually. The sections are analysed below one by one.

**Section I** (lines 1-2). There are three transactions recorded in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that the sixteenth *pada* was allotted to the *vīlāsini* Vijalā, the daughter of Padmāvatī, with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other unnamed *vīlāsini* (*aparābhīṣa samāh*). The word *pada* here seems to mean 'a share' or 'a quarter of the standard land measure'. An account of 15 other *padas* appears to be lost with the earlier part of the record on the missing first plate. The word *vīlāsini* is also used in line 4 apparently in the sense of a *Dēvadāsī*. Probably the word *gaṇikā* (line 2) and *mēhari* (lines 1, 7, etc.) are also used in a similar sense. The name of the deity to whom Vijalā was attached seems to have been mentioned in the missing first plate of the set. It may have been the god Tripurusha mentioned in the following sentence. The name of the donor of the *pada* to Vijalā is not known from the extant part of the record.

(b) The next sentence states that, in the same way (*tathā*), the flute-player named Lhaṇḍiyāka (i.e. Lhaṇḍiyā) was allotted to Tripurusha which was the name of the deity. The expression *tripurusha* has been used here and in many other places in the record in the plural. But, in line 21, the same deity is mentioned as Tripurushadēva in the singular. It was therefore the name of a single deity, probably a combined image of the Trimūrti of Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The last sentence of the section speaks of the arrangement, according to which a *mēhari*, whose name cannot be fully deciphered, was to receive annually five *Drōmas* of wheat out of the collections made on behalf of the deity (*dēvakiṅg-ādīna-madhyāt*) from the *Nandāpā-grāmiya-bhōga*, no doubt a free-holding comprising a part or the whole of the village of Nandāpā (modern Nānāpā) under the enjoyment of the deity. This deity seems to be no other than Tripurusha mentioned in the previous sentence. We have already noted that the word *mēhari*, literally 'a songstress', seems to have been used to indicate a *Dēvadāsī*.

**Section II** (lines 2-8). There are four transactions referred to in this section.

(a) The first sentence records the allotment of the seventeenth *pada* to a *gaṇikā*'s daughter with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other *gaṇikās*. As indicated above, the word *gaṇikā*, like *vīlāsini* and *mēhari* in Section I, probably means 'a *Dēvadāsī*'. The *gaṇikā*'s name was Gōchhigī, though her daughter's name cannot be deciphered.

(b) The second sentence records the grant of the village of Bhinṭalavādā. The village is stated to have been given to Tripurusha, though it was actually meant for the deity Chandaleśvara. This probably suggests that the shrine of Chandaleśvara lay in the neighbourhood of the Tripurusha temple. The expression *sthrāna* used in connection with Bhinṭalavādā seems to suggest that the village lay in the vicinity of the temple situated at Nāḍōl. The following sentence further states that the income or produce of the said village should have to be collected by the *Vārikas* attached to the god Tripurusha as a part of their own collections and that the expenses for the training, food, etc., of the *vīlāsini* attached to the god Chandaleśvara as well as any other expenditure made for the said god should have to be met from the collections or income of the god Tripurusha. It is clear that the management of the affairs of the god Chandaleśvara was entrusted to the *Vārikas* of Tripurusha. As we have elsewhere seen, the *Vārikas* were the superintendents of a temple like the

<sup>1</sup> For the deity or deities called 'the Tripurushas', see also the Karmnagar inscription of Pratāparnuja I (Sreenivasachar, *Corpus*, Vol. II, p. 175). For a Tripurusha temple at Anhilwada, see Tawney's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, pp. 25, etc. In the composite Trimūrti images of Gujarat, Śaṅkadevya was often represented in Viṣṇu's place (Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 300, 331).



Pāṇḍās of today.<sup>1</sup> The last sentence of this subsection seems to say that the king and the *Vārikas* should have to look after the permanent one-fourth share belonging to Tripurusha.

(c) The next transaction in lines 6-8 records that an *araghaṭṭa* or a machine for drawing water from a well, called *Nārāvattaka* and situated in the village of *Dēvanandita* which was under the possession of the chief priest of the temple (*maṭha-pati*) of Tripurusha, was granted for the maintenance of the worship of *Chandalēśvara*. It appears that two persons named *Śilapati* and *Śrīpāla*, who were probably engaged in working the *araghaṭṭa* at *Dēvanandita-grāma*, were allotted to the said god along with a number of persons living probably at the locality where the temple stood (i.e. *Nāḍōl*). These were the songstresses *Vīṅgaḍā*, *Śitaḍī*, *Prēmali*, *Ratanī*, *Śrīyādēvī* and *Āśādēvī*; the *Suruvāla* (a person responsible for setting songs or musical instruments to tune) *Jasari*; the drum-player (*Pāṇavika*) *Śrīpāla*; the *Dōgaraka* (a singer who had to repeat parts of a song after they had been once sung) *Vaḍiyāka* (i.e. *Vaḍiyā*); the *Mṛdaṅga*-player *Mahipatiyāka* (i.e. *Mahipatiyā*); and the flute-player *Riniyāka* (i.e. *Riniyā*), the son of *Gōvinda*.

(d) The last sentence of the subsection states that a *māhari*, whose name is not mentioned, was allotted five *Drōyas* [of wheat] out of *Kumara's Drōyas* [of wheat] at the *araghaṭṭa* at *Bhīṣṭalavāḍā-grāma*. It appears that *Kumara* was the lessee of the *araghaṭṭa*, who used to pay the annual rent for it to the temple in wheat. This transaction is also referred to in Section IV (b) in lines 15-16 below, where the name of the *māhari* is given as *Śobhikā*.

From the grant of the village of *Bhīṣṭalavāḍā*, it appears that most of the transactions recorded above were made by the contemporary *Chāhamāna* ruler of *Nāḍōl*. The name of this ruler seems to be lost with the first plate of the set. But he may have been *Āśārāja* mentioned below. The god *Chandalēśvara* was apparently installed by the queen *Chandaladēvī* mentioned below in line 10 which also mentions *Āśārāja*. It is not improbable that *Chandaladēvī* was a queen of *Āśārāja*.

It should, however, be noted that the *Nānāpā* copper-plate inscription of 1164 A.D., referred to above, speaks of the grant of *Bhīṣṭalavāṭaka* by king *Ālhaṇa* to the *Chandalēśvara* temple. It is not impossible that *Bhīṣṭalavāḍā* or *Bhīṣṭalavāṭaka* was originally granted to the temple by *Āśārāja* but the grant was later renewed by his son *Ālhaṇa*.

**Section III** (lines 9-10). There are two transactions recorded in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that one *Yaśōdhavala* made a gift of one load of lotuses and one hundred bunches [of flowers] at a place called *Āhumala*. It is difficult to determine whether the transaction refers to a daily supply of the flowers and whether *Āhumala* is a modification of *Āhara-malla*, a well-known personal name which occurs in Section VI, b. The identity of the donor is uncertain, though he may have been a member of the *Chāhamāna* royal family of *Nāḍōl*. The deity who received the grant is not mentioned, but may probably be *Chandalēśvara*.

(b) The second sentence of this section states that, in V.S. 1173, *Kārttika-vadī 3*, *Mahārājādhirāja Āśārāja* made certain gifts (the names of which cannot be fully deciphered but may be those of a few localities) in favour of the *maṭha*. This *maṭha* may refer to the shrine of *Chandalēśvara*, which is mentioned in line 10 below (Section IV, a).

The date may correspond to the 11th September 1116 A.D. The only other date for *Āśārāja's* reign so far known is V.S. 1167, *Chaitra-sudi 1*, corresponding to the 12th March 1111 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Another date for *Āśārāja's* reign is found in Section IV (b) below.

**Section IV** (lines 10-16). This section also speaks of two transactions.

(a) The sentence constituting this sub-section is difficult to understand owing to certain errors of the scribe and the engraver. The first part refers to the 100 leaves allowed out of each load of

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 164, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's *Ins.* No. 182.



leaves by the royal officials (probably the customs officials of Nāḍol; cf. Section VI, *b*) to be enjoyed by the goddess Gauri installed in the shrine (*maṭha*) of Chandaleśvara caused to be made by Mahārājai Chandaleśvī. A passage in line 11 immediately after this reference is unintelligible. After this there is reference to six persons who are stated to have paid annually 100 *Drasmas*, i.e. the coins of that name. The concluding part seems to say that the merchants, who were willing to give, would have to divide the third share of the leaves and wheat probably received as collections on behalf of the Chandaleśvara or Tripurnaha temple. It appears that either Chandaleśvara would have to receive one-third of the collection of leaves and wheat made on behalf of the Tripurnaha temple or Gauri would have to receive a similar share out of the collection of the Chandaleśvara shrine (cf. Section V below).

We have seen above, that the Nānāpā copper-plate inscription of 1164 A.D. refers to the installation of the goddess Gauri in the Chandaleśvara temple by Śaṅkarādēvi who was a queen of Āhara, son of Āśārāja. If the present transaction has to be referred to Āśārāja's reign, we have to suggest that the goddess was installed by Śaṅkarādēvi during her father-in-law's rule.

(*b*) This subsection records a regular grant of Mahārājādhirāja Āśārāja made in V.S. 1171, Pausa-vadi 10, in favour of the *māhari* Śōbhikā on the occasion of the king's visit to her house. The gift consisted of the village of Piñchabhavallī which was granted in its entirety as far as its ascertained boundaries. It is stated that no one was allowed to disturb the *māhari*'s possession of the land as long as the earth and the mountains would endure. It is further stipulated that, so long as the *māhari* Śōbhikā would be allowed to enjoy the gift village, the five *Drasmas* allotted to her previously out of Kumara's *Drasmas* of wheat (cf. Section II, *d*) should be enjoyed by the god Tripurnaha and, in case there was nobody to protect [the *māhari*'s enjoyment of] the village, the allotment of Kumara's *Drasmas* to her should again revert to her.

The date V.S. 1171, Pausa-vadi 10, may correspond to the 23rd November 1114 A.D. This is the third known date for Āśārāja's reign. The two others in V.S. 1167 and 1173 have been referred to above (cf. Section III, *b*).

**Section V** (line 17-18). There is only one transaction recorded in this section.

The first sentence states that the village of *Salayī* was allotted to the *maṭha* together with its entire income. The passage *uparī-śāsana-madhya* used in this connection connects this grant with the one recorded above (Section IV, *b*). It appears that Piñchabhavallī-grāma, allotted to Śōbhikā, belonged to the *maṭha* and that therefore the latter had to be compensated by making the gift of another village in its favour. The following sentence seems to suggest that the *maṭha* referred to was the shrine of Chandaleśvara since it is stated here that two-thirds of the village would be enjoyed by the *maṭha* (apparently of the god Chandaleśvara) and one-third by the god Tripurnaha. The third and last sentence of the section states that the *Bhupāraja*, i.e. the king, should act in accordance with the said arrangement.

**Section VI** (lines 18-19). There are two transactions in this section.

(*a*) The first sentence states that Mahārājādhirāja Ratnapāla (Ratnapāla) gave away one Nōriyā together with his relations. To which god the persons, who were probably to work as temple servants, were allotted is not stated. There is no date mentioned in connection with this grant. But we know that V. S. 1176, Jyeshtha-vadi 8, Thursday (22nd April 1120 A.D.) fell within Ratnapāla's reign.<sup>1</sup> Between Āśārāja and Ratnapāla who was the son of an elder brother and predecessor of Āśārāja, we have two inscriptions of Āśārāja's son Mahārājādhirāja Kaṇḍūva or Kaṇḍurāja, one of which is dated in V.S. 1172 (1115-16 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 209.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, Nos. 189 and 1400. The date of the second inscription has been read as Śakya 31 which Bhandarkar refers to the Śimha-samvats of V.S. 1170-1113 A.D. and equates with V.S. 1200-1143 A.D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 34). But Kaṇḍurāja could not have ruled in 1143 A.D. Moreover the Śimha-samvats is not known to have been used outside Kathiawar (cf. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prākṛitinsikṣā*, pp. 181-83).



(b) The second sentence records the monthly grant of 6 *Dhāyas* probably of wheat by one Āhavanalla at the *maṇḍapikā* (customs office) at Naḍūla (Nāḍōl). The identity of Āhavanalla is unknown though he may have been the lessee of the *maṇḍapikā*. The deity, in whose favour the grant was made, is also not mentioned.

**Section VII** (lines 19-22). Only one transaction is recorded in this section.

The section records the grant of two *kuṭumbikas* (agriculturist householders) named Sōhiya and Āsāleha, formerly living at the village of Nandāpā (modern Nānāpā), together with their sons and grandsons so long as they lived. The gift was made at Naḍūla (Nāḍōl), according to the arrangement based on a charter in favour of the god Tripurusha by *Mahārājaputra Kumāra Sāhaṇapāla* in V.S. 1192, Kārttika-vadi 5, Saturday (28th September, 1135 A.D.). The passage *ady-śha śrī-Naḍūle* seems to suggest that the temple of Tripurusha stood at Nāḍōl. This Sāhaṇapāla was probably a co-uterine brother of Sahaṇapāla who was the son of Ratnapāla's successor Rāyapāla (known dates between V. S. 1189-1153 A.D. and V.S. 1200-1143 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> from the queen Padmālladevi and is known from an undated inscription.<sup>2</sup> Three deities named after the mother and her two sons are mentioned in line 22 (Section VIII, a). The second sentence states that the arrangement should not be nullified by anybody.

**Section VIII** (lines 22-24). There are four transactions recorded in this section.

(a) It is stated in the first sentence that Tripurusha's car could be always utilised by the deities Padmalāśvara, Sāhaṇapālāśvara, Sahaṇapālāśvara and others. Padmalāśvara was apparently named after Padmālladevi, queen of Rāyapāla, and Sāhaṇapālāśvara and Sahaṇapālāśvara after her two sons. They appear to have been installed in shrines within or near the Tripurusha temple.

(b) This subsection records the grant of the *kuṭumb* (i.e. *kuṭumbikas*) Kikāu, Madanapāla and Mahanastha (i.e. Mathanastha) who were formerly living in the village of Nandāpā. The gift was made in favour of Tripurusha by a charter by *Mahārāja Āhaṇadēva* in V.S. 1208, Bhādra-vadi 5, Friday (6th August 1148 A.D. taking the year to be current). Āhaṇa or Āhaṇa, the son of Āsārāja and successor of Rāyapāla, is known from two records of his reign, one dated in V.S. 1209, Māgha-vadi 14, Saturday (24th January, 1153 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> and the other in V.S. 1218, Śrāvaṇa-vadi 14, Sunday (12th August, 1162 A.D.)<sup>4</sup>. The next sentence states that the arrangement should not be nullified by anybody.

(c) Some passages in the next sentence cannot be deciphered. But it seems to mention the grant of one or more persons by the same king Āhaṇadēva (*tath-śhaṇa*). The grant was probably made in favour of the same god Tripurusha.

(d) This sentence, the last of the epigraph under study, states that one Śaḍa made a gift of two persons named Gōḍā and Lōbha. The grant seems to have been made in favour of Tripurusha.

The above analysis of the contents of the inscription under study exhibits some interesting information about certain customs relating to religious institutions, which were prevalent in Rajasthan during the early medieval period. The gift of persons (apparently as slaves) in favour of temples is one such custom.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are Naḍūla, i.e. modern Nāḍōl in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan, and such villages as Nandāpā or Nāndānā-grāma, Bhīṣṭalavādī-grāma, Dēvanandita-grāma, Āhumala, Pīṣṭheḥhayallī-grāma and Śālavī-grāma. Of these, Nandāpā or Nāndānā-grāma is certainly the modern village of Nānāpā where the plate was found. The other localities appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Nāḍōl or Nānāpā.

<sup>1</sup> See Bhanderkar's List, p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., No. 1303, p. 382, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., No. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., No. 311.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 villāinl(nyāḥ) Pa[dm]āvatī(tī)-antā[yāḥ\*] Vijalāyā-'parābhīḥ' samam ebōḍasamaru padam  
pradatta(h)(ttam) | tathā vām(vāḥ)Mika-Lhaṇḍiyākas-Tri(purushā)gā[m] pradattaḥ ||  
māhari- Śi. . .<sup>2</sup>
- 2 [n]ikāyāḥ varaham prati dōvakīya-ā(y-ā)dāna-madhyāt gōdhūmānām drōṇāḥ paṁcha Nam-  
dānā'-grāmīya-bhōgāt dātavyā[h\*] | gaṇikā-[G]ōchhiṇi[ḥ]-antāyāḥ . . .<sup>3</sup>
- 3 nam' aparābhīḥ saptaḍarā(śa)maṁ padam pradattam || tathā aṭṭa-aiva Bhīrṇṭalavāḍā-  
grāmāḥ śrī-Chaṁḍalēśvaradēv-ātha(rtham) Tripurushāpām pradattaḥ ||
- 4 aśmād-grāmād-utpattis-Tripurushāpām satka-vārikaiḥ samādāya aviy-ādānasy-aika(t)ivē-  
(tvam) [cha\*] vidhāya śrī-Cha[ṁ]ḍalēśvarīya-vi[ḥ]āsin[nām] vidyā-[vishā]-
- 5 cha(ya)-bhaktak-ādīkām(kam) aparam-apī yat-kinchid-dōvaaya kriyatē bhāṭṭāraka-puraḥ-  
sara-vārigai(kai)s-Tripurushāpām aa(ava)kiy-ādānā [cha] kārayitavyas-Tri'purushāpām  
cha[turtiḥ]<sup>4</sup>
- 6 athāyī bhāṭṭārakēna varigai(kai)s-cha sarvadā draṣṭavyaḥ || tathā śrī-Chaṁḍalēśvara-  
pūjan-ārtham Tripurushāpām satka-maṭha-patēḥ Dēvanamdita-grāmē Nārāyaṇaka-  
nāma(mā)
- 7 araghaṭṭas-tatra . . .<sup>5</sup> pati-Śrīpāla-samanvita[h\*] pradattaḥ || aṭṭa māhari-Viṁgaḍā ||<sup>6</sup> Śiṭaḍi |  
Prēmali | Ratani | Śrīyādēvi | Āsa(śa)dēvi(vi) | ōu(ou)ravāla-Jasara | pāṇavika-Śrīpālaḥ[dō]-
- 8 yaraku-Vaḍiyākaḥ | māda(h\*)gika-Mahi(hi)patiyākaḥ | vām(vāḥ)Mika[h\*] Gōvinda-anta-Ris-  
yākaḥ | Bhīrṇṭalavāḍā-grāmīya araghaṭṭā Kumara-drōṇānām madhyād-ādī(dā)ya  
māharim<sup>7</sup> [drōṇāḥ]drō'paṁcha<sup>8</sup> dātavyā[h\*] ||
- 9 śrī-Jaeō<sup>9</sup>dhavalēna Āhumalē sya(śa)ts[pa]tra-[bha]rā(rah) | stamakam<sup>10</sup> 100 pradattam-  
(ttam) || Sarhvat 1173 Kārtti[ka]-vadi [3] tri(tri)tiyāyām mahārājādhirāja-śrī-<sup>11</sup>  
Āsa(śa)[rā]-
- 10 jēna ka . . . 16liyā<sup>12</sup> maṭhasya pradattāḥ || mahārājā-śrī-Chaṁḍaladēvyā śrī-  
Chaṁḍalēśvaramadhyē kārītā<sup>13</sup> Gō(Gau)ryāḥ rājakulēna bharakam prati dāpita-patrā-

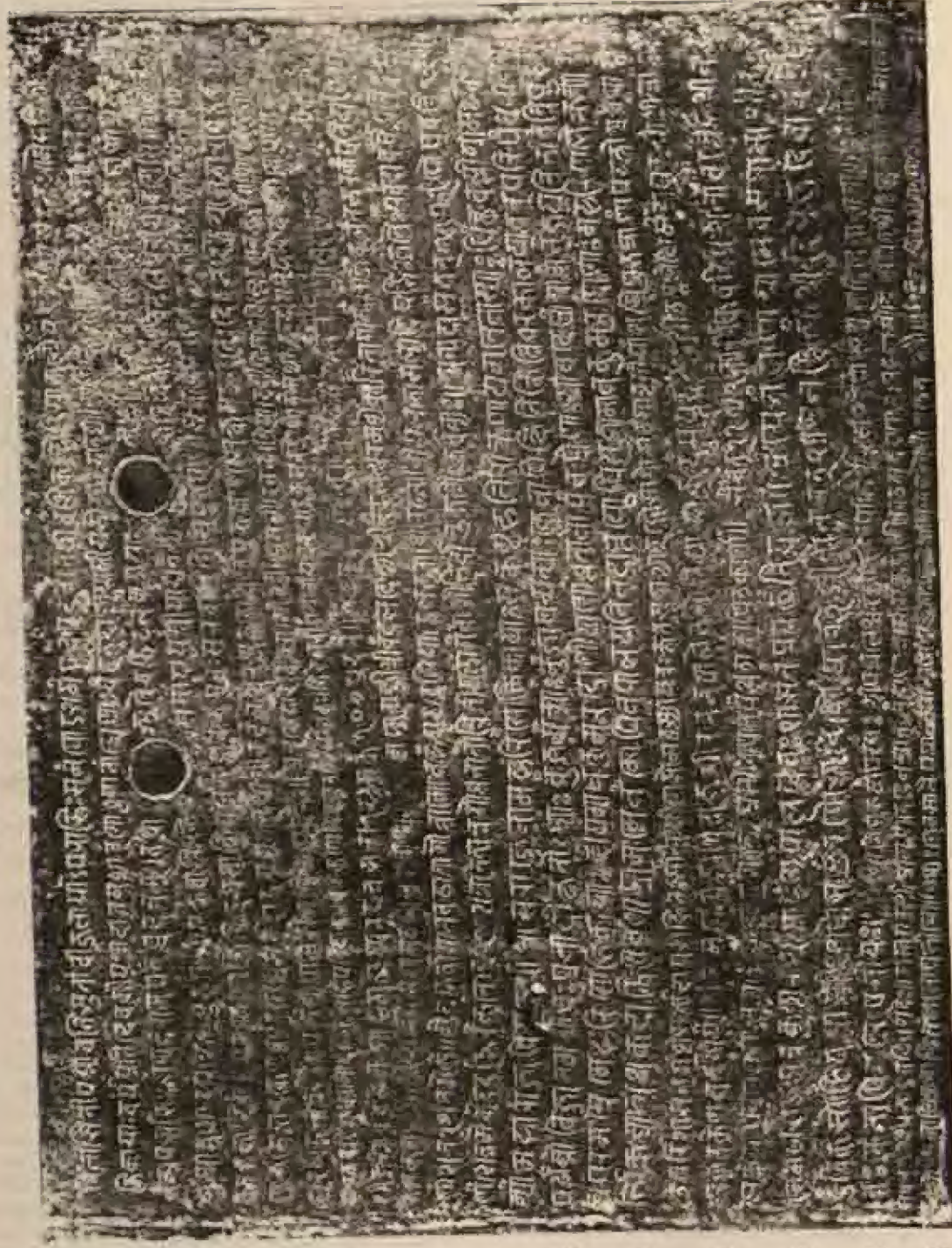
<sup>1</sup> From a photograph.<sup>2</sup> Read Vijalāyāḥ aparābhīḥ or Vijalāyāḥ aparābhīḥ.<sup>3</sup> The name of the māhari cannot be fully deciphered.

The name is elsewhere spelt many times as Nandānā.

<sup>4</sup> The intended reading seems to have been omakāpāḥ samam.<sup>5</sup> This letter may be a mistake for mah for samam. Samam has not been observed here.<sup>6</sup> Read tōrayitavyam Tri'.<sup>7</sup> Chaturthi seems to mean chaturth-ānām.<sup>8</sup> The reading of the two damaged akṣaras here may be Śiḥa.<sup>9</sup> This word and some others in this line and in the next are unnecessary.<sup>10</sup> Better read māhari-Śāhāyāyī. OL lines 13-16.<sup>11</sup> Better read paṁcha drō ḍ in which drō is a contraction of drōṇā.<sup>12</sup> Read Yāt.<sup>13</sup> Read śāhāyāyī or śāhāyā-śāhāyāyī.<sup>14</sup> Samam has not been observed here.<sup>15</sup> The objects granted, mentioned here, are difficult to determine. They may, however, have been localities.<sup>16</sup> Read Chaṁḍaladēvyā kārītā Chaṁḍalēśvara-maṭha.



# STRAY PLATE FROM NANANA



(from a Photograph)







- 11 pām śata[rh\*] | śatam-ēkam(kam) || guṇḍakūrvāyātavaḍbātāmōttāmōvahaṁgata\* | Tuliyā-  
| tṣahulakarā- | Vālaharā- | Visala- | Vāsal-ādi(khyaḥ) ahaḍbhīḥ janaiḥ sarvadā varṣam  
prāti dra[mmā]-
- 12 pām śatam-ēkam dādadhīc-āmkatō dra\* 100 śatā(tam) tat-patra-gōdhūnā(mā)nām tri(tri)-  
tīya-bhāgam(gaḥ) vānibhīr\*-dātukāmaḥ karttavyaḥ || anyadā Śarīvat 1171 Pausa-  
vadi 10 daśa- ||\*
- 13 myām mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Āsa(śa)rājēnā(na) ma(mā)hari-Śōbhikāyāḥ satka-griha-  
nirīkhaḥpāya gatēn-āsyāḥ Pīṭhachchavallī-grāmaḥ ava-śimā-
- 14 paryantō vijñāta-maryādaḥ pra[s]ādīkṛtō-’syāḥ vum(bhum)jayaṁtyāḥ ru(bhu)mjāpayaṁ-  
tyāḥ\* kēn-āpi kahitī-kahitidhara-kālam yāvat paripamthanaḥ na kā[ryā\*] ||
- 15 aparam-agrē mēhari-Śō(Śō)bhikāyāḥ dīyamāna-Kumara-drōṇīya-gōdhūtā(mā)nām pañcha-  
drōṇāḥ yāvad-śāśm grāmam bhumjayaṁtī tāva[t\*] Tripurushai-
- 16 r-bhōktavyā[h\*] [[\*] aha kadā[ehi\*]d-vidhī-vaśūd-grāmam-ēnam kō-pi na pālayati tadā  
bhūyō-pi yujyamāna-Kumara-drōṇāḥ maharīḡ\* bhō(bhō)ktavyā[h\*] ||
- 17 uparī-śāsana-[ma]dhyē sarv-ādāya-sahitaḥ Śālayī-grāmō maṭhasy-āyattaḥ kṛtas-tan-  
madhyāt dvau bhāgō(gau) maṭhasya tritīy-āśmas-Tripurushāpām pradattō(ttaḥ | ) anayā  
athē(athī)tyā
- 18 bhāṭṭarakēpa varittanīyam(yam) || [puna][r\*]-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Ratana-pālēna [Nō]-  
riyā[kah\*] sa-kupurba[h\*] pradattaḥ(ttaḥ) | śrī-Naḍḍūya-mamāpik[ā]yām śrī<sup>12</sup>.Ā[hava]-
- 19 mallēna . . . .<sup>11</sup>māsah prāti drō<sup>12</sup> 6 śaḥ yāvatayāḥ<sup>13</sup> | amāhān paripamthanaḥ kv-āpi  
na kāryā || Śarīvat 1192 Kārttika-vadi 5 Śānāv-ady-ēha śrī-Naḍḍo-
- 20 18 mahārājaputra-kumara-<sup>14</sup>śrī-Sāhaṇapālādēvaḥ śāsanaḥ prayachha(chchha)ti yathā |  
agrē Nandāpā-grāmō vasamān-śāma<sup>15</sup>ku-
- 21 tummi(mbi)ka-Śōbiya-<sup>16</sup>Āśāichau sa-putra-pautr-ādikan yāvat jīvan tātāt śāsana-sthityām-  
(tyā) śrī-Tripuru[sha\*]dēvāya prak-
- 22 ttaḥ(ttau) [[\*] kēn-āpi na lapanīyaḥ || śrī-Tripurushīya-rathaḥ śrī-Padmāśēvara-  
Sāhaṇapālēvara-Sāhajapālēvar-ādi-dēvānām sādhyāḥ sarvadā ||

\* The meaning of this passage is doubtful. Possibly it ends with a personal name. The following *daśa* and others occurring later in the line are wrongly incised.

\* This is an abbreviation of the word *drumma*.

\* The intended reading is *maṭhā*.\*

\* These *daśas* are unnecessary.

\* *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

\* Better read *śāḍḍajanyāḥ*.

\* Read *śāḍḍajayati*.

\* Read *māharyā*.

\* Read *śāma*.\*

<sup>12</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>13</sup> The word *yāvatayāḥ* would suit the context; but the traces of the letters do not support this reading.

<sup>14</sup> This is an abbreviation of the word *drōṇāḥ*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *dāmyāḥ*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *hunda*.

<sup>17</sup> Better read *vaṣaṣṭav*.



- 23 Sathvana<sup>1</sup> 1205 Bhādra-vadi 5 Śudrśh(ṛṣe) || mahārāja-śrī<sup>2</sup>-Ālhaṇadēvēna [pr]āk-  
(prāṇ)-Namdāpā-[gr]āmiya-kujum<sup>3</sup> | Kikāu-Madanapāla- |<sup>4</sup> Mahapasthai<sup>5</sup> ady=ai[va]  
śrī-Tri(Tri)purushāpān āsanāna pra- |<sup>6</sup>
- 24 dattan(tīāḥ) | kēn=āpi ka[d]āchit na lōpanḍyō(yāḥ) || tath=ā'nāna Sālepatrā . . .<sup>7</sup> Simdā-  
untāḥ [pra]data(tīāḥ) | tathā Gōā-Lōbhau Sādēna [pra]dattan[|\*] [kēn=āpi na lōpanīya]m-  
iti || tha<sup>8</sup>||

<sup>1</sup> Read Sathvat.

<sup>2</sup> Śaṇḍhi has not been<sup>9</sup> observed here.

<sup>3</sup> This is a contraction of *śaṣṭasika* and the following *śaṣṭi* is an indication of the abbreviation.

<sup>4</sup> The *śaṣṭi* is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> Better read \*śiḥāḥ.

<sup>6</sup> The names of the persons cannot be definitely determined.

<sup>7</sup> This letter is an indication of the completion of the document.



## No. 46—FOOTPRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR and A. N. LAMRÉ, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 21.11.1958)

In the course of the excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology at the well-known Buddhist site of **Nagarjunikonda**, a monastic establishment with a four-winged monastery, a *Stūpa* and a *Chaitya-griha* was completely exposed in the year 1955-56 at the site marked V-8. The discovery was briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology, 1955-56—A Review*, p. 24. In this connection, reference was made to the discovery of a stone slab, bearing the representation of the Buddha's feet and a small inscription engraved on it, near the entrance of the *Stūpa*.<sup>1</sup> According to the said notice, the inscription records that 'the sacred feet were of Buddha and were designed and consecrated by or for the *Mahāvihāravāsins* of the Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda school of Ceylon in a *Vihāra* described as *Dhamapa-vihāra* situated on the *Praveṇī*'.<sup>2</sup> It is further observed that the *Mahāvihāravāsins* are described as 'adepts in reading the marks on the human body and fixing horoscopes which constitute the eighth *śāsana* (*abbhuta*) of the *navarāga* promulgated by Buddha'.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the statements regarding the contents of the epigraph are full of errors. They are apparently based on a defective transcript of the record. There is really no mention in the inscription of a Buddhist monastery called *Dhamapa-vihāra*, no description of the *Mahāvihāravāsins* of the Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda school of Ceylon as experts in reading the marks on human bodies and preparing horoscopes and no reference to the eighth *śāsana* of the Buddha.

Similar footprint slabs, sometimes uninscribed and sometimes bearing inscriptions, have been discovered at various early Buddhist sites including those of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda. It is well known that, in early Buddhist art, the Buddha was generally represented by symbols and one of the most popular symbols was his feet.<sup>4</sup> A Nagarjunikonda slab of this kind is called a *paṭipaddā* (*pratipaddā*) in the inscription it bears, while the expressions by which it is indicated in the Amaravati inscriptions are *paduka* (or *pātuka*)-*paṭa* (*pādūkā-paṭṭa*) and *patuka* (*pādūkā*).<sup>5</sup> The Nagarjunikonda slab under study bears the representation of the two soles of two feet placed side by side with that of the Bodhi tree in railing, flanked by two human figures, on one side. The most prominent symbol engraved on each of the soles is the *chakra*. Behind this are an *aṅkusa*, a *Nāga* symbol, a *triratna* on *chakra* and a pair of fish with a *śaṅkha* nearby, while in front of it are two *Nāga* symbols, a *svastika*, a *śrīvata* and a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* with a *śaṅkha* near it. The five toes in front of the above bear respectively a *stambha*, an *aṅkusa*, another indeterminable symbol, a pair of fish and a *triratna* on *chakra*.<sup>6</sup> The inscription under study is engraved in a rectangular space touching the toes of the feet.

<sup>1</sup> See op. cit., Plate XXXIX, C.

<sup>2</sup> Macron over *e* and *o* to indicate the length of the vowels has not been used in this article.

<sup>3</sup> Constance Wemyss, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XX, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 510 ff., 520 ff.; Burgess, *Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati*, pp. 97 ff. and Plates XLIII, 14; LII, 6 and 8; LIII, 1; *MAI*, No. 84, Plate XIXa; Marshall, *Sāśchī*, Plates LXXXVIII, 22b, 75b; LXXXVII, 69a; LXXXII, 42b; Allan, *Catalogue of Coins (Ancient India)*, pp. c, ci, cl, 131, 153-69, 373, etc.



There are only three lines of writing covering an area about 13½ inches in length and about 2 inches in height. The first line is slightly bigger than the second owing to the incision of the auspicious word *siddham* in the left margin, while the third line is smaller than the second. The letters, excepting conjuncts as well as *ā*, *k* and *r* and the letters with vowel-marks added to the top or the bottom, are less than half an inch in height. The characters are similar to those of the epigraphs incised during the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurnahadatta and may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date about the middle of the third century A.D. Among the few points of palaeographical interest noticed in the record, mention may be made of the fact that the medial *i* is of the ordinary short type and not of the elongated ornamental form generally found in the Ikshvāku records. This was apparently due to the narrow space available for engraving the epigraph. In the passage *Tambapannā-dīpa-paṇḍakanam* in line 1, the second *a* is of the usual type but the first one exhibits a somewhat earlier form. The language of the inscription is Prakrit and its orthography resembles that of the inscriptions of Virapurnahadatta's time. The modification of the sord to the sonant is noticed in the word *saṅghāḍā* or *saṅghāḍa* (*saṅghāḍā* or *saṅghāḍa*) in line 3. Medial *i* and *n* have been generally used in the record for medial *ī* and *ṇ*.

The inscription begins with the anapictic word *siddham* which is followed by the only sentence in which the record is written. The object of the epigraph is to record the installation of the pair of the Lord's (i.e. Buddha's) feet in the Vihāra or Buddhist monastery which has now been exposed by the excavations at Site V-6 at Nagarjunikonda. The language of the passage is *vihāre bhagavāto pāda-saṅghāḍā nipatīṣhapito* (line 3). The intended reading apparently being *pāda-saṅghāḍā nipatīṣhapitō* or *pāda-saṅghāḍo nipatīṣhapito*. The expression used to indicate the feet of the lord is *pāda-saṅghāḍā* or *pāda-saṅghāḍa* which reminds us of Pali *apṭhi-saṅghāḍa*, used in the sense of 'the joint (i.e. bone-coupling)' according to scholars.<sup>1</sup> The word is the same as Sanskrit *saṅghātikā*, meaning 'a pair, a couple'. Thus *pāda-saṅghāḍo* means 'the pair of feet' obviously referring to the representation of the feet near which the epigraph is incised. The participle *nipatīṣhapito* has been used in the sense of *pratīṣṭhāpita* (installed). The purpose behind the installation of the Lord's feet in the monastery is stated to have been the prayer (*athanā*, *arthana*) for the welfare and happiness of all beings (*sava-satānam hita-sukh-athanāya*). But the person responsible for the installation is not mentioned in the record.

The Vihāra or monastery in which the Lord's feet were installed is stated to have belonged to certain *Acharigau* or Buddhist teachers who are endowed with a number of interesting epithets. These epithets are *Theriga*, *Vihāra-cāla*, *Kasmira-Gandhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tambapannidīpa-jasādala*, *Mahāvihāra-dāra*, *Navamga-Sathu-sama-atho-vyajana-civichaya-vimrada* and *Ariyaganha-pavani-dhara*. Among these epithets, the third stating that the said teachers converted to the Buddhist faith<sup>2</sup> the peoples of Kasmira, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and *Tāmaparajī-dvīpa* is most interesting since it reminds us of the passage . . . *tarāy-ācharigūṇam*<sup>3</sup> *Kasmira-Gandhāra-Chīna-Chīlāta-Tosali-Avarastha-Vatiga-Vanurāsi-Yavana-Damila-Palura-Tambapannidīpa-jasādakūṇam Therigūṇam Tambapannakūṇam suparigūṇa* *Sripavate Vijayapuriya pava-dīdābhāge vihāre Chula-Dharmagiriya Chetiyā-gharām an-paṣa-saṁtharām sa-chetiyam sava-nigutam kūṇikam vāsikāya Bodhisiriya* occurring in another inscription<sup>4</sup> from Nagarjunikonda. The passage states how an *vāsikā* (female lay worshipper of the Buddha) named Bodhisiri was responsible

<sup>1</sup> See Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *saṅghāḍa*. The intended reading does not appear to be *saṅghāḍāni*.

<sup>2</sup> The word *pasādala* means literally 'causing serenity or happiness' and figuratively 'converting to the Buddhist faith'. The *Mahāvaṃsa* uses the expression *dīpa-prasādala* there to indicate 'the monk who converted the island (Ceylon)'. See Childers, op. cit., s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Vogel suggests the restoration *dharmadā-rāj-ācharigūṇam* here. But the intended reading appears to be *Acharigūṇa-ācharigūṇam* occurring in a similar context, in another Nagarjunikonda inscription (*Nagarjunikonda Samvrit*, ed. Rama Rao, pp. 44-45) and probably meaning 'the teachers of the Acharyaśāla school'.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 22.



for the construction of a *Chaitya-griha* in the monastery on the Little Dharmagiri in the Śrīparvata range to the east of the city of Vijayapuri for the acceptance of certain Āchāryas or Buddhist teachers who are stated *inter alia* to have belonged to the Tāmrapatṭa or Tāmraparṇi country, i.e. Ceylon (*Tāmbapannaka*), and converted to the Buddhist faith the peoples of Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, China, Kīrātā, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Yavana, Damila, Palura and Tāmraparṇi-dvīpa. Although the list of countries in the present epigraph contain only five out of the twelve names of the other inscription probably due to the shortage of space, the teachers mentioned in the two records may be the same. In that case, the Buddhist teachers referred to in our inscription were of Ceylonese origin.

The epithet *theriyānaṃ* applied to *āchāriyānaṃ* in both the inscriptions is interesting. The word *theriyā* in the masculine plural used in the *Mahārūmka* has been taken to mean 'the fraternities of the Theravādins'.<sup>1</sup> Vogel, who edited the other Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above, derived the word *theriya* from *thera*, 'a monk, an elder'. According to him, *theriya* is primarily an adjective meaning 'belonging to the *theras* or monks' from which comes the substantive sense of 'a fraternity or community [of monks]',<sup>2</sup> while N. Dutt commenting on Vogel's views was inclined to interpret the word *theriyānaṃ* as 'of the nuns' and took all the epithets in the feminine gender.<sup>3</sup> But the epithet *Mahāvihāra-vāsināṃ* (of those dwelling in the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery) used in our record is in the masculine and shows that Dutt's interpretation is wrong. This Mahāvihāra seems to be identical with the Buddhist monastery of that name mentioned in several other Nagarjunikonda inscriptions<sup>4</sup> referring to 'the Mahāchaitya in the Mahāvihāra' and indicating the location of the monastery in the Nagarjunikonda valley. As it is difficult to believe that the Great Monastery at the Ikshvāku capital accommodated nuns, this fact also appears to go against Dutt's suggestion.

The epithet *Vibhaja-vāda* (*Vibhajja-vāda*) indicates that the teachers in question belonged to the Vibhajja-vāda school. Vibhajja-vāda is the doctrine of analysis or the religion of logic or reason and is identical with the Theravāda or doctrine of the Elders, which was the original teaching of the Buddhist Church.<sup>5</sup> Thus our inscription mentions the teachers both as *Theriyā* (i.e. *Thera-vādīn*) and as *Vibhaja-vāda* (i.e. *Vibhajja-vādīn*).

The remaining two epithets refer to the learning of the Buddhist teachers. One of them says that they were experts in determining the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstri, i.e. the Buddha (*navamāṅga-Saṭṭha-sāsana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visarada-nav-āṅga-Śāstri-śāsan-ārtān-vyūṣṭano-vinichhaya-visarada*). Pali *Saṭṭha-sāsana* (Sanskrit *Śāstri-śāsanā*) is often used in literature to indicate *Buddha-sāsana*, i.e. the doctrine or teachings of the Buddha, one of the Lord's popular names being *Saṭṭhā* (Sanskrit *Śāstri*). The nine divisions of the Buddhist scripture are *Sutta* (sermons in prose), *Geṇṇi* (sermons in prose and verse), *Veyyākaraṇa* (explanation or commentary), *Gāthā* (scriptures in stanzas), *Udāna* (pithy sayings), *Itimuttaka* (short speeches of the Buddha), *Jātaka* (stories of the Buddha's former births), *Abbhuta-dhamma* (stories of miracles)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Childers, op. cit., s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 23, 29. He took the *āchāriyas* as different from 'the fraternities [of monks] of Tambapanna (Ceylon)'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JHQ*, Vol. VII, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Above, Vol. XX, p. 19 (Āyaka pillar inscription B5, line 5), p. 22 (second spaldal temple inscription F, line 3); Vol. XXI, p. 63 (pillar inscription M 3, line 3). It is doubtful if the Mahāvihāra-vāsinā mentioned in our record can be regarded as a subset of the Theravādin-Vibhajjavādin community (cf. *MASJ*, No. 71, p. 38).

<sup>5</sup> See P.T.S. *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v.



and *Vadalla* (teachings in the form of questions and answers). The other epithet says that the teachers knew the traditions of the different classes of Buddhist recluses by heart (*ariya-vaṃsa-paṇeni-dhara-ārga-saṃkṣa-praveśi-dhara*). The expression *paṇeni-dhara* may be compared with *dharmadāra*, *vinaya-dhara*, *mūlikā-dhara*, etc., of the Pali literature<sup>1</sup> as well as *vinaya-dhara* and *mahāvīnaya-dhara* of the Amaravati inscriptions<sup>2</sup> and *Dīgha-Majjhima-nikāya-dhara* in a Nagarjunikonda inscription.<sup>3</sup> According to Buddhist scripture, there are four classes of recluses (*ariya-vaṃsa*, literally 'noble family'), viz. those who are contented with the robes presented to them, those who are contented with the food presented to them, those who are contented with the bedding presented to them, and those who delight in meditation.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kaśmīra is still known by its ancient name. Gandhāra (the Rawalpindi-Peshawar region), Vanavāsa (the district round Banavāsi in the North Kanara District) and Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa or the Isle of Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon) are well-known. By Yavana, possibly the old Greek settlement in the Kabul valley was meant.<sup>4</sup>

### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

1. Sīdham, [ ]\* ācariyaṇaṃ Theriyaṇaṃ Vibhaja-vādānaṃ Kaśmīra-Gandhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa-pasādakaṇaṃ
2. Mahāvihāra-vāsīnaṃ nava[m]iṃsa-Sūtra-saṃsaṇa-atha-vyaṇa-vinichhaya-vīśaradaṇaṃ ariya-va[m]iṃsa-paṇeni-dharaṇaṃ
3. vihāre Bhagavatō pāda-saṃyūhā nīpatipapito\* sava-satāṇaṃ hita-sukh-athanāya ti |'

### TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! The pair of feet of the Lord (i.e. the Buddha) has been installed, with the prayer for the welfare and happiness of all beings, in the monastery of the teachers who are Theriyas (i.e. Thera-vādins) (and) Vibhajja-vādins (i.e. Vibhajja-vādins) ; who caused delight to (i.e. converted to the Buddhist doctrine) (the people of) Kaśmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa ; who are the residents of the Great Monastery ; who are experts in the determination of the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Sūtra (i.e. the Buddha) ; (and) who know the traditions of the (four) classes of (Buddhist) recluses by heart.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 37, No. 6 ; p. 102, No. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 17, 29.

<sup>4</sup> See *Successors of the Sākyas*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

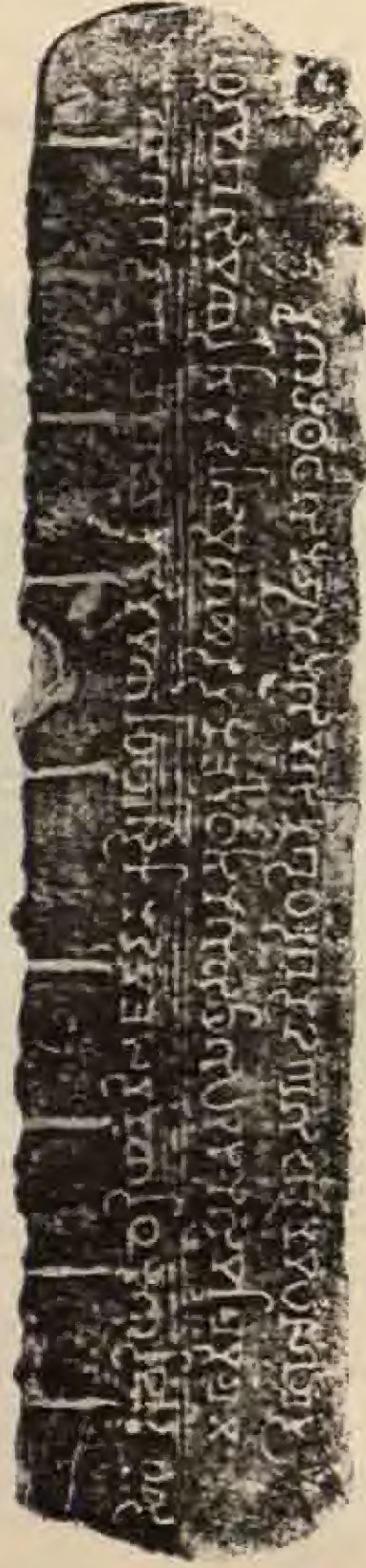
\* The intended reading is either *saṃyūhā nīpatipapito* or *saṃyūhā nīpatipapito*.

\* The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal line.



FOOTPRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

A



Scale : Two-thirds

12



B



(from a Photograph)



## No. 47—NOTES ON SENAKAPAT INSCRIPTION

No. 1

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 22.11.1957)

DRS. M. G. DIKSHIT and D. C. SIRCAR have edited the Sēnakapāṭ inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna in this journal, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff. This inscription records the construction of a Śiva temple and some grants of land in favour of the god installed therein and some Śaiva ascetics connected therewith, by Durgarakṣita, son of Dēvarakṣita, who was a minister of the Pāṇḍuvamśī king Nannarāja, the great-grandfather of Śivagupta Bālārjuna. In the course of the description of Dēvarakṣita there occurs a stanza (verse 7) which the editors have read as follows :—

*Yā Vindhya-dhūrdhī(r-dha)ratvaṁ Varadā-taṭa-parikatā(ta)m cha samprāpya |  
samprāptavān-īha Yaśobhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātīm(tīm) ||*

The editors have taken this verse to mean that Dēvarakṣita obtained (apparently from king Nannarāja) the governorship of the Vindhyan territory (*Vindhya-dhūr-dharatva*) as far as the banks of the river Varadā (*Varadā-taṭa-parikata*) and that he became well-known as *Yaśobhāṇḍāgāra* (literally, 'a store-house of fame').<sup>1</sup>

The editors' reading and interpretation of this verse are open to several objections. I have in my possession two excellent impressions of this record which Dr. M. G. Dikshit placed at my disposal when he consulted me about the reading and interpretation of this verse. On referring to them I find that the reading *Varadā-taṭa-parikatām(tām)* adopted by the editors is very doubtful. *Varadā* is indeed fairly clear, but the next two *akṣaras* are indistinct, the second being mutilated in the crack which has divided the stone into two parts. Still, in view of the mention of the *Varadā*, it is not unlikely that the following two *akṣaras* were intended to be *taṭa* (or rather, *taṭa*).<sup>2</sup> The next four *akṣaras*, however, are certainly not *parikatām*. The first has a clear curve at the top of its vertical and must be read as *pha*. The second *akṣara* can hardly be read as *rī*. It is clearly *ḷi* : see the form of *li* in "ḍipalad" in line 1. The reading is, therefore, *Varadā-taṭa* (or, rather *taṭa*) *phalīkatām*. This, however, does not yield a good sense. The writer or the engraver has evidently committed some mistake here as in some other places in this record. Perhaps, the intended reading is *Varadā-taṭa-phakikatām cha samprāpya*. Dikshit and Sircar, who read *Varadā-taṭa-parikatām*, had to change it into *Varadā-taṭa-parikatām* to make it qualify *Vindhya-dhūr-dharatvaṁ*. But the use of *cha* after this word clearly shows that Dēvarakṣita had not one, but two attainments, which made him well-known as *Yaśobhāṇḍāgāra* (a store-house of fame).<sup>3</sup> Besides, mere appointment to the Vindhya region, even though it may have extended to the banks of the *Varadā*, would not make a man 'a store-house of fame'.<sup>4</sup> I think, therefore, that the intended reading of this verse is as follows :—

*Yā Vindhya-durdharatvaṁ Varadā-taṭa-phakikatām cha samprāpya |  
samprāptavān-īha Yaśobhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātīm ||*

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bhāṇḍāga* mentioned in the Tiroḍi plates (above, Vol. XXII, p. 172).

<sup>3</sup> [See below, p. 255.—Ed.]



'Having become irresistible like the Vindhya mountain and having exterminated a Nāga [king] (Phapin) of Varadātata, [Dēvarakshita] became well-known as a store-house of fame'.<sup>1</sup>

From the mention of the river Varadā in the description of Dēvarakshita, who was a minister of the Pāṇḍuvamśi king Nannarāja, the editors have conjectured that Nannarāja's dominions included the area about the Chanda District. They further say that this inference is supported by the inscription from Bhāndak situated on the bank of the Waridā in the Chanda District, which describes Bhavadōva Rānakōśarin as having restored a derelict Buddhist temple originally built by Sūrya-gbōsha, an ancient king of that area.<sup>2</sup> This conjecture also is equally baseless. There is not an iota of evidence to show that the Pāṇḍuvamśi kings were ever ruling over the Chanda District, or, for the matter of that, over any part of Vidarbha. The inscription of Bhavadōva Rānakōśarin did not originally belong to Bhāndak. Cunningham, who had noticed the inscription in the Nagpur Museum, conjectured that it must have come from Bhāndak, because he was told at Bhāndak that 'an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nagpur during the time of the Rājā about 40 or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Sahib'.<sup>3</sup> As the inscription of Bhavadōva Rānakōśarin records the restoration of a Buddhist temple and as there are extensive Buddhist remains at Bhāndak, Cunningham conjectured that the inscription must have been brought from that place. The Nagpur Museum has no accurate information about the provenance of several stone records which were brought there from time to time from various places in the former Central Provinces and Berar. There was evidently no mention of Bhāndak as the provenance of the inscription in the records of the Museum; for Kielhorn, who has edited it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, was informed that it had been brought there from Ratanpur.<sup>4</sup> I discussed this question in detail in my article on the Mallār plates of Śivagupta and showed that the inscription must have been found somewhere in Chhattisgarh.<sup>5</sup> My conjecture later received confirmation from a statement of Vinayakarnō Aurangabadkar, who was deputed by Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, to search for and report on the inscriptions in Chhattisgarh. In my article on the Sūmavamśi kings of Southern Kosala published in this journal several years ago, I drew attention to the statements in Aurangabadkar's report,<sup>6</sup> an extract of which had been supplied to me by my friend Dr. Y. K. Deshpande who found it deposited in the India Office Library, London. As I pointed out at the time, Aurangabadkar states that 'the slab containing the inscription of Bhavadōva was affixed to a large temple at Āraṅg. He gives a transcript and a short description of the contents of this record which leave no doubt about its identity'. Dikshit and Sircar are not inclined to believe the testimony of Aurangabadkar. They say, 'Unfortunately, even if an inscription of the Pāṇḍuvamśis existed at Āraṅg, its identification with the Bhāndak epigraph cannot be established. It is doubtful if any importance can at all be attached to the alleged testimony of Aurangabadkar especially when the evidence of Cunningham and Stevenson seems to point to Bhāndak as the provenance of the record'. As this matter is of considerable importance for the history of the Pāṇḍuvamśi dynasty, I propose to examine this criticism in some detail.

At the instance of Jenkins, Aurangabadkar visited several places in Chhattisgarh and submitted a report in Mōḍī characters which is still preserved in the India Office Library (MSS., Marathi D,

<sup>1</sup> Besides, the next stanza (verse 8) states that Dēvarakshita obtained from king Nannarāja a number of *śūbhāgas* or districts. Verse 7 is, therefore, probably devoted to the description of his exploits.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> ASI, Vol. IX, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> JRAS, 1905, p. 618.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116-7.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 327 note 2.



46).<sup>1</sup> About the inscription in question he says, 'I give below a copy of the Sanskrit writing on a slab attached to a great temple at Āraṅg (i.e., Āraṅg)'. [Here follows a transcript of the inscription.] 'The inscription states that there was a king named Sūryaghōṣha.... One of his relatives died by a fall from an upper storey. As a result of grief consequent on this, he became indifferent to worldly matters and built a large structure for a sage. Thereafter flourished Udayana, who was said to have belonged to the Pāṇḍava family..... His fourth son Bhavadēva was, like him, meritorious, brave and righteous. He built a Jaina temple. He belonged to the Jaina faith.'<sup>2</sup>

The relevant extracts from Aurangabadkar's report given above leave no doubt that the record whose contents he summarised therein was identical with the inscription of Bhavadēva Rapa-kēśarin.<sup>3</sup> This record is incised in acute-angled characters. It is creditable to Aurangabadkar that he could grasp the contents of it fairly correctly, though from the mention of Jina in verses 1 and 37 he was misled into supposing that it was a Jaina record.

The foregoing account of Aurangabadkar's report would show that the doubts about the importance of his testimony are wholly unjustified and that there was no "speculation" on my part when I stated, on the authority of his report, that Bhavadēva Rapa-kēśarin's epigraph originally came from Āraṅg. Aurangabadkar was an employee of Richard Jenkins who was Resident at Nagpur from 1807 to 1826. He, therefore, saw the inscription in question *in situ* at Āraṅg more than fifty years before Cunningham noticed it deposited in the Nagpur Museum.<sup>4</sup> Aurangabadkar's statement is thus much more reliable than Cunningham's conjecture. In fact it clinches the issue and proves incontrovertibly that the record came from Āraṅg. As for Stevenson's evidence, it comes to nothing. He merely states that the inscription was found at Nagpur.<sup>5</sup> He does not connect it with Bhāndak or any other place.

Apart from the testimony of Aurangabadkar, there are other reasons why the record could not have belonged to Bhāndak. Bhavadēva Rapa-kēśarin, who restored the dilapidated temple of the Buddha, was a cousin of the great-grandfather of Śivagupta Bālārjuna,<sup>6</sup> who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, cannot be referred to a period later than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Sūryaghōṣha, who originally built the temple of

<sup>1</sup> Through the good offices of Dr. H. N. Randle, who was then in charge of the India Office Library, I obtained several years ago photostat copies of some portion of this report relating to some inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. See *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 301, note 1. Jenkins sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a report about these inscriptions which was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV.

<sup>2</sup> See the actual words of Aurangabadkar.

<sup>3</sup> 'या आरिण्याचे महादेवासपाचे वगडाडूर संस्कृत अक्षर लिहिले त्याची नक्कल.....सूर्यघोष नामे राजा पृथ्वीपति.....त्याचा कोन्ही एक जास्त मादीधरून पडून मेला.त्याचे शोकास्तव बैराग्य जागी आनून ज्योतिष त्यान मोठ बांधल.याचे वंशीचा राजा उदयेन नामक.याजला पांडववंशीचा म्हणत होते.....याचा चवथा पुत्र भद्रदेव नामक.हाही त्यासारखा गुणवान, प्रतापवान सदाचारसंपन्न.....या राजान जेनाच मंदिर बांधलें.हा जैनधर्मी होता.....'

<sup>4</sup> [See below, p. 258.—E4.]

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham noticed the inscription in the Nagpur Museum sometime before 1873. See his *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 137.

<sup>6</sup> See *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, 1841-44, pp. 148-49. Owing to a wrong reading of verse 5 of this inscription Stevenson supposed that Sūryaghōṣha, who built the temple of the Buddha, was ruling over Orissa. See *JRAS*, 1905, p. 617, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> See the genealogical table in my 'Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahākōśala' (*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, pp. 47 f.).



the Buddha, is said to have flourished long before Udayana,<sup>1</sup> the grandfather of Bhavadēva. He cannot therefore be later than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. In this period, the Chanda District and the surrounding territory were included in the dominions of the Vākātakas. Several inscriptions of the Vākātaka king Paravarasena II, who flourished in this period, have been found in this region. No king named Sūryaghōṣa could have ruled over this territory in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> There was, however, another king of this name ruling in Chhatuagarh in this period, viz. Sūra, whose descendant Bhīmasena II's copper plate inscription dated in G. 182 (501-02 A.D.) was discovered at Āraṅg itself.<sup>3</sup> Sūra (often written as Sūra) and Sūrya are synonyms in Sanskrit, both meaning 'the sun'.<sup>4</sup> This also proves the correctness of Aurangabadkar's statement that the inscription of Bhavadēva Rāpakēśarin was originally at Āraṅg.

The question still remains: What was that record which, as Cunningham's informants told him, was removed from Bhāṇḍak to Nagpur? In the absence of reliable information on the point, I previously<sup>5</sup> conjectured that it may have been the Nagpur Museum *prāsasti* of the rulers of Mālwā. Here also Aurangabadkar comes to our aid. He has given elsewhere a transcript of the so-called Śitābalaji inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI, edited by Kielhorn in this journal, Vol. III, pp. 304 f. Cunningham found this record at Śitābalaji, a suburb of Nagpur; but it did not evidently belong to that place originally; for Śitābalaji or Nagpur was not in existence in the time of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty. Also it four years ago, Dr. Deshpande showed me the transcript of an inscription which Aurangabadkar had found near the old caves at Bhāṇḍak and asked me if it had been published anywhere. I at once identified it with the aforementioned inscription of Vikramāditya VI. This is, therefore, the inscription which, as Cunningham was told at Bhāṇḍak, had been removed by Major Wilkinson from the Wijason Caves of Bhāṇḍak to Nagpur.<sup>6</sup>

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Bhavadēva Rāpakēśarin's epigraph originally belonged to Āraṅg. Dēvarakṣita, the minister of Nannarāja, may have raided the country up to the bank of the Waṛdhā, but that does not prove that the Pāṇḍuvamśis were ruling over the region round Chāṇḍā.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ucchakṣati bhāṣṇaḥ idam āśvīnīpatīḥ*, . . . . . *Udayana-nāma samudpannāḥ* in Bhavadēva's inscription, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 626.

<sup>2</sup> [See below, p. 258.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> This has already been pointed out in my aforementioned article on the three ancient dynasties of Mālwā.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 117.



## No. 2

D. C. SIRCAR, CUTTACKMUND

(Received on 1.2.1958)

Prof. V. V. Mirashi has offered above, pp. 251 ff., his views on the reading and interpretation of verse 7 of the Śānakapāṭ inscription with reference to his theories that no portion of the Marāṭhī-speaking area formed a part of the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvamāśis of Kōśala and that the Bhāṇḍak inscription was brought to the Nagpur Museum not from Bhāṇḍak in the Chanda District but from Āraṅg in the Raipur District. We do not think that he has succeeded in proving the point to the satisfaction of scholars.

He suggests the reading *Vindhya-dhūrdhārī*(*dur-dāha*)*ratam* and *Varadā-taṭa*(or *kaṭa*)-*Phaṇi-katām* in the stanza which was read by us as follows :—

*Ya Vindhya-dhūrdhārī*(*rdāha*)*ratam* *Varadā-taṭa-parikatām*(*taṭā*) *cha samprāpya* |  
*samprāptavān*-(*ha*) *Yasobhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātīm*(*tim*) ||

Both his readings and emendations appear to us doubtful and unacceptable. But his arguments in favour of the suggestions are more dubious. He thinks that Dēvarakṣita, whose exploits are described in the stanza, performed two feats according to its first half as indicated by the word *cha* therein, viz., irresistibility like the Vindhya and the extermination of the Phaṇi or Nāga king of the Varadā valley, and that the said two achievements led to his celebrity as *Yasobhāṇḍāgāra*, 'the store-house of fame'. Not only are Prof. Mirashi's reading, emendation and interpretation of *Vindhya-dhūrdhāratam* and *Varadā-taṭa-Phaṇi-katām* farfetched and unsatisfactory, his objections against our interpretation of the stanza appear to be based on misunderstanding. We understood the stanza as follows : *Yaś Varadā-taṭa-parikatām Vindhya-dhūr-dharatvān samprāpya, iha Yasobhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātīm cha samprāptavān* in which *cha* does not offer any difficulty at all. There is also no difficulty if his achievement recorded in the first half of the verse is regarded as the cause of Dēvarakṣita's celebrity as 'the store-house of fame', since the implication is that he conquered the Vindhyan region as far as the banks of the Varadā on behalf of his master who made him the governor of that newly annexed territory and conferred on him the title of *Yasobhāṇḍāgāra*. We do not find any difficulty if, according to verse 8 of the record, Dēvarakṣita received from his master a few other *vishayas* either for governing or as fiefs, although the *vishayas* referred to in these stanzas may have been actually comprised in the Vindhyan tract mentioned in verse 7. In any case, even according to Prof. Mirashi's suggestion, Dēvarakṣita, a general of the Pāṇḍuvamāśi king Nāga, became famous after having killed a Nāga king of the Varadā valley. He, therefore, admits Pāṇḍuvamāśi association with the valley of the Varadā. But in his opinion, Dēvarakṣita merely raided the country upto the banks of the Varadā and this fact does not prove that the Pāṇḍuvamāśis were ruling over the region around Chāṇḍā. That the reference is only to a raid and not to the occupation of the Varadā valley by the Pāṇḍuvamāśi general is, however, purely a matter of opinion. Even if, therefore, Prof. Mirashi's doubtful reading, emendation and interpretation of verse 7 of the Śānakapāṭ inscription are accepted, they do not prove that the Varadā valley lay outside the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvamāśis.

In this connection, Prof. Mirashi has offered a number of suggestions such as that the Vākātakas were in occupation of the Chāṇḍā region in the beginning of the fifth century, that Sūryabōhana



mentioned in the Bhāṇḍak inscription ruled in that very period, that this Sūryaghōṣha has to be identified with Sūra, the ancestor of Bhīmasēna II of the Āraṅg copper-plate inscription, and that the said inscription of Bhīmasēna is dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-02 A.D.). All these suggestions are mere speculations and are, therefore, absolutely unwarranted. There is no clear evidence of Vākāṭaka rule in the Chōṇḍā region in the beginning of the fifth century. If one suggests that the Vākāṭakas conquered the area from Sūryaghōṣha, it would be at least as good a conjecture as any of Prof. Mirashi's. The exact period when Sūryaghōṣha of the Bhāṇḍak inscription flourished is impossible to determine with the evidence at our disposal. The identification of Sūryaghōṣha with Sūra is no better than fantasy. The date of the Āraṅg inscription of Bhīmasēna II is very clearly and certainly the Gupta year 282 (601-02 A.D.).

The main object of Prof. Mirashi's note is to reiterate his contention that the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Bhavadēva Rāṣakēśarin, now in the Nagpur Museum, was really brought to the Museum from Āraṅg and not from Bhāṇḍak, a theory associated with another conjecture that no Marāṭhī-speaking territory formed a part of the dominions of the Pāṇḍu-vardhāns.<sup>1</sup> This he has tried to prove on the basis of the evidence of Aurangabadkar who is supposed to have noticed the same inscription in a temple at Āraṅg. It has, however, been forgotten that, in the Mahāmāyī temple at Āraṅg, there is an inscription of the same Bhavadēva Rāṣakēśarin, which has been noticed in Hiralal's List, 2nd edition, p. 119, No. 183. This Āraṅg inscription is damaged and has not been fully deciphered. But it is interesting to note that the name of Rāṣakēśarin occurs in line 13 of both the Bhāṇḍak inscription in the Nagpur Museum and the Āraṅg Mahāmāyī temple inscription. This shows that the two inscriptions had similar, if not exactly the same, contents. Aurangabadkar, therefore, must have noticed this inscription at Āraṅg. It appears that the old king named Sūryaghōṣha built one temple at Bhāṇḍak and another at Āraṅg and that both of them were repaired by Bhavadēva Rāṣakēśarin. Bhavadēva's interest in the temples built by Sūryaghōṣha can be easily explained if the latter was an ancestor of the former's mother.

Prof. Mirashi is eager to show, in support of his theories, that some other inscription brought to the Nagpur Museum by Wilkinson was confused by Cunningham with Bhavadēva Rāṣakēśarin's record. Formerly he suggested that it was the Nagpur Museum *profecti* of the Paramāra that was brought from Bhāṇḍak. But now he says that this suggestion was offered in the absence of reliable information. Now, on the authority of Aurangabadkar, he suggests that it was the Sitābalī inscription of Vikramāditya VI, and not the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Bhavadēva Rāṣakēśarin, that was brought from Bhāṇḍak to the Nagpur Museum. But this is as clearly unwarranted as the older suggestion. According to local information available to Cunningham at Bhāṇḍak, which Prof. Mirashi has himself quoted, the inscribed stone taken away by Wilkinson was a long red slab.<sup>2</sup> This description suits the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Rāṣakēśarin in the Nagpur Museum very well and not the Sitābalī inscription of Vikramāditya VI even in the least. Bhavadēva Rāṣakēśarin's Bhāṇḍak inscription measures four feet and ten inches in length and one foot and eleven inches in height, although the number of missing syllables at the end of the lines show beyond doubt that the original length of the slab was not less than six feet and a half.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the Sitābalī inscription of Vikramāditya VI is engraved on an elaborately sculptured pillar and the writing covers an area about two feet in length and eleven inches in height.<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to believe that the villagers of Bhāṇḍak could have referred to this pillar inscription as an epigraph on a long red slab of stone.

It is difficult to believe that Sitābalī did not exist before Vikramāditya VI. Even if Vikramāditya's epigraph was brought there from Bhāṇḍak, Bhavadēva Rāṣakēśarin's inscription could also have been brought to the Nagpur Museum from the same place.



## No. 48—INSCRIPTION FROM HOMBLI

( 1 Plate )

G. S. GAI, OGTACAMUND

(Received on 10.9.1958)

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> was copied by me on the 24th December 1946 at **Hombli**, a village in the Hangal Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. The village is situated at a distance of about 10 miles to the north east of Hangal, the headquarters of the Taluk. The inscribed slab is lying in a field called Kāli Hakkala (Survey No. 19).

The inscription is written in **two sections**, called here A and B, which are engraved side by side on the same slab and occupy a rectangular space measuring 2'10" by 11'5" with a small gap of 2'5" between them. Section A is enclosed by three straight lines, only the left side having no such line, while section B is enclosed by such lines on all the four sides. The writing of A covers an area about 1'4'5" by 10" while that of B about 1'2" by 10". There are only 5 lines of writing in either of the sections, so that the whole inscription is written in 10 lines. A piece of stone has been chipped off from Section B resulting in the loss of a few letters in lines 6-8. But the preservation of the writing on A is quite satisfactory.

As will be seen below, both the sections of the inscription record the death of a hero in a fight and as such the slab may be called a *herostone* (*εἱροστάθην*). But it does not contain any sculptures depicting a fighting scene and the death of the hero, which are usually found on such inscribed slabs.

The **characters** of the record are Kannada-Telugu of the 8th century A. D. The letters are neatly and deeply engraved. Initial *u* occurs in lines 1, 7 and 8. No distinction is made between *e* and *ē* which are found in lines 3 and 5 respectively. Final *i* is met with in lines 3 and 6 and final *u* in lines 5 and 10. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the reduplication of a consonant following *r* is found only in some cases.

The **language** of the inscription is Kannada and the text is written in prose. The dative suffix *\*akke* in lines 5 and 10, the conjunctive suffix *uḥ* in lines 2 and 9, and the verbal form *ṛidu* in lines 4 and 5 and *ṛidas* in lines 6 and 10 are some of the early features of the Kannada language.

Section A records the death of Bādugūṭigāmunda of (i.e. son or servant of) Kargāmunda after having pierced and won (the fight) against Mādamma of Nareyāṅgal when **Mārakke-arasa was governing Banavāsi Twelve thousand**. The object of section B is to record the death of Ajimāṇṭi,<sup>2</sup> son of [Pri]yamāṇṭi of Kargāmunda in a fight which is apparently the same as referred to in Section A.

The record is **not dated** nor is the reigning king to whom it should be referred mentioned. But the mention of Mārakke-arasa as the governor of Banavāsi 12,000 throws some light on the question. Now a record<sup>3</sup> from Naregal, about 2½ miles from Hombli, refers itself to the reign of a king named Dōra and mentions a certain Mārakke-arasa as governing the Banavāsi 12,000 province, evidently as a feudatory of the king.<sup>4</sup> This Dōra has been identified with the Rāahjra-kūṭja king Dhruva who was the son of Kṛishṇa I and ruled from 780-94 A.D.<sup>5</sup> The characters of this Naregal inscription are exactly similar to those of our record. And the object of that inscription is also to record the death of a person named Dommarakādava[m] on the occasion of a cattle-raid.

<sup>1</sup> It is collected in *A. R. Ep.*, 1949-51, App. B, Nos. 221 and 222.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *māṇṭi* in Kannada means 'chief or headman'. But it appears to have been affixed to the proper name here. In the case of his father Priyamāṇṭi, it may be taken as a proper name or to mean 'a dear or beloved chief' and, in the latter case, he might be identified with Bādugūṭi-gāmunda of Section A.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 10-123.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153. Fleet's statement that he was the successor of Kṛishṇa I has to be modified in as much as Gōvinda II, elder brother of Dhruva, also ruled for a few years (775-780 A. D.).



There can be no doubt that Mārakka-arasa of our record is identical with the Mārakka-arasa<sup>1</sup> of the Naregal inscription. It is possible that the same fight is referred to in both the inscriptions. The same Mārakka-arasa figures in an inscription from Sidhūr in the Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District.<sup>2</sup> In this record also he is stated to have been governing the Banavāsi-nādu as a subordinate of Dhārapparasa, i.e. Dhruva. In yet another record from Kachavi<sup>3</sup> in the Hirekerur Taluk, belonging to the reign of Dhāra-Dhāravarsha, i.e. Dhruva, a certain Māra is introduced as administering the Banavāsi 12,000 province. He is apparently the same as Mārakka-arasa. Therefore the inscription under study may be assigned to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva. In this connection, two records from Nūlgēri<sup>4</sup> in the Hirekerur Taluk may be noticed. One of them refers itself to the reign of a king Gōndra under whom a certain Mārake-arasa was governing Banavāsi 12,000. Gōndra may be the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda II or III. The other record belongs to the time of Kannara, possibly Kṛishṇa I, and mentions his feudatory Mārakasa as administering the nādu which may be taken to represent Banavāsi-nādu. Mārakasa may be the same as Mārakka-arasa. Unfortunately the records are not illustrated. If, however, the identification of the kings mentioned in them with Kṛishṇa I and Gōvinda II is accepted, it follows that the Mārakka-arasa was the governor of the Banavāsi province from their time onwards. And, so far as I know, Mārakka-arasa is the earliest known governor of the Banavāsi 12,000 province under the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa kings.<sup>5</sup> The Kachavi record informs us that he had a son named Kattiyara from his senior queen Appa-Vineti and the Sidhūr inscription apparently refers to the same queen as Binaṭṭi-Abbe who is stated to have been administering the village (i.e. Sidhūr).

Only one geographical name occurs in the record, viz. Nareyaghal which is the modern Naregal situated about 2½ miles from Hombli, the findspot of the inscription. Nareyaghal is also mentioned in the Naregal inscription referred to above.

## TEXT\*

## Section A

- 1 Svasti śrī-Mārakka-arasar-Banavā-
- 2 si-pannirōchchā(rechhā)śiranum-āle Nareyagam-<sup>7</sup>
- 3 lla Mādammana oḍa(di)ro| Kargā-
- 4 muṇḍara Bādugi|ti-gāmuṇḍann-<sup>8</sup>
- 5 riḷa gelū sa(sva)rggāla[ya\*]kko ṭridan [i\*]

## Section B

- 6 Śrī Kargāmuṇḍara [Prīya]\*mūṇṭi-
- 7 ya\* mages[m] Āpinṭy[ti] . . .<sup>12</sup> |e-
- 8 gado| atavita<sup>11</sup> kōl[ā] . . .<sup>12</sup> |a-
- 9 m-āle kōndu tānuḷi sa(sva)-
- 10 rggāla[ya\*]kk-ṭridan [i\*]

\* The slight difference in the spelling of the name may be attributed to scribal error. Its form in the Naregal record seems to be correct.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ep., 1932-36, App. D, B. K. No. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Kon. Res. Bomb. State*, 1947-52, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Prabhātavarsha Gōvindarasa under whom one Rājādityarasa was governing Banavāsi-Maṇḍala according to an inscription at Māvali in the Sorab Taluk of the Shimoga District (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, 8b, 10) has been identified with Gōvinda III (794-814 A. D.), son and successor of Dhruva. Cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 16. Similarly Prabhātavarsha Gōvindarasa under whom one Ereyammarasa was the governor of Banavāsi-nādu as stated in another record from the same place (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, 8b, 9) may be identified with Gōvinda III.

<sup>5</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Nareyaghal*.

<sup>7</sup> There is some trace of a subscript of *r* of this last alikara which may be restored as *pri*.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 257, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> Two alikaras lost here may be suggested to be a *śā* from the context.

<sup>10</sup> This expression may mean 'here and there'.

<sup>11</sup> One alikara is lost here, which may be restored as *śā* from the context.



# INSCRIPTION FROM HOMBILI

Section A

Section B



Scale : One-fourth







## No. 49—INSCRIPTION IN CAVE IV AT AJANTA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.11.1938)

An inscription was recently discovered on the pedestal of the huge Buddha image in the shrine inside **Cave IV at Ajantā** in the Aurangabad District of Bombay State. Before the discovery of this record, it was generally believed that the cave bears no epigraphic records and therefore its age was a subject of speculation.

The inscription is a **votive record** written in two lines only. The writing covers an area about 5 feet 6 inches long and about 4½ inches high. Individual letters are about 1 inch in height although conjuncts and consonants with vowel-marks are bigger in size. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some of the letters are damaged here and there, while six letters are totally lost about the middle of line 2.

The characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the epigraph<sup>1</sup> of the time of the Vākātaka king Harishāpa in Cave XVI at Ajantā and of the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription<sup>2</sup> at the village of Jaṅglā about fifteen miles from Fardapur near Ajantā, which mentions king Dēvasēna of the Vākātaka dynasty. It has, however, to be pointed out that our inscription exhibits a form of *ṭh* which is slightly later than that of the letter as found in the Vākātaka inscriptions. While in the Vākātaka records, a separate curve is attached to the inner side of the bottom, the present inscription exhibits a loop instead of the separate curve as in records like the Pipardula plates<sup>3</sup> of king Narēndra of Śarabhapura, who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century A. D.<sup>4</sup> Since the Vākātaka kings Dēvasēna and Harishāpa flourished about the second half of the fifth century A. D., our inscription, which is slightly later than their records, may be assigned to the **first half of the sixth century**.

It may be pointed out, in connection with the date of the record, that the earlier writers on the history of the Vākātakas entertained a wrong view in regard to the chronology of that dynasty. Some of these writers assigned the reigns of king Dēvasēna and his son and successor Harishāpa to c. 475-500 A. D. and c. 500-20 A. D. respectively.<sup>5</sup> But they mixed up the Nādivardhana-Pravarapura and Vatsagulma branches of the family and wrongly made Dēvasēna and Harishāpa

<sup>1</sup> *ASWI*, Vol. I, pp. 53, 123 ff. and Plate LVI; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 142 ff. and Plate facing p. 143; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *ASWI*, op. cit. pp. 138 ff. and Plate IX.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 143, text line 8; cf. his Kurud plates above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 264, text line 12, and Maitraka Dr̥ṣṭasūriha's Bhamodra Mohota plates of 502 A.D. (above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 18, text-line 2). It may be noticed in this connection that the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja, which use the same type of looped *ṭh* (cf. lines 2, 6), have been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 6th century A.D. (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 144; Vol. XXVI, p. 339; *The Classical Age*, p. 191). I have now no doubt, however, that the palaeography of the record is not earlier than the beginning of the 6th century.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> *ASWI*, op. cit. p. 128.



of the Vatsagulma branch the successors of their contemporaries of the Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura branch. Another group of scholars assigned Pravarasēna II of the Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura branch, who was supposed to have been a predecessor of Dēvasēna and Hariśhēṇa, to the eighth century A. D. on the basis of the identification of his maternal grandfather Dēvagupta with Ādityasēna's son of that name ruling over Magadha about 680-700 A. D.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, now known that the two branches of the royal family sprang from Vindyaśakti's son Pravarasēna I, the end of whose reign is referred to in the historical section of the Purāṇas, which was compiled when the Gupta empire was confined to Bihar and Eastern U. P., i.e. about the second quarter of the fourth century A. D. We now also know that the maternal grandfather of Pravarasēna II of Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura was not Dēvagupta of the so-called Late Gupta dynasty but the Imperial Gupta monarch Chandragupta II who ruled in the period 376-413 A. D. In the Vatsagulma branch, Pravarasēna I was followed by: (1) his son Sarvasēna; (2-3) his sons Vindhyaśakti II and Prithivishēṇa; (4) Pravarasēna II, son of Prithivishēṇa; (5) his son whose name is lost; (6) his son Dēvasēna; and (7) Dēvasēna's son Hariśhēṇa. In the other house, Pravarasēna I was followed on the throne by: (1) his grandson Rudrasēna I, son of Gautamīputra; (2) his son Prithivishēṇa I; (3) his son Rudrasēna II; (4-5) his queen Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II, and sons Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna II; (7) Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna; and (8) his son Prithivishēṇa II.<sup>2</sup>

Since Sarvasēna began to rule about the second quarter of the fourth century, it is difficult to believe that the reign of his grandson's great-grandson Hariśhēṇa extended beyond 600 A. D. Hariśhēṇa's father Dēvasēna again was the sixth in descent from Pravarasēna I exactly as Pravarasēna II of the other branch, who was the daughter's son of Chandragupta II (376-413 A. D.) and could not have ended his reign much later than the middle of the fifth century A. D. Since, however, Gautamīputra of the other branch apparently predeceased his father and did not rule, Narēndrasēna, son and successor of Pravarasēna II of that branch, may be regarded as a contemporary of Dēvasēna of Vatsagulma. Even then the rule of Dēvasēna and Hariśhēṇa should have to be attributed to a period before the close of the fifth century.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription is written in Sanskrit and its orthography resembles that of the contemporary Vākātaka inscriptions. Consonants following *r* have often been reduplicated. There are some orthographical errors. The object of the inscription is to record that the image, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, was the gift of a person who was 'the owner of the monastery', i.e. who built Cave IV at Ajaptā.

The epigraph begins with a damaged *Siddham* symbol and this is followed by the two sentences in which the record is written. The first sentence states that the object on which the inscription is incised (i.e. the Buddha-image) was the *dāya-dharma* or gift of a person named Māthura who was the son of Abhayānandin and Skandavaśu and belonged to the Kārvaṇṇiyā gōtra. Apparently Abhayānandin was the name of Māthura's father and Skandavaśu that of his mother, although female names like Skandavaśu are not often met with.<sup>4</sup> The Kārvaṇṇiyā gōtra is not known from ancient Indian literature. Māthura is further described as the *Vihārasamūhin* or 'the owner of the monastery'. The monastery referred to is undoubtedly Cave IV at Ajaptā, in which the image of the Buddha bearing the inscription under study is enshrined.

The second sentence, with which the inscription ends, states, in the usual Mahāyāna style, that the merit accruing to the pious act of Māthura was meant for the attainment of the supreme knowledge by all beings including his parents and others.

<sup>1</sup> See *CII*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> For the dates of these Vākātaka kings, see *The Classical Age*, pp. 177 ff.

<sup>3</sup> It does not appear to be a single name reading Abhayānandiskandavaśu. It is also doubtful whether we can suggest Abhayānandin alias Skandavaśu.



The passage indicating the persons for whose supreme knowledge the pious act is stated to have been made reads : *mātā-pitrōḥ tāt-āmbāyāśch-āgr-ānvaṇḍya-su . . . . . s-sarva-satrā(tā)padā-ch-ānuttara-jñāṇā(n-d)āptayā*. The expression *tāt-āmbāyāś* in the singular may of course mean 'the *āmbā* (i.e. mother) of [one's] *tāta* (i.e. father)', that is to say, 'one's father's mother'. There are, however, words of common use in Sanskrit to indicate one's father's mother and *tāt-āmbā* is not such an expression. It is, therefore, not improbable that the expression has been used in the inscription to convey a special meaning such as that of one's father's step-mother or aunt.<sup>1</sup> The expression *agr-ānvaṇḍya-su* is incomplete as about six *akṣaras* of the line are lost after *su*. We may possibly suggest *agr-ānvaṇḍya-suhridāḥ*, 'of the prominent friends of the family [of Māthura, the donor of the image]'. There is space for another word between *su[hriddāḥ]* and 's-sarva' and we are inclined to restore the damaged section as '*suhridāḥ-ch-ātmanas-sarva*', the word *ātmanas* meaning 'of one's own'. Thus Māthura seems to have installed the Buddha image in the *Vihāra* or Buddhist monastery (i.e. Cave IV at Ajantā), which he caused to be built, for the attainment of supreme knowledge, leading to *Nirvāṇa*, by all beings including his parents, his father's mother, step-mother or aunt, the prominent friends of his family and his own self.

The importance of the inscription lies in the welcome light it throws on the controversy about the age of Cave IV at Ajantā. The difference of opinion amongst scholars is due to the fact that, in the absence of any inscription in the said Cave, they had so long to depend entirely on the less specific evidence such as that of architectural and sculptural style. Besides the absence of inscriptions in many of the caves, another fact contributing to the confusion regarding the dates of the Ajantā caves is the wrong date assigned by earlier writers to kings Dēvasēna and Harishēna of the Vākātaka family, during whose rule respectively the Ghatōtkacha Cave and Cave XVI at Ajantā were excavated. This point has already been discussed above.

A number of writers on the subject are inclined to assign Cave IV at Ajantā to a date between the sixth and eighth centuries A. D.<sup>2</sup> They divide twenty-nine caves at Ajantā into two broad groups, the first of which is called Early or Hinayāna and Caves VIII-XIII are included in it by some scholars. This group of caves is assigned to the period between the second century B.C. and the second or third century A. D. The second group, called Later or Mahāyāna and supposed to be removed from the other by a considerable period of time, is subdivided into two sub-groups. To the first of these two are assigned Caves XIV-XX believed to have been excavated in the sixth century due to Cave XVI bearing an inscription mentioning Vākātaka Harishēna whose reign was assigned to the age in question, while Caves VI-VII of the same class are attributed to a date between 450 and 550 A. D. Caves I-V and XXI-XXIX, constituting the second sub-group of the Later or Mahāyāna group and assigned to the period between 500 and 650 A. D. or between the sixth or seventh and the seventh or eighth centuries A.D., are called 'the latest Caves at Ajantā' and 'the most ornate group of the whole series'. According to these scholars, therefore, Cave IV, the largest *Vihāra* at Ajantā, belongs to the latest group of Ajantā Caves which may be as late as the seventh or eighth century A. D. There is, however, another view, according to which Cave IV is the earliest Mahāyāna *Vihāra* at Ajantā and 'was probably excavated in the third century A.D. or still earlier' though 'the decorative work may have been done at a later date'.<sup>3</sup> But the inscription under study now shows that the cave was excavated about the first half of the sixth century A. D.

<sup>1</sup> J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, 1868, pp. 80 ff.; J. Burgess *ASBI*, Vol. IV (*Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, 1879-791, pp. 45 ff.); J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed., pp. 189 ff.; A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 28, 76 ff.; etc. There is difference among scholars as regards the date of individual caves.

<sup>2</sup> G. Yashani, *Ajanta*, Part III, Text, 1946, p. 7.



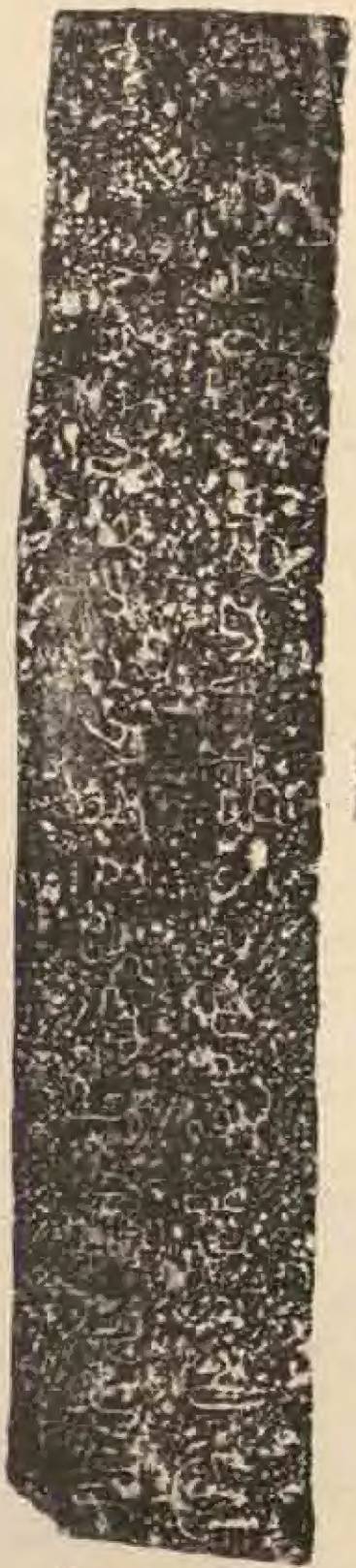
## TEXT:

- 1 [Biddham]\* [||]\* dēya-dharmmō-yam vihāra-svāminō-bhayanandi-Skandavasū-putrasya Mā-  
thureyya Kārvatīy[ā]-sagōtrasya [||]\* yad-atra puṇyān
- 2 tad-bhavatu mātā-pitrōḥ-tāt-āmbāyāḥ-ch-āgr-āra[vā]jya-su ..... \* s-sarvā-catrā-  
(itvā)nāḥ-ch-ā[nu]ttara-jāṇā(n-ā)vāptayē t[iti](ti ||)



2475

INSCRIPTION IN CAVE IV AT ALANTA  
Left Half



2

2

Right Half



24

24

Scale: One inch







# No. 50—RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA

(2 Plates)

DEBALA MITRA, CALCUTTA

(Received on 14.10.1958)

In 1958, while camping at Ratnagiri (lat. 20° 38' 30" ; long. 86° 21') in the Cuttack District, Orissa, in connection with the excavation of the Buddhist remains at the hill-top, I came to know that a copper plate lying with a villager had been removed to Puri by a Police Officer. An enquiry revealed that the plate is now in the possession of Pandit Sadasiva Ratha Sarma of Puri. Though it has not yet been possible for me to examine this plate in original, it appears almost certain that it is none other than the one already published by Narayana Tripathi in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 206-210 and Plate.<sup>1</sup>

In the hope that the remaining two plates (the Sōmavarmā charters being *triphalī-tāmraśā-sanaś*) might still be available at Ratnagiri itself, I proceeded to make enquiries of the local people and succeeded in locating one of the plates (the third of the complete set) with Shri Rāghunath Jena, ex-zamindar of the village. A further search brought to light the second plate in the series, which was lying in the possession of a local gentleman named Dasu Mallik. These two plates, together with the one previously published, complete the charter. It was reported to me that all the three plates, originally strung together on a ring (now lost), had been found in an earthen pot by the late Sūri Sanātana Mallik, father of the above-mentioned Dasu Mallik, about fifty years back in the south-eastern part of a mound, locally known as Rāṅpukhuri (literally 'the queen's tank'), situated at the top of the hill at Ratnagiri.<sup>2</sup>

Both the plates edited here are well-preserved and measure 14 inches in length, the widths of the second and third plates being respectively 8·9 and 8·7 inches. They have a ring-hole, .8 inch in diameter, at the centre of the left margin. A portion was cut off from both the plates evidently for testing the metal. The second plate (i.e. the first of the set available to me), weighing 3 seers and 13 tolas, is inscribed on both the sides, while the third, which weighs 2 seers and 56½ tolas and has a raised rim, is engraved only on one side. The second plate contains eighteen lines of writing on the obverse as well as on the reverse and the third only fourteen lines, the average number of letters per line being thirtythree. The letters are nicely and boldly engraved and have the average height of .4 inch.

The palaeography of the charter resembles that of the Orissan inscriptions of about the twelfth century. The top horizontal line of the letters has a triangular hook below on the left side. The consonants *p* and *y* are often undistinguishable ; so also are *ch* and *r*. The medial sign of *u* closely resembles that of subscript *v*.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in verse and partly in prose, though the influence of the local language is noticed in the word *Aṭṭhāvā* for *Aṣṭāvāśā* (line 33) as well as in the words indicating taxes, viz. *chāpīḍa*, *andhāruḍ*, *pratyavdhāruḍ*, *antardānḍī*, *riṇṭa-kṛvāḍī* and *caṣṭavakī* (lines 38 and 39).

As regards orthography, apart from obvious scribal mistakes, the following features may be mentioned : the use of *śh* for *ś* in *Kōśhala* (line 19) and *Tōśhali* (line 33), of *s* for *śh* in *saṭa* (line

<sup>1</sup> [See below, pp. 268-70.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The excavations at this mound revealed two full-fledged monasteries.



66), of *r* for *l* in *Kāsyapa* (line 42), of *ṣ* for final *m* in *colligam* (line 30), *anḡulaṣ* (line 68), etc., and of the *avagraha* sign in some cases as *yathā-d'amaḡhi* (line 36) and *Sūnāsiṛa-r'ithaḡḡa* (line 62); the reduplication of the consonant following the *rēpha* in some cases as in *kirtti* (lines 22, 30 and 61); etc.

The charter was issued from *Yayātinagara* by *Paramamāhātmya Paramabhaṭṭādraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēkvara Sōmakulatilaka Trikalīṅgādhipati Karpadēva* alias *Mahāśiva-gupta* on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Āsvina* in his sixth regnal year. Its object was to record the grant of the village of *Kōpā* which was within the *Brahmō-Aṭṭhāvīsa khaṇḍa* (sub-division) of *Uttara-Tōsali* to *Rāpī Karpūraśī* who was the daughter of the son of *Udayanati* and the daughter of *Mahārīmā-Hupadēvi*<sup>1</sup> and who belonged to the *Kāsyapa gōtra* having three *pramāsa*. The mention of the names of her mother and grandmother instead of her father and grandfather is rather unusual. She hailed from the *Mahācīhāra* of *Śaḷapūra* in *Utkala-dēśa*, which seems to have been a Buddhist monastery. In that case, she was a Buddhist, though she claimed a Brahmanical *gōtra*. Her title *Rāpī* is equally enigmatic. It is not clear if she was the wife of some *Rāpaka* or was one of the secondary queens.<sup>2</sup>

The list of persons addressed regarding the grant is identical with that of the *Narasīnghpur (Balijhārī)* plates<sup>3</sup> of *Udyōtakēśarin* and comprises officials and dignitaries like *samāhartai* (collector of taxes), *samudhātṛi* (receiver of stolen goods or an officer who introduces people of court), *niyuktādhikārika*, *dāyapādika* (police officer), *prānauśtrika* (one who catches the wicked), *avarōḡhājana* (inmates of the seraglio), *rājāī* (chief queen), *rānaka* (subordinate chief), *rājaputra* (prince), *rājavalabha* (persons enjoying royal favour) and *hōgijana* (village-headman), besides the rural folk.

The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee, over and above the common ones found in most grants, were *hastidāṇḍa*, *unabalinardda*, *chittōla*, *andhōraḡ*, *pratyandhōraḡ*, *adattā*, *padātijirya*, *antarvādḡḡi*, *riṇtakūṇḡḡi*, *maṣṇakā*, *viśayāḡḡi*, *āḡi-dāṇḍa*, *hala-dāṇḍa*, *bandha-dāṇḍa*, *vandāpanā* and *vijayamandāpanā*. Most of these occur in the *Narasīnghpur* plates of *Udyōtakēśarin* and the *Keḡga* plates,<sup>4</sup> though the exact significance of these still remains to be determined. *Hastidāṇḍa*, *varan-balinardda* and *hala-dāṇḍa* may mean taxes on the maintenance of elephants, superior bulls and ploughs. The *āḡi-dāṇḍa* might have been a tax imposed on snake-charmers who earned their livelihood by the exhibition of snakes. *Padātijirya*, *vandāpanā* and *vijaya-mandāpanā* may respectively indicate subsistence for the infantry, tribute to the king and such tribute paid after the king obtained a victory.

*Karpadēva*'s minister for peace and war (*sandhicigrahin*) was *Kṛṣṇadēva* who apparently superseded the members of the *Dattā* family who had held that post up to the reign of *Udyōtakēśarin*. *Mahākṣhapatalin* (chief accounts-officer) *Chhittalladēva* was responsible for getting the charter written and it was engraved on the plates by *Śāḡkhuka*.

The inscription throws considerable new light on the history of the later *Sōmavamāśa*. It furnishes for the first time the names of the three immediate successors of *Udyōtakēśarin*, namely, *Janamōjaya*, his son *Purañjaya*, and his brother *Karṇa*. Of these, *Karṇa* is no doubt the same as the *Uthalēśa Karpakēśarin* mentioned in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*, though the suffix *ēśarin* is absent in his own record.<sup>5</sup> In verse 45 of the third *Parichchheda* of this work, we are

<sup>1</sup> See p. 267, note 3. The name is not a pure Sanskrit one. This may be due to her *Hūpa* origin.

<sup>2</sup> [See below, pp. 272-73.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> *JBOES*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 321 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The evidence of the *Sōmacharita* commentary and the *Māḡala Pāṭi* shows that the name-ending *ēśarin* became associated with the later *Sōmavamāśa* following *Udyōtakēśarin*, though their own official records do not show this.



told that Rāmapāla (c. 1077-1120 A.D.) favoured the vanquished king of Utkala, who belonged to the lineage of Bhava's ornament (i.e. the dynasty of the moon or the Soma-varsha), and rescued the world from the terror of Kalinga after having killed those robbers of that place,<sup>1</sup> most probably led by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.<sup>2</sup> Rāmapāla accomplished this towards the later part of his reign following the consolidation of his empire after his victory over the Kaivarta king Bhīma, most probably about the beginning of the twelfth century. The commentary on verse 5 of the second *Parichchhāda* supplies the name of this *Utkalēśa* as Karṇakēśarin who was defeated by Jayasinhha, the feudatory ruler of Daṇḍabhukti under Rāmapāla.<sup>3</sup>

King Janamājaya, son of Udyōtakēśarin, succeeded his father. In verse 13 he is stated to have threatened or surpassed the Nāga king in bearing the weight of the earth. If this verse has any political significance, the Nāga king must have been the Chhindaka-Nāga Sōmēśvara I (c. 1069-1097 A.D.) of Bastar, who is known to have come into conflict with the king of Udra.<sup>4</sup>

Purañjaya, son of Janamājaya and grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, is praised in the inscription in high-sounding words. We are told that even the kings of Gaṇḍa, Dāhala, Kalinga and Vaṅga were afraid of his prowess. This is a vague eulogy. The contemporary ruler of Gaṇḍa was Rāmapāla and the contemporary Kalachuri king of Dāhala most probably Yaśaḥkarna. The ruler of Kalinga was either Rājārāja I (1070-78 A.D.) or his son Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.). The king of Vaṅga was no doubt the Yādava king Harivarman.

Karṇadēva, brother of Purañjaya and another grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, succeeded his brother. Like other members of his family, he was a devout worshipper of the god Mahāśvara. His *virula* Mahāśivagupta proves that the alternate assumption of the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta was a regular feature in the dynasty. That the *prafastī* praises him only in vague terms shows that he was not a powerful ruler, though he was maintaining his independent existence in Utkala till his sixth regnal year, as his assumption of imperial titles like *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and also the grant of land in Uttara-Tōsalī testify.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kōṅā and Brahṃś-Atthālvā are not readily identifiable.<sup>5</sup> Uttara-Tōsalī roughly corresponded to the modern Balasore District with parts of the Cuttack and Midnapur Districts. Yayālinagara, whence the order conveying the gift was issued, is modern Jāppur, the capital of Utkala under the later Sōmavarmas. Salāgapura, evidently identical with Salāgapur-ādilāvāsa in Uttara-Tōsalī mentioned in the Nalpur plate<sup>6</sup> of the Bhāuma king Śaḍāḥkara, may be the modern Solampur (lat. 20° 52' ; long. 85° 21') on the bank of the Vaitarani, about 2 miles from Jāppur, a town in the Bhadrak Sub-Division of the Balasore District. The village has yielded a rich crop of Buddhist images of the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna pantheon, such as Lōkēśvara, Jambhala and Vajrasattva.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bhava-Mahāśara-sambhādhikāra-mahāpurāṇa-jilma-Utkala-tram-pat-jagad-vratasama-samasam Kalingantat-tamavādhārdhāra-gaṇḍa*.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the earlier invasion of Chōḍagaṅga before his permanent conquest of Utkala.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sinhha-ai-Daṇḍabhukti-bhāgati-sādhaka-prabhāsa-lāva-kamala-makula-tali-Utkalēśa-Karṇakēśari-saridavādhā-Kumāratamādhāra-Jagat-sinhha*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> It may be mentioned that about 3 miles from Ratnagiri there is a village called Anikōṅ which is reminiscent of Kōṅā. The village Brahmapur, 1½ miles north-east of Ratnagiri, recalls the first part of the name Brahṃś-Atthālvā.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 24.



## TEXT:

[Metres : verses 9, 13 *Upajāti* ; verses 10, 12, 17 *Āryā* ; verses 11, 15 *Pañcoddhātā* ; verse 14 *Pañc-kāṣṭha* ; verse 16 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 18-20, 22-27, 30-32 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 21 *Indrasajrū* ; verse 28 *Śālīnī* ; verse 29 *Puṣkpitāgrā*]

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 19\* Bhatair-avashṭavdha(bdha)m-īdam narēndrai rāshṭradvayaṁ Kōsha(sa)lam-Utkalaś-  
cha | s-kapṭakam sādhaṇatāḥ samantādbhū(d=bhu)ja-dva-  
20 yaṁ yasya kṛt-ārtham-āst || [9\*] Tasya tataḥ sukṛta-phalam sphallikṛta-lōka-lōchanas-  
tanayaḥ | sama-  
21 jani guṇ-aika-stmā ārimān-U[d\*]dyōtakṣari nripatī || [10\*] Bhakti-du(dṣ)ra-nata-kuntala-  
sikhalan-mallikā-kusu-  
22 ma-dāma-rājayaḥ | dhaukayanta īva kirtti(riti)-santatir-yam-prapēmur-abhitō mahā-  
bhujah || [11\*] Tanayas-taaya na-  
23 masyan-narēndra-mauli-indranila-maḥi-madhupaib || [\*] āṇḍārīta-pada-padmaḥ samajani  
Janamōjayō nripatī || [12\*]  
24 Kṛpāṇa-dhārā-dhara-dhanta-vau(vai)ri-bhūpāla-kāntā-ma(mṛi)gaśābhi-paśkaḥ | vasu-  
dhārā-bhāra-mahā-dhūri(rī)ya-dōh-kāṇḍa-  
25 nībhā(r\*)ṭaita-Nāgarājah\* || [13\*] Tatas-tanu(nā)jō manuḥ-ōttamō-bhavat Puruṣjayō  
vairi-puraṣ-jayō nripah || [\*] namat-kali-  
26 tū-ārochita-pāda-paṇkajah sphurat-Sunāśira-samāna-vikramah || [14\*] Gauḍa-Pāhala-  
Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-jā bhūhhu-  
27 jō bhūja-nivārit-āryah | tē-pi yasya bhūja-śra-śāṅkayā kampamānam-aniṣam-manō  
dadh-  
28 h || [15\*] Tasy-ānujō nija-bhu-ārjita-saurya-aūrya-prauḍha-prabhā-samita-satru-yasah-  
śāśāka-  
29 h | śrī-Karṇadēva-nripatī kahitipāla-mauli-samīlita-retna-chaya-chumvi(mli)ta-pāda-  
pīṭhah || [16\*] Tri-bhuva-  
30 na-koṭira-patālā sarpatī nijakṛya-kīrtti-vallī(ṭi-ī)yan(yam) | yasya samnasti-bhājah  
bhūja-yuga-nīhāri(ārā)ṇi-  
31 kām śrīvā || [17\*] svastī | śrī-Yayātinagarāta(rāt) | paramamāhāvara-paramabhāṭṭā-  
raka-mahārājādhi-  
32 rāja-paramāvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati-śrī-Mahāśivaguptarāja-  
dēvah  
33 kulāli | Uttara-Tōsha(sa)ḥya-Vra(Bra)hmō(hmō?) -Atṭhāvisa'-khaṇḍa-sam'-  
Kōpā-grāmah | Atastati'-khaṇḍ(yu-Vrā(Brā)hma-

\* From the original plates and their impressions. [See below, pp. 269-70.—Ed.]

\* The numberings of the lines and verses are respectively in continuation of those of the first plate. While that plate ends with the name of the king Yayāti, the second plate begins with the eulogy of that ruler and continues the genealogy down to his son Udyōtakṣari in verses identical with the corresponding ones occurring in the Narasinghpur plates of the latter (*JOSRS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.).

\* The reference is probably to both Vāsuki and a king of the Naga dynasty.

\* Correctly *Aśvīnīkṣa*. [See below, p. 272.—Ed.]

\* Śaś is a contraction of *śaśadatta*.

\* [See below, p. 273.—Ed.]



[illegible]

Scale: Two-thirds



10

[illegible]

CC  
BY

Q



435

62

20

10



100

2



05

25





- 34 gāṇ-āpu(pū)jya |<sup>1</sup> samāhartṛi-sannīdhātṛi- | niyuktādhikārika- | dāṇḍapāśika- | pāṇa-  
vātrik-āvarōdha-  
35 [ja]ṇa- | rājāi- | rājaka- | rāja-putra- | rājavallabha- | bhōgi-jana-pramukha-nivāsi-samasta-  
jana-mānava-  
36 [nu]ṇayati vō(hō)dhayati samābhāpayati viditam-aata bhavatām(tām) | yath-a'amābhira-  
ayaṇ-grāmaḥ

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 37 sa-jala-athajah | sa-gartt-ōaharaḥ | s-āmra-madhūka-prabhṛiti-nānā-vṛikah | sa-nidhiḥ |  
a-ōpanidhi-  
38 ḥ | hastidaṇḍa- | vara-va(ba)līvardda- | chittōla- | andhārū- | pratyandhārū- |  
adattā- | padāti-ivya- | a-  
39 atarūvaḍḍi- | rintakāvaḍḍi- | vasāvaki- | viśayāli- | āhi-daṇḍa- | hala-daṇḍa- |  
va(ba)ndha-daṇḍa- | vandāpanā-  
40 | vijayavandāpanā-prabhṛiti-nānā-mārggaṇi-samēta-bhaviśhyat-kara-sahitaḥ | sa-khaṇḍa-  
pāliyaḥ |  
41 sarva-vādhā-varjṇtaḥ | sarva-ōpariicara-dāna-sahitaḥ | chatuḥ-alm-āvachchihmaḥ |  
Utkaladēśiya-<sup>2</sup>irī-  
42 Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra-vinirggatāyai | Kāśya(īya)pa-aṅgōtrāyai | try-ārāha-pravarā-  
yul | Udayama-  
43 tī-nāmanyāḥ pauteyai | Mahārīmā<sup>3</sup>-Hūnadōvi(vī)-nāmanyāḥ putryai | rāṇi-<sup>3</sup>irī-Karppūrai-  
nāmanu(minai) | sālī-  
44 la-dhārā-purassaram(ram) | ā-chand[r\*]ārka-kahiti-sama-kāl-ōpabbhōg-ārthah | mātā  
pitṛōr-ātmanas-cha pu-  
45 pya-yaśō-bhividdhayō | tāmra-tāsanēn-ākarkṛitya | sampradatta ity-avagatya |  
samuchi-  
46 ta-kara-bhāga-bhōgam-upanayadbū[r\*]-bhavadbhīḥ sukhēna prativaatsavyam-<sup>4</sup>itī |  
bhāvibhīḥ-cha bhūpati-  
47 bhīḥ-dattir-iyam-aamadīyā | dharmma-gauravād-aamad-aṇḍōvā(dhē)ch-cha eva-dattir-  
iv-<sup>5</sup>ānupālaniyā || tathā  
48 ch-ōktan-dharmmatāstō || Va(Ba)hubhī[r\*]-va-ndhā dattā rājamaḥ Ragar-ādibhīḥ  
yaaya yasya yadā bhō-  
49 miḥ ta(=ta)aya tasya tadā phalam(tam) || [18\*] Mā bhūd-a-phala-sāṅkā vaḥ para-dattī<sup>6</sup>  
pārthivāḥ | eva-dattāt phala-  
50 m-ānantiyaṁ paradat(t\*)-<sup>7</sup>ānupālani || [19\*] Shachṣim varaha-sahastāṇi svarggō mōdai  
bhūmidah | ākshēptā  
51 ch-ānumantī-cha āvac tau naraka-gāminau || [20\*] Agnēr-āpatyaṁ prathamadī sū(su)  
varṇṇam bhūra-Vvaishṇavi Sūrya-sū(su)itē-

<sup>1</sup> The *daṇḍa* here and in most of the cases in this line and the lines below is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The first *akṣara* in lines 35-36 is out off.

<sup>3</sup> The name may also be read *Mahārīmā*. (See below, p. 272.—Ed.)



- 52 *ā-cha gāvaḥ* | *yaḥ kāñchanam gāḥ=chu mahān=cha dadyāt* |<sup>1</sup> *dattāś-trayaś=tēna bhavanā*  
*lōkāḥ* || [21\*] *Āphōṭa[ya]*.\*
- 53 *nti pitarō valgayanti pitāmahāḥ* | *bhūmi-dātā kulō jātaḥ sa naś-trātā bhaviṣhyati* || [22\*]  
*Bhū[mim]*
- 54 *yaḥ pratigrihṣāti yaś-cha bhūmim prayachchhati* | *ubhau tau puṇya-karmnāṇaṁ niyatam*  
*svargga-gāmi[nau]* || [23\*]

### Third Plate

- 55 *Taḍāgānāśi sahasrēṇa vājapōya-tātēna cha* | *gavām kōpi-pradānēna bhūmi-harītā na śu-*  
*dhyati* || [24\*] *Harati hārayōd=yaś-tu mandavu(bu)ddhiś-tamō-vpitaḥ* | *su=va(ba)ddhō*  
*dāruṇaiḥ pāśais-triya(tīrya)g-yōnir*
- 57 *sa gauchchhati* || [25\*] *Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā(ttām vā) yō harēta(t=tu) vasundharā[m\*]* |  
*sa viśthāyāśi kṛimī[r\*]=bhūtyā(tvā) pitṛibhiḥ saha*
- 58 *pachyatē* || [26\*] *Gām-ākā[m\*] svarṇam-ākāś=cha bhūmēr=apy=ś[r\*]ddham=aṅgulam(lam)* |  
*haran [na\*]rakam=āpuṣṭi yāvad=āhū-*
- 59 *ta=śa[m\*]phavaḥ(vam)* || [27\*] *Sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētu[r\*]=nirpā(pā)ṇāḥ kālō kālō*  
*pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ* | *śa[r\*]vrān=ētāna(tān)*
- 60 *bhāvināḥ pāṭhiv-śud[r\*]lān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ* || [28\*] *Iti kamala-dal-*  
*āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōkā[m\*]*
- 61 *śriyam=anuchintya manushya-[vitaś=cha [ ]\** *śakalam=idam=udāhṛitaś=cha vu(bu)ddhvā*  
*na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kī[r]ttayō*
- 62 *vīṣpyāḥ [ ]* [29\*] *Pahriṇḍa-maṇḍal-āgrēṇa khaṇḍitair=ahitair=ayam(yam)* | *Sūnāsirō-*  
*rthavān puthyī\* pātrō ya-*
- 63 *tra vasundharā [ ]\** [30\*] *Yasya vu(bu)ddhi=va(ba)lāl=Lakṣmīr-ākā-paśm=iva tarsthi(t=sthi)ttā*  
*[ ]\** *sa śrīmān Kṛiṣṇadēvō=bhū[d\*]=bhūpa-*
- 64 *tāḥ sandhivigrahī* || [31\*] *Mahākṣapaśali śrīmāna(mān) vītrāś-Chittellāśvakaḥ* |  
*śō=likhat*
- 65 *khal-ānanda-nāṇasa-tāmra-śāsanam(nam)* || [32\*] *paramānāhāvara-paramabhajjāraka-*  
*manhārēśādh-*
- 66 *rāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-Karṇṇarājadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyā* | *śaṭa*  
*(śaśhṭha)-samva(samva)tsarē* | *A-*
- 67 *ś[ ]pina-śudi-dvādaśyām(āyām)* | *śākē samvata(samvat)* 6<sup>1</sup> *śōvina-śudi* 12  
*śvarṇa-vīthi-pratīva(ba)ddha=śuśnāhi-vijñā(7)ni-*
- 68 *Śaṅkhakōṇa tāmra-śāsanam=idam=utkirṇam=itī [ ]\**

\* The *śoḍo* is unnecessary. Read *śadyād*.

\* An *śhahav* at the end of each of lines 52-54 is cut off.

\* The first letter may also be read as *pa* and the second as *ji* or *ja*.

\* The first letter may also be read as *pu* and the second as *lgyā*.

\* [See below, p. 272.—Ed.]

\* [The figure looks more like 5.—Ed.]

\* The reading may also be *śva*.



RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA—PLATE II

iii, a



56

58

60

62

64

66

68

56

58

60

62

64

66

68

Scale : Two-thirds



१ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीसोमवामसीकर्ना-  
 २ ॥ वरप्रतिष्ठायाः प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 ३ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 ४ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 ५ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 ६ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 ७ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 ८ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 ९ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 १० ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 ११ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 १२ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 १३ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 १४ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 १५ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 १६ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 १७ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि  
 १८ ॥ यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि

Scale: Two-thirds



# No. 51—NOTE ON RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA

(1 Pl<sup>a</sup>'s)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOZACAMUND

(Received on 1.12.1958)

In her article on this inscription published above, pp. 263 ff., Mrs. Mitra has correctly surmised that the first plate of the set of the Ratnagiri plates of the Sōmavamśi king Karṇa, which was published by Narayana Tripathi in *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 206 ff. and Plate, was secured by Pandit Śaḍaśiva Rāṭha Sarma of Puri. Sometime ago, I received the plate, stated to have been lying in the possession of one Panchanana Sandi of Ratnagiri, from Pandit Rāṭha Sarma for examination.<sup>1</sup> The writing, as expected, is only on the inner side of the plate. The eight stanzas constituting the epigraphic text are the same as verses 1-8 of the Balijhari (Narsingpur) plates of Udyōtakṣarin<sup>2</sup> published by Binayak Mitra in *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. Unfortunately they have not been quite correctly read and interpreted either by Tripathi or by Mitra. I am, therefore, re-editing the said part of the inscription below.

## TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 3-7 *Śārdūlanīḍṛiṭa* ; verses 2, 8 *Vasantatilaka*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [ \* ] Jyōtanā-sāli-samgiddhi-bhūḥ kumudini-bās-aika-sampādanā-dhūrtiḥ Dhūrijjati-  
mañli-sau-
- 2 dha-vasatiḥ piyūṣa-dhārā-grīham(ham) | Tār-āntaḥ-pura-nāyakō Rati-patṭh śāstr-aika-  
śā(śā)ḡ-ḡpalaḥ Kāḥi-
- 3 rōd-ārgnava-nandanō virja(ja)yatē dēvaḥ Sudhādīdhitūḥ || [1\*] Aśy-ānvayē mahati pāndra-  
tamaḥ-kalaśka-vi-
- 4 cchhāya-dig-valaya-mārjjana-kūrchohakasya | utpēdirē sakala-sad-gapa-janma-kandāḥ  
kund-āvadāta<sub>ya</sub>-
- 5 śasō jarga(ga)tibhujas-rē / [2\*] Rāḥ-ābhūj-Janamējayō-'tha nripatir-jjātō Yayāti-tataḥ  
ārimā-
- 6 n-Bhimaratbō-'bhavat-tad-ann-cha kṣmā-chakra-rakāḥ-māḡh | uṣṭāḥ-āva dig-  
anturāṣu vijaya-stambh-āva-

<sup>1</sup> Pandit Rāṭha Sarma wanted that, in case the inscription was unpublished, I should write a paper on the epigraph and insert his name in it as that of the joint author as had been often done by me previously in his case and in the case of others who made new inscriptions available to me. It was, however, found to be a published record.

<sup>2</sup> The correct form of the name is *Udyōtakṣarin*.

<sup>3</sup> From the original plate and impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.



- 7 li-[un](chokha)dmañ hrich-*chhalyāñ* diā-*bhujām*-apī samārōpyanta yañ viaphuñam<sup>1</sup>  
|| [3\*] *Tamād-Dharmmarathā manō-*
- 8 ratha-phalañ *Śitāmā*-*rañā*-*tri(śti)yo* nistriñā-*rika*-*sakā* śikā-*mañir*-*abhūn*-*niñā*-*aha*-  
*bhūm*-*bhujām*(jām) | ya-
- 9 amin-dig-vijay-*āvatāra*(ri)ñi pū(pu)rā vidvēśi-*bhu*(bhū)mibhujāḥ prātishṭhanta dig-  
antaram tadanu cha
- 10 sphitā-*chamu*(mū)-*rāgava*ḥ || [4\*] *Sēt-Āpānta*-*van-āntarē* *Himavata*ḥ paryyanta-*bhū*-  
*di*(a)mani *Prāgam*bhōdhi-ta-
- 11 tī-vanāśa(śu) *kaśakē* *Pārvvētaraka*mābhṛitaḥ | *yaśy-ōttāmyad*-*arāti*-*rāja*-*yuvati*-  
*nāivāsa*-*jha*ḥjḥ-ā-
- 12 nīa-vyāśaṅga-*avanad*-*antarāla*-*mukharair*-*ggita*m yaśaḥ kichakaḥ || [5\*] *Bhrātē* *taśya*  
*va*(ba)bhūva [bhūta]lapatē-
- 13 r-Bhūtēsa-tulya-prabhaḥ prakhyātam kahi-*bhā*baṅgañ *Naghuśa*<sup>2</sup> ity-*urv*vīpatināḥ  
patih | yad-[d]r-dapda-bhu-
- 14 jagamāna vilāsañ-nistriñā(ka)-*jihvā*-*hṛitā* pīlā-tē paṇipanti(uthi)-*pārthiva*-*chamū*-  
*kaṇṭh*-*āntarē* mērutā-
- 15 b || [6\*] *Atr-āstē* *kari*-*va*(vṛ)ndām-*anmadam*-*iha* prauḍhō-*stī* pañchānanaḥ *santy-ētān*<sup>3</sup>  
*jagad*-*druhō* *giri*-*dart*-*ko*-
- 16 mbbhaḥ *knmbhina*ḥ(sāḥ) | *enābād*-*ity*-*abhidhāya* vī[pi]ddha-*Śavarī*-*varggēṇa* *va*(ba)ddh-  
*āsurā* yad-*vairi*-*pramadā*-*janō* *vanā*-
- 17 bhuvāḥ *sañchāram*-*adhyāpita*ḥ || [7\*] *Tasy-ānujō* *nata*-*sa*(ma\*)*sta*-*sapatna*-*mauli*-  
*ratnā**sumā**śalita*<sup>4</sup>-*pāda*-*aurō*-
- 18 [ja-rō]chih | *vidyā*-*nidhū*ḥ *pratinidhir*-*Mmadhu*ḥ(sū)*danasya* jātō-<sup>5</sup>*iha* *viśva*-*vijayi*  
*nripatir*-*Yayāti*ḥ || [8\*]

The first of the eight stanzas introduces the Moon-god, the mythical progenitor of the Sōma-varṇiā. Verse 2 refers to the kings born in the family of the said god and the next stanza (verse 3) mentions three early Sōma-varṇiā kings, viz. *Janamājaya* (i.e. *Mahābhavagupta* I *Janamājaya* I), his son *Yayāti* (i.e. *Mahāśivagupta* I *Yayāti* I) and his successor *Bhīmaratha* (alias *Mahābhavagupta* II). In this enumeration, the regular succession of the kings has been indicated since the second ruler was the son and successor of the first and the third the son and successor of the second. We know that *Mahābhavagupta* I *Janamājaya* I was the first imperial ruler of the family, very little being known about his father *Śivagupta* and nothing at all about the latter's ancestors. Verse 4 speaks of king *Dharmmaratha* (*Mahāśivagupta* II), son and successor of *Bhīmaratha*, while verse 5 refers to his conventional *dig-vijaya* with reference to the *chakrasanti-kāṇṭha* bounded by the *Sētū* (i.e. *Sētubandha Rāmēśvara*) in the south, the *Himavat* in the north, the *Eastern Sea* (Bay of Bengal) in the east and the *Western Mountain* (i.e. the mythical *Sun-set Mountain*) in the west. Verses 6-7 vaguely describe the exploits of *Dharmmaratha*'s [younger] brother and

<sup>1</sup> Read *gair-viaphuṇam*.

<sup>2</sup> The correct form of the name is *Nakusha*.

<sup>3</sup> There is a defective mark in the plate after this letter.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ratn-ānū-ānāmā*.

<sup>5</sup> These two letters are cut off.



successor Naghusha (Nahusha, probably called Mahābhavagupta III). Verse 8 mentions Yayāti (i.e. Chandihara Yayāti III Mahāśivagupta III) as the *auja* of Naghusha (Nahusha), the word *auja* being used here in the sense of a younger cousin, since the Brahmesvara temple (Bhubaneswar) inscription<sup>1</sup> represents Chandihara as the son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravira and great-grandson of Janamājaya I Mahābhavagupta I.

The following stanza (verse 9) on the obverse of the second plate of the set suggests that this Yayāti, who was the father of Udyōtakēśarin, established his rule over both the Kōśala and Utkala countries, although his predecessors were very probably rulers of Kōśala only. When the early Sōmavamśis were ruling over Kōśala, Utkala was under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas. The Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍi-mahādēvi was ruling over Utkala at least down to the year 187 of the Bhauma-Kara era, probably corresponding to 1018 A.D., and she is known to have been succeeded on the throne by two other rulers, viz. her step-mother Vakula-mahādēvi and her aunt Dharma-mahādēvi. One of the predecessors of Daṇḍi-mahādēvi was Prithvi-mahādēvi who was the daughter of the Sōmavamśi king Svabhāvatunga of Kōśala (i.e. Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta I) and was ruling in the Bhauma-Kara year 158 corresponding probably to 989 A.D. Another fact of chronological importance is that Naghusha (Nahusha or Mahābhavagupta III) seems to be the same as the ruler named Indraratha defeated by Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) as well as the king of the same name who belonged to the family of the Moon and was captured by the generals of Rājendra-chōla I at Ādmagara (i.e. Yayātinagara) sometime before 1023 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that verse 9 of the inscription really refers to the subjugation of the Kōśala and Utkala countries by the Chōla army among others and to their reconquest by Yayāti III. It seems that, while Naghusha (Nahusha) was struggling with the Chōla occupants of Kōśala, Yayāti III, who was probably related to the Bhauma-Karas either through his mother or by marriage and may have been passing his days at the Bhauma-Kara court,<sup>3</sup> was fighting with the Chōlas in Utkala and that ultimately Yayāti III succeeded in consolidating his position in both the countries, his cousin Naghusha (Nahusha) having died (or killed by the Chōlas) in the meantime. Yayāti III thus ruled about the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. (c. 1025-55 A.D.).

Besides the importance of the Ratnagiri plates discussed by Mrs. Mitra, there are a few points requiring elucidation. Udyōtakēśarin, son and successor of Yayāti III, ruled about the third quarter of the eleventh century (c. 1055-80 A.D.). The Kelga plates suggest that he made over Kōśala to a prince named Abhimanyu and was himself ruling over Utkala,<sup>4</sup> while the inscriptions of the Telugu-Chōḍas indicate that the successors of Udyōtakēśarin in Utkala had nothing to do with Kōśala which passed into the possession of the rulers of the Telugu-Chōḍa dynasty.<sup>5</sup> Karṇa or Karṇakēśarin, grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, seems to have ended his rule over Utkala before the conquest of that country by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga probably before 1112 A.D.<sup>6</sup> The issue of the present charter from Yayātinagara is thus interesting. The city of Yayātinagara (modern Binks in the former Sonapur State in ancient Kōśala), built by and named after Yayāti I, was originally the capital of the Sōmavamśis of Kōśala. It appears that, after the expansion of Sōmavamśi power over Utkala, their capital in Utkala was also given the name

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J.R.A.S.B. Letters*, Vol. XIII, p. 69, text lines 7-8 (verse 7).

<sup>2</sup> See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 206 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. verse 7 of the Brahmesvara temple inscription which refers to a Sōmavamśi prince who was staying away from the country when Dharmaratha died without leaving an issue.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 323-24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 286 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 212.



Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, probably after Yayāti III who seems to have been the first Śōmavamśī king of Utkala. This new 'city of Yayāti' seems to be the modern Jāipur (possibly a corruption of *Yayātipura*) which was previously the capital of the Bhauma-Karas, the predecessors of the Śōmavamśīs in Utkala.<sup>1</sup>

Another interesting fact is that the lady Karpūrasrī, the donee of the grant, is described as a *Rājī* or queen and as the daughter of a woman and the granddaughter of another woman. I am inclined to take the word *pautrī* in this context in the sense of 'the daughter's daughter'. The absence of any reference to Karpūrasrī's father and grandfather and her representation as the daughter and granddaughter of females appear to suggest that she was born of a harlot. There are other instances of similar representation of a harlot in inscriptions. Thus the Mahākūṣāvata (Badami) temple inscription<sup>2</sup> of the time of Chālukya Vijayāditya records the donations of the harlot Vinā-poṭī described as the daughter of Kuadī-poṭī and granddaughter of Revamañchal and the heart's darling (*prāṇa-vallabhe*) of king Vijayāditya Saṅgītya. Similarly, an inscription<sup>3</sup> of the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva in the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal records the donation of Bādī-poḍḍī described as the daughter of Gōyinda-poḍḍī who was a harlot (i.e. *Dēvadāsī*) of the temple of the queen Loka-mahādevī. These inscriptions are in the Kannaḍa language in which the word *poṭī*, *poḍḍī* or *boḍḍī* means 'a harlot'.<sup>4</sup>

If Karpūrasrī, apparently one of the secondary queens or concubines of the Śōmavamśī king Karṇa, was a harlot's daughter, there are a few points to be explained. The first of these is that whether the word *dēvī* suffixed to her mother's name should have to be taken to indicate the latter's status as a queen. We have, however, inscriptions mentioning harlots with names ending in *dēvī*.<sup>5</sup> Even if Karpūrasrī's mother was the secondary queen or concubine of some ruler, we may think that she was originally a harlot but was later married to or associated with a king while Karpūrasrī had been born before her mother was associated with the ruler. I read the name of Karpūrasrī's mother as *Mahārī Māhūnadēvī*, the epithet *mahārī* being undoubtedly the same as Oriya *māhārī* (Prākṛit *māhurī*) meaning a songstress or dancing girl or a *Dēvadāsī* or harlot. She had, therefore, nothing to do with the Hūṇa people as suggested by Mrs. Mitra. Secondly, Karpūrasrī is described as *Salōgapura-mahāvihāra-mārgatā*, i.e. hailing from Salōgapura-mahāvihāra. The *Dēvadāsīs* are, however, associated with Brahmanical temples and not with Buddhist monasteries. It is thus impossible to believe that the harlots in question were residents of the monastery at Salōgapura. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that *Salōgapura-mahāvihāra* has been used in the inscription as the name of the locality where the harlots lived. Probably the entire area under the possession of the Salōgapura monastery or the village or township around it was known under the name of Salōgapura-mahāvihāra. This is not improbable in view of the fact that the names of the town of Bihār (i.e. Bihār-sharīf) and the Bihar State are both essentially derived from the word *vihāra* meaning a Buddhist monastery originally standing at the site or in the vicinity of the modern town of Bihār called Bihār-sharīf by the Muhamadans. It is of course uncertain whether the harlots in question were attached to any temple situated in the said locality. The third point to be noticed in this connection is that Karpūrasrī is stated to have belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. This appears to have been the *gōtra* of one of her direct female ancestors, who first took to the profession of a harlot.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *I.H.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 272 ff. The city seems to be called Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the *Bādālī Pādā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Iod. Asat.*, Vol. X, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> A Telugu inscription from Vēṭṭuru in the Sattenepalli Taluk of the Gunter District, dated Śaka 1131, mentions Kāndī Sōramadēvī, concubine (*bhāgavati*) of the Kōṭa chief Kāṭarāja, and her mother Amara-sini who was a harlot (*I.H.*, Vol. X, No. 240).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 244, text line 7.

<sup>6</sup> According to a Bengali saying, one having no *gōtra* can claim the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. Cf. also Brough, *Oṅgoprasthānamāṅgī*, p. 171.



King Karṇa's *Saṇḍhivigraha* Kṛṣṇadēva, who was probably the *dātaka* of the charter, has been described in the following two stanzas (verses 30-31) :

*Yajda(d-da)ṇḍa-maṇḍai-āgrēṇa khaṇḍitair-ahitair-ayam(yam) |*

*Sū(Su)ṇḍivīṇḍ=ṛthavān puthvi(prithvī)ḥ pātrē ya(ch=ṣ)tra varuṇḍharā ||*

*Yanya vu(bu)ḍḍhi-va(bu)ḍḍi=Lakṣmīr=ḍka-patnī-va(vra)ṣa-rēthi(ēthi)ḍḍ ||\**

*sa śrīmān Kṛṣṇadēva=bhū[ḍḍ]=bhūpatēḥ saṇḍhivigrahi ||*

The meaning of the first of the two stanzas, as it is found in the record, is rather obscure. But the author's idea seems to be that king Karṇa was made the lord of the earth in the real sense by the various kings killed by his minister Kṛṣṇadēva and that the earth, including the territories of those rulers, came into the possession of a better master.

Vāḥṛu and Maṅḡka, who engraved the Balijhari (Narsingpur) plates, are described in that record as *Suvarṇa-vithi-vijñānin*, i.e. an artisan who lived in a locality called *Suvarṇavithi*, probably meaning 'the goldsmiths' quarters' literally. But, in the present inscription, the engraver Saṅkhuka is called *Svarṇa-vithi-Svannahi* (or *Sunnahi*)-*vijñānin*. It is not improbable that *Svannahi* or *Sunnahi* was the name of an area in *Svarṇavithi* or *Suvarṇavithi*.

The passage referring to the gift village in lines 33-34 may be read as *Utara Tṣha(sa)-hiya-vrajmā(śa, rājyā ?) Atthārīsa-khaṇḍa-sam[baddha\*]-Kōṇ-grāmaḥ | Atantati-khaṇḍiya-Vrā(Brā)hmanān-āpū)ya*, etc. It is difficult to understand why, when the gift village was situated in one *khaṇḍa* or subdivision, the Brāhmaṇas honoured in connection with its grant should be represented as living in another *khaṇḍa*. I think it possible that the intended reading for *Atantatikhaṇḍiya*<sup>1</sup> is *ata-sat-khaṇḍiya*.

In this connection, reference may be made to another inscription of king Karṇadēva of the Sōmavamśa of Orissa, which I had an opportunity of examining recently. Among the epigraphs copied by me at the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, in December 1937, there is a fragmentary inscription engraved on the back of an image of the Sun-god.<sup>2</sup> The characters of the record resemble those of the Ratnagiri plates and its language is Sanskrit. Mr. P. Acharya informed me that the inscribed image had been secured from the village of *Gandhibedha* in the Balasore District of Orissa. The left half of the inscription is broken away and lost while the letters of the extant part of the writing have been deliberately rubbed off by means of chiselling. In spite, however, of this attempt to cancel the writing, the first two lines of the extant part of the record can be read as follows :

1 *dhīrāja-paramāvara-Sōmakulatīlaka-Tri(Tri)*

2 *śrī-Karṇarājadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vi*

Before *\*dhīrāja* at the beginning of line 1, the *Siddham* symbol followed by the letters *paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājā*<sup>3</sup> must have broken off. The letters lost at the beginning of the second line, following *Tri(Tri)* at the end of line 1, must have been *\*kalingādhipati*, *Trīkalingādhipati* being a well-known title of the Sōmavamśi kings. The number of lost letters in line 1 suggests that there was another expression between *\*kalingādhipati* in the lost part and *śrī-Karṇa*<sup>4</sup> in the extant portion of line 2. This lost word seems to be *paramarādhitōra*, an epithet of king Karṇa found in line 31 of the Ratnagiri plates, in which, however, the said epithet occurs before *paramabhāṭṭāraka*. But, if it is supposed to have been engraved in the same position in the lost part of line 1 of the Gandhibedha inscription, the gap between the lost *\*kalingādhipati* and the extant *śrī-Karṇa*<sup>5</sup> in line 2 becomes bigger. Although the Ratnagiri

<sup>1</sup> This is No. B 394 of A.I.E.P., 1937-58.



plates show that king Karna's second name was Mahāśivagupta and presumably he was also called Yayāti. It is doubtful if we can bring in these names to fill up the big gap created in the last part of line 2 as a result of *paramanādhāra* being read in the lost part of line 1.

After *er* at the end of line 2, \**jayarājyē . samuṣa(sakṣa)tanāḥ*, etc., or \**jaya-rājya-samu(sakṣa)-tanāḥ*... must have been engraved at the beginning of line 3, which is now lost. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, the year of king Karna's reign, that must have been mentioned here, cannot be determined.



No. 52—VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1380

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR and K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13. 12. 1958)

This is an **incomplete set**<sup>1</sup> of ten plates which were obtained for examination nearly quarter of a century ago from an advocate of Bapatla in the Guntur District. The first plate of the set, which apparently contained about ten lines of writing on the inner side of it, is lost. It is stated that the advocate secured the plates from one of his clients. But the original provenance of the inscription is not known. The record was published by the late Raja Sahab L. H. Jagadeb of Tekkali in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 94 ff. (without illustration). But his treatment of the subject is quite unsatisfactory.

The plates measure about 14 inches in length and 7 inches in height (except the eighth plate which is only 6 inches high). They have raised rims and their borders are about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick. There is a ring-hole (about 1 inch in diameter) in the plates at a distance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the left margin. The ring, which held the plates together originally, and the seal that may have been affixed to it are both lost. The total weight of the ten plates is 1367 tolas.

The plates bear writing on both the sides. But the record is a palimpsest, being engraved on an earlier grant which, with the exception of the concluding lines in Sanskrit verse, was almost completely beaten in. The names of certain donees of this earlier charter together with their *gōtras* can be read with some confidence. The numbers of the plates in the original document, which were incised in the left margin on their obverse, were not beaten in. The concluding lines of the original grant show that it was also a record of Kapilēśvara, the donor of the record that was later incised on the plates. The circumstances leading to the cancellation of the earlier document cannot, however, be determined.

The plates are numbered in the Telugu-Kannada numerals. But the numbers refer to the position of the plates in the original document as already indicated above. The figure 4, e.g., occurs in the left margin on the obverse of the first of the plates available. This is really the second plate of the present set and was apparently the fourth plate of the original document. There are 10 lines of writing on most of the inscribed faces. On the reverse of the last plate, there is the conventional representation of a dagger which is generally found at the end of the charters of the Śūryavarmā Gajapatis of Orissa. This was meant to represent the king's signature on the original document later inscribed on copper plates. To the right of the representation of the sword, the figure of a standing elephant, the emblem of the Gajapatis (literally, 'the lords of elephants'), is engraved. We know that the figure of an elephant is affixed to the seal of the Rajahmundry plates<sup>2</sup> of Raghudēva, the nephew and viceroy of Gajapati Kapilēśvara. Beyond the elephant on the last plate, there are the representations of the crescent moon and the sun, both of which are often found in medieval epigraphs as an indication of the permanency of the grants recorded therein. There are also representations of the sun and a lotus beneath the above figures of the moon and the sun. A lotus is also seen engraved on the obverse of the same plate, in the left margin near the ring-hole.

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep., 1934-35, C. P. No. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 1 ff. Cf. the figure of an elephant on a stone bearing an inscription of Gajapati Purushōttama (811, Vol. X, No. 729).



The inscription is written in Telugu characters except the last plate where there are eleven lines in the Oriya script. The palaeography of the Telugu section closely resembles that of the two grants of Rāṅgudēva, referred to above. No distinction is made between the medial signs of *i* and *ī*, *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. *Ṛ* is used in the word *Riṅgēdi* (lines 29, 30, 31, etc.) : but, unlike the modern form of the letter, it exhibits the top *mātrā*. The letter *i* differs from its modern form in that it has no loop at the left end. It is difficult to distinguish between *d* and *ḍ* and between *bh* and *ch*. The sign of aspiration is indicated by a vertical stroke placed below the letters *dā*, *bh* and *chā*. *Tā* and *ḍā* are distinguished : cf. *Jagannātha* (lines 95, 123, 127), *Bhātānāthani* (line 87) and *Bahubhāṅga* (line 13). *Ṃ* is invariably used for final *m* and the class nasals. There are some instances of the use of the final forms of *a* and *i*.

The characters of the Oriya section are of a cursive variety not noticed in the epigraphs discovered in Orissa proper. As in the records written in the later Kalinga script, often the same letter has different shapes and different letters the same shape. For instance, in the passage *Jāḍasapūra-sāna* (line 186), the letters *g* and *p* are almost similar. The letter *bh* has been written in several different forms in the words *bhōgyama* (line 181), *garabha-bhīrā* (line 182), *bhūmī* (lines 183 and 188) and *bhāḍā* (line 187). Similar is the case with *t* in *ātā* (lines 180-81), *gāṭa* (line 183) and *tālā* (line 188) ; *ṣ* in *puṣa* (line 182) and *Brāhmaṣa* (lines 183-84) ; and *h* in *śrīharata* (line 181), *māhārāja* (line 185) and *hōḍā* (line 188). The similar forms of the letters *z* and *ṣ* in *Karṇāṭa-Kalāṅgopāra* (lines 184-85) and *hōḍā* (line 188), etc., are also noteworthy. Letters like *ā*, *j* and *ḷ* have often extremely cursive forms. Conjunctions and letters with vowel-marks are likewise often written in a cursive way, e.g., *ṇā* in *khaṇḍā* and *ṣi* in *ḍāṣi* (line 180), *śrī* in *śrīharata* (line 181), etc. The letters *i* and *j* have been distinguished as in the modern Oriya alphabet. The letter *cāḷ* has been written by the sign for *kṣ* ; but the form of the letter is slightly different in *cāḷāṣi* and *cāḷāḍi* both in line 189. *B* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. As is well known, *v* (even in Sanskrit words) is always pronounced as *b* in Oriya as in other East Indian languages.

The record is trilingual having four sections, the first and fourth in Sanskrit verse (written in Telugu characters), the second in Telugu prose and the third in Oriya prose. The Telugu section describing the boundaries of the gift village calls for some remarks. The words *bāruva* (silk cotton), *adugula* (Alangium Lamareckii), *mōḍuḍu* (bastard teak), *ṭiṭe-mōḍuḍu* (*Butea superba*), *ḍuṇiga* (coarse grass or *Rottleria tinctoria*), *rāṇi* (*Ficus religiosa*), *marri* (banyan tree) and *tāḍi* (palm), all denote the names of trees. In the expression *ḍaṇḍā-tāḍi* (line 147), i.e. a pair of palm trees, the word *ḍaṇḍā* is used for modern *jaṇḍā*, 'a pair, a couple'. In the compound words *yerrāṇ-buṭṭa* (lines 150, etc.) and *nallāṇ-buṭṭa* (lines 174, etc.), the word *buṭṭa*, 'an ant-hill', is distinguished by the qualifying adjectives *yerrā*, 'red', and *nallā*, 'black', both referring to the colour of the soil. The words *ḍera* (line 156) and *ḍariṭe* (i.e. *deri*, line 156) are used almost in the same sense of 'the bank or shore'. In the expression *ḍorra-naḱka-vīriki* (line 155), *ḍorra* (i.e. *borra* or *boriya*) means 'a hole or burrow' such as is made by animals, while *naḱka* is 'a jackal' and *vīriki* means 'ground with many cracks'. The meaning of the expression may thus be a plot of dry land with many fissures and burrows made by jackals. The word *ḱanama* (lines 161-62) or *ḱanuma* means 'a gap' or 'a mountainous pass'. The form *imchika* (lines 164-65 and 172), 'a little', is used instead of the modern form *imchuka*. In the compound *aruṇa-gōḍu* (line 171), the word *ḱōḍu* means 'a bed of hydrushes, a marsh', and *aruṇa* is a kind of grass. Due to *saraḷ-āḱḱā*, *ḱ* is changed to *ḡ* in this expression exactly as *p* has been changed to *b* in *nallāṇ-buṭṭa* and *yerrāṇ-buṭṭa*. The word *ḱaṇḱa-nāḱta* (line 178) is interesting. It means a wall with a parapet around. The word *ḱaṇḱā* is not found in the lexicons but is now in common use.

\* The same expression is also found in the Villava grant of Prōḷaya-nāyaka, where it has been read as *aruṇa-ḱōḱa*. Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 267, text lines 150-51.



In the Oriya portion of the record, *s* has been generally used for *ś* and contractions are noticed in words like *śmaś* for *śamayā* (line 183) and *Gajapṭa(ṭi)* for *Gajapati* (line 184). The change of Sanskrit *gaṇ* to *gaṇa*, *madhya* to *madhi*, *mānya* to *māiraga*, etc., has also to be noted.

The date of the charter is quoted in verse 11 (lines 13-17) as the Śaka year 1380 (expressed by the chronogram *vyōm-tāha-vahn-indu*), Bahudhānya, Vaiśākhi (i.e. the full-moon day of the lunar month of Vaiśākha). The Oriya part of the inscription seems to supply the name of the week-day Bṛihaspati, i.e. Thursday. The details suggest 1458 A.D., April 27, Thursday, f.d.t. 77.<sup>1</sup>

The first section in Sanskrit verse records the grant. The first half of this section is missing, and thus some information particularly about the ancestry of the donor seems to have been lost. Only five syllables, with which the verse marked as the sixth ended, are found at the beginning of the extant part of the inscription. Verses 1-3 of the record and the major part of the sixth stanza were, therefore, incised on the inner side of the lost first plate of the set. The first verse of the extant part (lines 1-4), marked as the seventh, speaks of Vira-śrī-Kapilēndra's military prowess. It is stated that the noise of his battle-drums filled the whole universe and that, as a result, Hampā trembled, Dhārā was pressed hard, the horses fled from Kalobarigā and Dhilli was filled with savage women. Verses 8-10 (lines 4-13) describe the glory of Kapilēśvara in vague terms. He was an unrivalled ruler who destroyed his enemies and distributed their wealth among learned men. Verse 11 (lines 13-17) states that, while camping on the bank of the river Gōdāvarī on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha of the year Bahudhānya corresponding to Śaka 1380, Kapilēśvara made the grant of the village of Veligalani, situated in Harigukā-Mādūri-sīman and renamed it after his father or parents (*śva-pitr-ākhyayā*), in favour of 120 Brāhmaṇas. The next stanza (verse 12 in lines 17-20) records the grant of a locality named after Vijaya-Pratāpa-Kapilēndra himself in favour of 120 Brāhmaṇas. The locality is stated to have been situated to the east of the joint streams of the Kṛishṇā and Vēppā. From the language of the above two verses it may appear that two localities were granted in favour of two groups of 120 Brāhmaṇas each, one of the localities being named after the king himself and the other after his father or parents. But, as will be seen from our analysis of the Telugu and Oriya sections below, this was not the case.<sup>2</sup> Verse 13 (lines 21-23), with which the first section in Sanskrit closes, refers to the enumeration of the donees in the following section in Telugu.

The Telugu portion begins in line 23, with the *maṅgala* : *śubham-astu* which is immediately followed by the passage : *Veligalani Kapilēśvarapurāṇaku*. This may indicate that two villages called Veligalani and Kapilēśvarapura were granted in favour of the donees whose names are enumerated in the following lines. The list shows the names of 120 Brāhmaṇas only. We have seen above that verses 11 and 12 of the Sanskrit section may appear to speak of the grant of the two localities in favour of two groups of 120 Brāhmaṇas each. The present section, however, makes it clear that there was only one group of Brāhmaṇas numbering 120, who received the gift.

The list of the 120 Brāhmaṇas, receiving equal shares in the gift land, are enumerated in the Telugu section in the following order (lines 23 ff.) :

- I. Northern part of Jāgēśvarapura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmaṇas ;
- II. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmaṇas ;
- III. Northern part of Vellamāmbāpura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmaṇas ;

<sup>1</sup> See JAS, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> The Oriya section suggests that the village of Veligalani was divided into three śīmanas named after Jāgēśvara, Vellamā (Vellamāmbā) and Kapilēśvara and this information can be reconciled with the Sanskrit section under review if the expression *śva-pitr-ākhyayā* in verse 11 is taken to mean '[named] after himself and his parents'.



IV. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmanas ;

V. Northern part of Kapilēśvarapura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmanas ; and

VI. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmanas.

It may appear from the above enumeration that the village of Veligalani was divided into two parts, one of which was named Jāgēśvarapura and the other Vellamāmbāpura. But, as will be seen below, the Oriya section of the charter seems to suggest that the above village was divided into three *sāvanas*, viz. Jāgēśvarapura, Vēlamapura (i.e. Vellamāmbāpura of the Telugu section) and Pratāpa-Kapilēśvarapura, and this may be regarded as supported by the Sanskrit part at the beginning of, as stated above, the expression *eva-pitr-ākhyā* in verse 11 is taken to refer to the names of the donor and his parents. It is, therefore, better to take *Veligalani-Kapilēśvarpurānaku* as referring to the gift village as Veligalani *alias* Kapilēśvarapura. In any case, it is clear that the word *pītri* in the verse means not merely 'father' but 'both father and mother' and that the name of Kapilēndra's father was Jāgēśvara and that of his mother Vellamāmbā or Vēlamā.

The third section in Oriya (lines 180-90) gives a short summary of the whole transaction which is already indicated in the Sanskrit and Telugu parts. The epithets *Vira-śri-Gajapati-Gaṇēśvara* and *Nandabōji-Karavāṇa-Kalavarag-śvara* referring to Kapilēśvara's victories over the countries called Gauḍa, Karpāṭa and Kalavaraga (i.e. the dominions of the Sultāns of Bengal, of the Karpāṭa kings of Vijayanagara and of the Bahmanis of Gulbarga) are found for the first time in this record. The same titles were also assumed not only by his successors but also by the later rulers of Orissa, who considered themselves successors of the Imperial Gajapatis, till quite recent times.

The charter ends with a few verses in Sanskrit. One of these verses is in adoration of the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu (lines 191-93). There are two other stanzas (lines 194-99) which, as stated above, belonged to the charter originally incised on the plates. One of these speaks of the creation of a *servu-mūṅga* (i.e. rent-free holding) by Kapilēśvara after having renounced the thirty-six *śrādhanas* or taxes while the other is one of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The word *śrādhana* (*śraddhā* of the Oriya section, line 189), used in the sense of 'a tax', is of lexical interest. The word *shatśrīṣaṭ*, literally 'thirtysix', has been used here in the sense of 'many'.

This is the only copper-plate charter of the great Kapilēśvara, who was the founder of the Sūryavamśa Gajapati family of Orissa and ascended the throne in 1434-35 A.D., so far discovered. Two copper-plate grants<sup>1</sup> of prince Raghubēva, the nephew and viceroi of king Kapilēśvara, were recently discovered at Rajahmundry and they have thrown a flood of light on the ancestry and early career of the Gajapati monarch. His grandfather, bearing the same name, is stated to have been a *Nāyaka* (a ruling chief) who was one among the rulers of the solar and lunar races, while his own father Jāgēśvara, who possessed a large number of elephants, and his elder brother Balarāma lost their lives in a battle against their enemies. The Warangal inscription<sup>2</sup> of prince Raghubēva mentions Jāgēśvara, the father of Kapilēśvara, as a *Māhārāja* (Sanskrit *Mahārāja*). The record under study speaks of Jāgēśvarapura named after the father of Kapilēndra or Kapilēśvara.

During the last years of the reign of the Gaṅga king Bhāṇa IV, his feudatories like Pratāpa Gaṅgatarāṇa of the Śūlavatī family of Nandāpur<sup>3</sup> and Saubhāgyarāṇa of Viraghaṭṭam<sup>4</sup> became semi-independent. The Reḍḍi chiefs Vēma and Virabhadra, sons of Allāḍa, conquered the southern

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 118. For an elaborate analysis of the Oriya section of the inscription under study, see *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 1 ff. The family is stated to have belonged to the Kātyapa *gotra* in the *Nandamptāṇḍi* plates of Pratāparudra (C. P. No. 5 of 1948-49).

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. 55; above, pp. 125 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.*, Vol. V, No. 1170; Vol. VI, No. 930.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1161. Viraghaṭṭam is in the Palakonda Taluk of the Srikakulam District.







As already indicated above, verse 7 of the present charter refers to the success of Kapilēśvara against Hampā, Dhārā, Kalubarigā (Gulbarga) and Dhili (Delhi). The same verse is found in the Chiruvroli grant<sup>1</sup> of his son Hambira. Verse 6 of the Gopinathpur inscription<sup>2</sup> also refers to the same achievements of Kapilēśvara. We have also seen that the Oriya part of the record under study mentions the king as the lord of Gauḍa, Karpāṭa and Kalavaraga. Kapilēśvara's claim of success against the kings of Hampā (Vijayanagara, capital of Karpāṭa), Dhārā (capital of Mālava), Gulbarga, Delhi and Gauḍa may thus refer to a date before 1458 A.D. when the charter under study was issued, although the nature and degree of the success cannot be determined in all the cases.

Hampā was the capital of the Vijayanagara king Mallikārjuna who succeeded his father Dēvarāya II in 1446 A.D. The *Gāṅgādāsaprataṭṭapamīlāsamu* states that both the Gajapati of Orissa and the Sultān of Gulbarga attacked the city of Vijayanagara, but that Mallikārjuna sallied forth from his capital and routed the besieging forces.<sup>3</sup> This no doubt admits that Kapilēśvara besieged Vijayanagara. The Anantavaram grant also states that Kapilēśvara captured the city of Vijayanagara, the seat of the ruler of Karpāṭaka, and received tribute.<sup>4</sup> Dhārā was the secondary capital of the Sultāns of Malwa and Sultān Mahmud I (1436-69 A.D.) of the Khalji dynasty was the contemporary of Kapilēśvara. Muhammadan historians refer to the defeat of the Malwa king at the battle of Muhura by the Bahmani Sultān Alāuddīn Ahmed (1436-68 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> The Gajapati monarch was an ally of the Bahmani Sultān and seems to have helped the latter at the said battle. It is interesting to note that Muhura is mentioned in the list of places subdued by Kapilēśvara.<sup>6</sup>

Kalubarigā or Kalavaraga (Gulbarga) in the present Mysore State was the capital of the Bahmani Sultāns. According to the *Gāṅgādāsaprataṭṭapamīlāsamu*, the Bahmani Sultāns were allies of the Gajapati king and their joint victory over the Sultān of Malwa at Muhura seems to support the statement. But the position was changed with the accession of Humāyūn Shāh (1459-61 A.D.), the eldest son of Alāuddīn Ahmad Shāh. Humāyūn besieged the fort of Dēvarakonda with a large army and the chief of the fort appealed for help to the king of Orissa who readily despatched a force. "The infidel's forces being more numerous than that of Islam the latter were routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted."<sup>7</sup> This is also supported by a *chāḍu* verse<sup>8</sup> which recounts the victories of Gajarāvu Tippa who is stated to have defeated the Yavanas (Musalmāns) on the plain outside the town of Kambhammetta in the presence of Amharāya, i.e. Hambira, son of Kapilēśvara. Two inscriptions in the Warangal fort, one of Hambira<sup>9</sup> and another of Raghudēva,<sup>10</sup> refer to the capture of the fort on the 2nd February 1460 A.D. and to the victory of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bādratī*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 315 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, pp. 173 ff. ;

*Karṇāṭ-śijhāsa-simhāt Kalavaraga-jayā Mālava-dāmanasādhā-janghalā*

*Gauḍa-mardā Bāhamānawarā-śrīpā dāmanā Dhili-indra-gurak.*

<sup>3</sup> *Kaliṅgadāścharitra*, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Anantavaram grant in the *Andhra Patrika Annual*, 1928-29, *Kaliṅgadāścharitra*, Appendix, p. 97 :

*Prasāhya Karṇāṭa-mahāpatāḥ parthā  
nirudhya Vāḍṇanagarān aṣṭāir-balarāḥ  
samantatānān nāmanānānāśchakāraguṇān āvān  
samādānt karkatā-chātrā-nīlānānāḥ ||*

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 246 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Mus.*, No. 15-4-3 :

*Fla-pungavulaka vāṭala māḍala  
maniki vāḍṇānānā Mahārānā.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 244.

<sup>8</sup> *Chāṭupadyamāyīmānjari*, Vol. II, p. 85 :

*Tamamā gāḍānt Yamharāyala chāḍa  
māḍānā Kambhammetta bāṭa.*

<sup>9</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1937-38, No. B 53.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. B 55 ; above, pp. 125 ff.



Gajapati generals over Humāyūn Shāh, though the date of the record under study is earlier than that of the capture of Warangal by Hambhira and Raghudēva. Dhilli (Delhi) was the capital of Bahlul Lodi (1451-89 A.D.), though nothing has come to light so far about the conflict between Kapilēśvara and the Lodi Sultān. Like Muhura, Dhilli also finds mention in the list of places subdued by the former.<sup>1</sup>

The information about the donees of the charter, as found in the Telugu section, is appended below in a tabular form. Their family names may be mainly divided into two categories : (1) villages whence their families originally hailed, e.g. Bejavāḍa, Aḍḍāḍa, Korūḍapalli, Lolla, Rājū-komḍa, Yeḍavalli, Ākunūri, etc. ; and (2) titles indicating their proficiency in particular branches of learning, e.g. *Shāḍḍarśanam*, *Sāmaśēdin*, *Vedāntam*, *Bhāgavatula*, *Parāḍam*, etc. Most of the family names mentioned in the list are still in existence in Andhra. The list of donees includes one called Nārāyaṇa-divēdin whose family name is Sāmaśēdin but who calls himself a Yajurvēdin. His title *divēdin* would suggest that he was a student of both the *Sāmaśēda* and the *Yajurveda*.

I. (a) Northern half of Jāḡḍavarapura

No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
1	Sarvā-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Goḍavarti . . . . .	Kātyāya . . . . .	Rigvēda.
2	Nāgī-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Oḍḍa . . . . .	Āṅgīraṇa-Bhāra- dvāja . . . . .	"
3	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Katti . . . . .	Maudgalya . . . . .	Yajurvēda
4	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Monnamgi . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Rigvēda
5	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Yempalela . . . . .	" . . . . .	Yajurvēda
6	Annam-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Jannasāni . . . . .	Śrīvata . . . . .	Rigvēda
7	Mukti-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Ākunūri . . . . .	Kātyāya . . . . .	"
8	Sōmā-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Yenamaḍḍa . . . . .	Kauṭika . . . . .	"
9	Yajūśēśvara-sōmayājulu . . . . .	Upadrachṭa . . . . .	Kaundinya . . . . .	"
10	Vallava-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Yētōri . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Yajurvēda
11	Narasimha-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Gorti . . . . .	Śrīvata . . . . .	"
12	Mallu-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Hari . . . . .	Vādhūla . . . . .	"
13	Parvata-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Sivā . . . . .	Hārila . . . . .	"
14	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Yeḍavalli . . . . .	Śrīvata . . . . .	"
15	Nāgī-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Malyāla . . . . .	Kauṭika . . . . .	"
16	Vemū-ōjhalu . . . . .	Kōnapalli . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Rigvēda
17	Kannā-divēdōlu . . . . .	Kṛishṇambhaṭṭa . . . . .	Gārgya . . . . .	"
18	Yatu-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Puvya . . . . .	Ātrēya . . . . .	Yajurvēda
19	Sōmā-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Bhamḍāru . . . . .	Gantama . . . . .	"
20	Gōpāla-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Machḍaḍapa . . . . .	Kauṭika . . . . .	Rigvēda

<sup>1</sup> Mach. Mes., No. 154-3.

Goja-gāḍḍamala goṣṭha Kamḍila Kōḍḍila-  
goṣṭhanāḍu parāḍa-palli Dhilli.



## I. (b) Southern half of Jāgdevārapura

No.	Name of the Donor	Name of the family	Gotra	Vēda or Śākhā
21	Mallu-bhatlu . . . . .	Rājukosha . . . . .	Hārta . . . . .	Yajurveda
22	Prōlu-bhatlu . . . . .	Uppalūri . . . . .	Kātyāya . . . . .	"
23	Trivikrama-bhatlu . . . . .	Pārimetta . . . . .	" . . . . .	Rigveda
24	Mallu-sōmayājulu . . . . .	Kondapalli . . . . .	Gautama . . . . .	Yajurveda
25	Bhīmāvara-bhatlu . . . . .	Pulya . . . . .	Ātrīya . . . . .	"
26	Peddi-bhatlu . . . . .	Gollapudi . . . . .	Kaundinya . . . . .	"
27	Sēmā-bhatlu . . . . .	Maduguri . . . . .	Hārta . . . . .	Rigveda
28	Vīrāvara-bhatlu . . . . .	Upadrasta . . . . .	Kaundinya . . . . .	"
29	Durgā-bhatlu . . . . .	Mānjūti . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Yajurveda
30	Mall-āvadhānu . . . . .	Kūchi . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
31	Vallava-bhatlu . . . . .	Lolla . . . . .	Hārta . . . . .	"
32	Ādiya-bhatlu . . . . .	Pārimetta . . . . .	Kātyāya . . . . .	Rigveda
33	Vallava-bhatlu . . . . .	Dāreśula . . . . .	Śrīvata . . . . .	Yajurveda
34	Kumma-ōjhalu . . . . .	Kōnakamūhi . . . . .	Gārgya . . . . .	Rigveda
35	Yellu-bhatlu . . . . .	Nāgararaju . . . . .	Ātrīya . . . . .	Yajurveda
36	Kēlava-bhatlu . . . . .	Dhūlipāla . . . . .	Kauśika . . . . .	"
37	Jantardana-bhatlu . . . . .	Shadāranam . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Rigveda
38	Rāmā-bhatlu . . . . .	Kāndūri . . . . .	Hārta . . . . .	Yajurveda
39	Narakari-bhatlu . . . . .	Bānanabhatlu . . . . .	Kauśika . . . . .	"
40	Dēchi-bhatlu . . . . .	Yēteri . . . . .	Ātrīya . . . . .	"

## II. (a) Northern half of Vellamūmbāpura

41	Mahākūji-bhatlu . . . . .	.....	Kutaa . . . . .	Yajurveda
42	Rāmā-bhatlu . . . . .	Dāreśula . . . . .	Śrīvata . . . . .	"
43	Tippā-bhatlu . . . . .	Adhūda . . . . .	Hārta . . . . .	"
44	Peda-Kāmā-bhatlu . . . . .	Yempalāla . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	"
45	Vallava-bhatlu . . . . .	Ingā . . . . .	Śaunaka . . . . .	"
46	Pō-āvadhānu . . . . .	Veddi . . . . .	Kauśika . . . . .	"
47	Gaṅgādhara-bhatlu . . . . .	Pennubarti . . . . .	Kaundinya . . . . .	"
48	Sarvā-bhatlu . . . . .	Kuppa . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
49	Peddi-bhatlu . . . . .	Śidhu . . . . .	Śrīvata . . . . .	"
50	Nāṅyapa-drivēdulu . . . . .	Sāmarēdi . . . . .	Kaundinya . . . . .	"
51	Mallu-bhatlu . . . . .	Nāli . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	"



No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
52	Prōṭu-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Vāṭintam . . . . .	Hārita . . . . .	Yajurvēda
53	Annam-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Rāmākṛishṇam-bhaṭṭu	Vādhūla . . . . .	"
54	Yeta-sūmayājulu . . . . .	Shūdhī . . . . .	Āngirasa-Bhāra-dvāja	"
55	Chittā-ojhalu . . . . .	Kāṇva . . . . .	Maitrēya . . . . .	Kāṇva-śākhā
56	Mamchi-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	" . . . . .	Kauśika . . . . .	"
57	Peddi-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	" . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
58	Naramidi-ojhalu . . . . .	" . . . . .	Maitrēya . . . . .	"
59	Dēvarē-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Oḍḍe . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Rigvēda
60	Aubhaja-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Oḍḍi . . . . .	Hārita . . . . .	"

*II. (b) Southern half of Vellamāmbāpura*

61	Peta-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Chēvanapeddi . . . . .	Hārita . . . . .	Yajurvēda
62	Dēvarē-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Bhāskaraśū . . . . .	Kuṭsa . . . . .	"
63	Peddi-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Anangiri . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Rigvēda
64	Saamitri-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Perumādi . . . . .	" . . . . .	Yajurvēda
65	Vallava-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Mukkolaṇi . . . . .	Kauśika . . . . .	"
66	Ādiya-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Kaḍali . . . . .	Kaṇḍiṇya . . . . .	"
67	Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Tāḍēpalli . . . . .	Hārita . . . . .	"
68	Vīvēśvara-śāhāryulu . . . . .	Kanḍavalli . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	"
69	Anant-ojhalu . . . . .	Moddālī . . . . .	Maudgalya . . . . .	"
70	Peddi-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Dāmōḍara . . . . .	Kauśika . . . . .	"
71	Narahari-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Challa . . . . .	Kaṇḍiṇya . . . . .	"
72	Tirumala-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Bhāgavatula . . . . .	Kapī . . . . .	"
73	Nāgā-dvivēḍula . . . . .	Sōri . . . . .	Hārita . . . . .	"
74	Yarri-ojhalu . . . . .	Tāḍēpalli . . . . .	Ārēya . . . . .	"
75	Narasimh-āvalhāṇu . . . . .	Tēḍipōṇḍi . . . . .	....	"
76	Bhairava-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Bhāṭṭanāṭhani . . . . .	Goutama . . . . .	Rigvēda
77	Māra-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Pūyyala . . . . .	Mudgala . . . . .	Yajurvēda
78	Mallā-ojhalu . . . . .	Anandula . . . . .	Hārita . . . . .	Rigvēda
79	Ṭungā-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Jagatpōṇḍi . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	"
80	Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Divākara-bhaṭṭu . . . . .	Kāśyapa . . . . .	"



## III. (a) Northern half of Kapileśvarapura

No.	Name of the Donor	Name of the family	Gotra	Veda or Śākhā
81	Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa	Nārāyaṇa-dvivedula	Bhāradvāja	Yajurveda
82	Narasimha-bhaṭṭa	Tōṇṭa-sōmayājula	Kauṇḍinya	Rigveda
83	Kāśīvara-bhaṭṭa	Jagadipamāṇi	Bhāradvāja	"
84	Jagannātha-bhaṭṭa	Yajñanna-bhaṭṭa	Kauṇḍinya	"
85	Sarva-bhaṭṭa	Appala-bhaṭṭa	Śaṅḍilya	Yajurveda
86	Kaṣṇā-oḥala	Saṅkara	Gautama	"
87	Sōmā-bhaṭṭa	Māṅgami	Kāśyapa	"
88	Yaravōta-bhaṭṭa	Cintalapāṇi	Hārta	"
89	Poddi-bhaṭṭa	Satyāśāḍha	Sāthamarahana	"
90	Poddi-oḥala	Sōlasa	Bhāradvāja	"
91	Sōmayājula or — sōmayājula	Andurilla	Kāśyapa	"
92	Pinn-Kāmā-bhaṭṭa	Yampanṭa	Bhāradvāja	"
93	Rudrā-bhaṭṭa	Bōtana-bhaṭṭa	Kauṣika	"
94	Narasimha-sōmayājula	Uttarēśvarapu	Kāśyapa	"
95	Rāmā-bhaṭṭa	Chengolani	Kauṣika	"
96	Prōṭa-bhaṭṭa	Kaṇḍavalli	Bhāradvāja	"
97	Pōṭa-bhaṭṭa	Jonnalagōḍa	Gautama	Rigveda
98	Talla-bhaṭṭa	Mulakalūri	Kauṇḍinya	"
99	Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa	Koṇḍapalli	"	Yajurveda
100	Pōṭa-bhaṭṭa	Satakūri	Kāśyapa	Rigveda

## III. (b) Southern half of Kapileśvarapura

101	Lakṣmana-sōmayājula	Andurilla	Kāśyapa	Yajurveda
102	Limḡā-oḥala	Tilapreṭṭi	Bhāradvāja	"
103	Aubhaḷ-oḥala	Maṇḍaḍapu	Kauṣika	"
104	Śingā-oḥala	Bijavāḍa	"	"
105	Kāmā-bhaṭṭa	Mānuchi-bhaṭṭa	Maitrēya	"
106	Bhāvanārāyaṇa-oḥala	Bhārvagōḍa	Hārta	"
107	Tirumala-bhaṭṭa	Purāṇam	Śaṅḍilya	"
108	Māḍha-oḥala	Bhāṭaguntā	"	Kāśyapa-Śākhā
109	Mallā-oḥala	Kundēti	Bhāradvāja	"
110	Bhūmā-oḥala	Rēnalla	Kāśyapa	"
111	Māḍha-oḥala	Makkolani	Hārta	Yajurveda



## III. (b) Southern half of Kapilēśvarapura—contd.

No.	Name of the Donor	Name of the family	Gōtra	Veda or Sākhā
112	Prōla-bhaṭṭu	Pulye	Ātrēya	Yajurveda
113	Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu	Ālamūri	Kaṇḍīnya	"
114	Taḷu-bhaṭṭu	Appāya-śrīvātala	Śaṇḍīya	"
115	Tolungari-bhaṭṭu	Mailavarapu	Bhāradvāja	Rigveda
116	Kāmadēva-bhaṭṭu	Aivarōmala	Kaulika	Yajurveda
117	Aulihaṭṭu	Kāṭanagaḍḍa	Ātrēya	"
118	Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu	Netaku	Kaṇḍīnya	"
119	Appala-bhaṭṭu	Dōrvēala	Śrīvata	"
120	Sōru-bhaṭṭu	Chōtakūri	Kātyāva	Rigveda

Some of the geographical names mentioned in the record have been discussed above. The gift village of Veligalani is stated to have been situated in Harigukā-Mēḍūri-sīman. Mention is also made of the rivers Gōḷivari and Kṛishṇā-Vōṇṇā (Kṛishṇā). While describing the boundaries of the gift land, the rivers Bhīmarathī and the villages of Potichikalapāḍu, Penamāṅgūru, Garaga-parti, Mōraṇṭāḍā, Kaṇṇūru, Mūṇḍlapūḍi and Mirti are mentioned. Amongst the other places mentioned, Delhi is referred to only in a few South Indian epigraphs.<sup>1</sup> Bhīmarathī of our record may be identical with the stream of that name mentioned in the Gavaraṇḍu grant<sup>2</sup> of Kākatiya Gaṇapati, which is now called Bhīma-nadi, though the famous Bhīmarathī is the modern Bhīmā, the well-known tributary of the Kṛishṇā. Harigukā-Mēḍūri-sīman, or Mēḍūra-thala as it is called in the Oriya section, is identical with modern Mēḍūru in the Gudivada Taluk of the Krishna District. Kapilēśvarapura of our record is no doubt the present Kapilēśvarapuram in the same Taluk, which is only a few miles from Mēḍūru. The old name Veligalani and the new names Jāgēśvarapura and Vellāṇṭabāpura or Velamapura applied to two parts of Veligalani appear to have gone out of use while the name Kapilēśvarapura, which was originally applied to a third part of old Veligalani after the name of the donor, came to be applied to the entire village. The village of Mūṇḍlapūḍi is apparently the present Muṇḍlapūḍi while Kaṇṇūru is the village of the same name near Kapilēśvarapuram. Penamāṅgūru is modern Penamakūru. The other localities mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the gift village cannot be satisfactorily identified.

## TEXT

## Second Plate, First Side

## [Sanskrit]

- 1 pī tślāyatē | 6 | \* Vira-kī-Kapilēśvara tāvaka-chamū-dhātaka(śu) bhīri-
- 2 dhvanan bhār-ābhaga-bhujatiga-puṅgava-phaṇḍav-ākṛānta-rōḍ-ōnta-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Panchadharī pillar inscription (Saka 1325) of the Kōṇa king Chōḍa III (above, Vol. XIX, p. 156) and the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka (ibid. Vol. XXII, p. 267, text line 156.81).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> The Telugu numeral 4 is incised in the left margin showing that this was the fourth plate of the original grant later utilised for drawing up a new charter. The first plate of the new charter, which was engraved apparently on the inner side only, is lost.

\* Metre : Śāṇḍilamīkṛīṭa(?).



- 3 rō | **Haripā** karipam-agāt tadā(60)-dhikadha(ta)rā **Dvā(Dhā)rā** cha dhār-ātura-  
 4 dvārā **Kalubariḡā**<sup>1</sup> vimukta-taragā **Dhili** cha **Bhili**-vjitā || 7 ||<sup>2</sup> Tulya-  
 5 rō chōd-rajatēna śakti-rajatam bhōm-ācakōyam samam syā-  
 6 ch-chōt-kācha-maḡm-sucōndra-maḡmā sādḡḡyam-abhyōti chōt | nakaba-  
 7 tram graha-nāyakēna tulanaḡ vīndētā chōb-tōḡḡā vīra-śrī-**Kapi**-  
 8 **lēsvarēpa** samatām-suyō janōḡ vrajēt || 8 ||<sup>3</sup> Dāsā yakasī sauryā  
 9 cha **Kapilēndra**-mahākḡḡā. (|<sup>4</sup>) a-āyā samā-samā(|<sup>5</sup>)-syua-tō chatvārāḡ abhōḡḡā  
 tra-  
 10 yaḡ || 9 ||<sup>6</sup> Nīlśāham aḡḡatāḡ parō vacumati nīḡ tadīyyā(yā) vaḡam ta-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 11 d-viḡa-pratipādanēna sakalā vidva-janūḡ pōḡḡitāḡ | vikhyātir-jagadō-  
 12 ka-vit(ra)<sup>7</sup> itī cha vyākhyāpitā rōḡḡō Rānōḡ-ōva dharā dharātridāsa-  
 13 aḡt-kāry-ōḡ buddhīḡ vaḡam || 10 ||<sup>8</sup> Śāk-āḡḡē Bahudhānyā-nāmni ga-  
 14 ḡḡē vyōm-ābha-vaḡm-īndubhīr **Velākhyaḡm** **Kapilēsvarō** **Harigukā-Mō**-  
 15 **ḡōri-sūmni** aḡḡitam(tam) | vīndatyaī vīdushāḡ ḡatāya cha vaḡam **Gō**-  
 16 **dāvari**-saikatō mūḡḡesham **Veligalani**<sup>9</sup>-nāmakam-udḡḡ grāmam  
 17 sva-pitr-ākhyayā || 11 ||<sup>10</sup> **Kṛishṇā**-dakḡḡiḡa-vāḡḡō(ḡḡ) vijayatō **Vōḡḡā(ḡḡā)**-  
 18 maḡ-saḡḡatā tat-prāchyāḡ **Vijaya**-pratāpa-**Kapilēndr-ākhyam** ma-  
 19 hā-śānam(nam) | tatr-ābhāntī śatam cha vīndatī param viprā Vasishṡḡ-ō-  
 20 pamā taḡ-ḡaḡ-d-ḡātā **Vijaya**-pratāpa-**Kapilēndrō** bhātī dharm-ōttarāḡ || 12 ||<sup>11</sup>

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 21 Maḡḡhv-anarghyōḡa parḡḡḡitōḡv-īva dvīḡōḡḡa-ratḡḡḡa na lakḡḡyātō kra-  
 22 maḡ | tatḡ-āḡḡ bhūmīsurarāja-māḡikā vīḡḡḡyātō rāja-vīḡḡḡa-  
 23 ma-kramāt || 13 ||<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read Kalbarigā for the sake of the metre.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Śāḡḡḡā-śrīḡḡā.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Anuḡḡḡā. Of the 4, 10 and 9 poems known respectively for their liberality, force and valour, the second group refers to the ancient imperial rulers of the Pūḡḡḡa-rājḡḡa section of the *Mahābhārata* (*Uḡḡa-parvam*, chapters 53 ff.). It is difficult to say whether the first group refers to Karna, Śib, Viḡḡam, Bālī and Dardī-ḡḡ and the third to Bhīḡḡma, Drōḡḡa and Arjuna.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *sa* is written below the line.

<sup>5</sup> The metre requires *Veligalā*.

<sup>6</sup> The Tuluḡ numeral 6 is found in the left margin, indicating thereby that the plate was the fifth of the original set.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: *Vakḡḡḡā*.



# VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1380

ii, a

2 2  
4 4  
6 6  
8 8  
10 10

ii, b

12 12  
14 14  
16 16  
18 18  
20 20

Scale : Two-fifths



22

24

26

28

30

22

24

26

28

30

PLATE 14

180

182

184

186

188

180

182

184

186

188



[Telugu]

Subham=stu | Veligalani-Kapilāśvarapurāṇaku | Jāgō-

- 24 āvarapurapu vādhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi Godavartti-Śarvā-bhaṭṭu Kā-  
 25 āyapa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Oḍḍu Nāgā-bhaṭṭu Āṅgīma-Bhāradvā-  
 26 ja-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Kūrti Rāmā-bhaṭṭu [Maṇ]ḍalya-gōtram Ya-  
 27 jurvēdi | Muṇṇa(na)ṅgi Nārāyapa-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Rī-  
 28 gvēdi | Yeṭṭapala Nārāyapa-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yaju-  
 29 rvēdi | Jamūna(na)ṇi Arūṇa(na)ṇi-bhaṭṭu Śrīvata-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Ākunū-  
 30 ri Mukti-bhaṭṭu Kāśyapa-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Yenamaṇḍra Sōmā-bha-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 31 ṭṭu Kanśika-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Upadrashṭha Yagñe(jñē)śva[rā\*]-sōmayājulu  
 32 Kaunḍinya-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Yēpūri Vallava-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gō-  
 33 tram Yajurvēdi | Uotti(rtti) Narasiṁbhaṭṭu-bhaṭṭu Śrīvata-gōtram Yajurvē-  
 34 di | Hari Mallu-bhaṭṭu Vādhūla-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Śivā Parvata-bhaṭṭu  
 35 Hārīta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yeḍavalle Rāmā-bhaṭṭu Śrīvata-gō-  
 36 tram Yajurvēdi | Malyāla Nāgā-bhaṭṭu Kanśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi |  
 37 Kūnapu(paj)ḷi Vennā-oḷḷu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Kṛishṇa-  
 38 bhaṭṭu Kaṇṇā-divēdulu Gārgya-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Puyē Yatu-bhaṭṭu  
 39 Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Bhaṇḍāru Sōmā-bhaṭṭu Gautama-  
 40 gōtram Yajurvēdi | Maṇḍāḍapu Gōpāla-bhaṭṭu Kanśika-gōtram

*Fourth Plate, First Side<sup>1</sup>*

- 41 Ru(Ri)gvēdi || 20 || Dakṣhiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi Rājukonḍa Mallu-bhaṭṭu Hā-  
 42 rita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Uppalūri Prōlu-bhaṭṭu Kāśya(kya)pa-gōtram  
 43 Yajurvēdi || Pūrimetṭa Trivikrama-bhaṭṭu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Ko-  
 44 ṇḍāpalli Mallu-sōmayājulu Gautama-gōtram Yajurvēdi ||  
 45 Pūyē Bhīmāśvara-bhaṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi || Golla-  
 46 pūḍi Peddi-bhaṭṭu Kā(Kau)ṇḍinya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Maḍugūri  
 47 Sōmā-bhaṭṭu Hārīta-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Upadrashṭha Viśvāśvara-bhaṭṭu Ka-  
 48 ṇḍinya-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Māṇḍēti Durgā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram  
 49 Yajurvēdi | Kūchi Mall-āvadhāṇu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yajurvēdi |  
 50 Lolla Vallava-bhaṭṭu Hārīta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Pūrimetṭa Ādiya-

<sup>1</sup> The Telugu numeral 6 is engraved near the ring hole showing that this was the sixth plate of the original set.



*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 51 bhaṭṭu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Dūrvāśula Vallava-bhaṭṭu Śrīvatsa-gōtram  
 52 Yajurvēdi | Kōṇa|kañchi Komman-ojhalu Gātgya-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Nāgava-  
 53 [ra]pu Yellu-bhaṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Dhūlipāja Kāśva-bhaṭṭu Kā(Kau)-  
 54 āka-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Shaḍḍarāṇanā Janārdana-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram  
 55 Rīgvēdi | Kāṇḍāṇṇi Rāmā-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Bēta-  
 56 na-bhaṭṭu Narahari-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yeṭūri Dēchi-bha-  
 57 ṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || 20 || Vallamāmbāpura-vīdhiki uttara-ārē-  
 58 ṇi paśchim-ādi | Mahākāṇḍi-bhaṭṭu Kūta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Dūrvāśu-  
 59 la Rāmā-bhaṭṭu Śrīvatsa-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Aḍḍāḍa Tippā-bhaṭṭu Hā-  
 60 rita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yempalela Peda-Kāmā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 61 Yajurvēdi | Iṅḡu Vallava-bhaṭṭu Śaunaka-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Vaḍḍi Pō-  
 62 t-āvadhāṇḍu Kauśika-gōtram [Ya]jurvēdi | Penurūḍa|rti Gaṅgādhara-  
 63 bhaṭṭu Kaṇḍīnya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Kuppa Sarvā-bhaṭṭu Kaṇḍīnya-  
 64 gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Sādhū Peddi-bhaṭṭu Śrī(va\*)ṭṭa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi |  
 65 Sāmavēdi Nārāyaṇa-dvivēḍulu Kaṇḍīnya-gōtram Ye(Ya)ju-  
 66 rvēdi || Nāli Mallu-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi |  
 67 Vēdāntaṁ Prōlu-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Rāmākṣaṇḍu-  
 68 m-bhaṭṭu(tla) Annam-bhaṭṭu Vādhūla-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Sīdḍi Yeto-  
 69 sōmsyāḍulu Āṅgi(rasa\*)-Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Kā-  
 70 ṇḍva(ṇva) Chīṭṭa-ojhalu Maitrēya-gōtram Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-ākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva) Maṇ-

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 71 chi-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-ākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva) Peddi-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-  
 72 gōtram Kāṇḍva(ṇva)-ākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-Narasimhō(h-o)jhalu Maitrēya-gō-  
 73 tram Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-ākha | Oḍḍo Dēvarā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Rīgvē-  
 74 di | Oḍḍali Aubhaja-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram Rīgvēdi || 20 || Dakṣiṇa-  
 75 āṇḍi paśchim-ādi | Chōvanapeḍdi Pōtu-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram  
 76 Yajurvēdi | Bhāskaraṇḍu Dēvarā-bhaṭṭu Kūta-gōtram Ya-  
 77 jurvēdi | Annaṅḍi Peddi-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Pe-  
 78 rumāḍi Saṇḍiṭṭi-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Mu-  
 79 kkolani Vallava-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Kaḍḍali Āditya-bha-  
 80 ṭṭu Kaṇḍīnya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Tāḍepalli Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭu Hā-

\* Engraved in the left margin.

\* The Telugu numeral 7 is engraved near the ring hole.

\* Originally pu had been written and was corrected to pā.



*Sixth Plate, First Side*

- 81 rita-gōtram Yaḥurvēdi | Kaṇḍave(va)lli Viśvā[śva\*]r-āchāryulu Bhāradvāja-gōtram  
 82 Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Maddālī Anant-oḥalu Maṇḍalya-gōtram Yaḥurvēdi |  
 83 Dāmādhara Peddi-bhaṭṭu Kausika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Challa Narahari-bhaṭṭu Kau-  
 84 ḍḍiṇya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Bhāgavatula Tirumala-bhaṭṭu Kapi-gōtram Ya-  
 85 jurvēdi || Nōzi Nāgā-dvivēdulu Ye(Ya)jurvēdi Hārta-gōtram | Tā-  
 86 gōpalli Yarrā-oḥalu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Tāḍipūm-  
 87 ḍi Narasimhyā(h-ā)vadhānu\* Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bhūtanāthani Bhūirava-bhaṭṭu Gautama-  
 88 gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Peṇṇala Māru-bhaṭṭu Mudgala-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvē-  
 89 di | Anāṭṭula Mallā-oḥalu Hārta-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Jagalla(cā)ḍi-  
 90 mḍi Siṅgā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Divākara-bhaṭṭu Gaṇḍā-

*Sixth Plate, Second Side*

- 91 dhara-bhaṭṭu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || 20 || **Kapilēśvarapurapu** vidhi[kī]  
 92 attara-ārēṇi paśchim-ādi | Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdula Gaṇḍādhara-bhaṭṭu Bhā-  
 93 radvāja-gōt am Yaḥurvēdi | Tōṇṇa-sōmayājula Narasimhyā(hā)-bhaṭṭu  
 94 Kaṇḍiṇya-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Jagarlapūṇḍi Kāśīvara-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-  
 95 gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Ye(ya)jñānu-bhaṭṭu Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu Kaṇḍiṇya-gōtram Ru(Ri)-  
 96 gvēdi |  
 97 Appalē-bhaṭṭu Sarvā-bhaṭṭu Sāṇḍiṇya-gōtram Yaḥurvēdi | Śaṅkara Ka-  
 98 auvā-oḥalu Gautama-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Māḍgaṇḍi Sōmā-  
 99 bhaṭṭu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Chīntalapūṭi Yatapōta-bhaṭṭu Hāri-  
 100 ta-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Satyābhāḍha Peddi-bhaṭṭu Śāthama(r\*)[śhaṇa-gōtram Ya-  
 101 jurvēdi | Sōḷasa Pedd-oḥalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Aridu-  
 villa Sōmayājula Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Yathipārēla Pina-Kā-

*Seventh Plate, First Side*

- 102 mā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bētana-bhaṭṭu Rudrā-  
 103 bhaṭṭu(tlu) Kausika-gōtram Ye(Ye)jurvēdi || Uttarōśvarapu Narasimhyā(ha)-  
 104 sōmayājulu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Chēṇḍigola-  
 105 ni Rāmā-bhaṭṭu Kausika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Kaṇḍave(va)lli Prōlu-  
 106 bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Jonmalagadḍa Pōtu-  
 107 bhaṭṭu Gautama-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Mulukalūri Tallu-bha-  
 108 ṭṭu Kaṇḍiṇya-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Koṇḍapalli Gōpāḷa-bhaṭṭu Kaṇḍi-  
 109 ḍiṇya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Śatakūri Pōtu-bhaṭṭu Kāśya(śya)pa-gō-  
 110 tram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || 20 || Dakṣiṇa-ārēṇi paśchim-ādi || 1\* || Ariduvilla Lakshmana-  
 111 sōmayājulu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Tēlaprōli Lī-

\* The Telugu numeral 8 is engraved to the left of the ring hole.

\* The engraver has omitted the name of his pātra.

\* The Telugu numeral 9 is engraved in the left margin.



*Seventh Plate, Second Side<sup>1</sup>*

- 112 mḡā-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Maṇḍaḍapu  
 113 Aubhaḥ-ojhalu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bejavāḍa Siṁḡā-  
 114 ojhalu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Maṇḍi-bhaṭṭa Kāmā-  
 115 bhaṭṭu Maitrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bārun(vn)gaḍḍa Bhāva-  
 116 nārāyaṇ-ojhalu Hārita-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Purā-  
 117 ṇaṁ Tirumala-bhaṭṭu Śāṇḍilya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bi-  
 118 ṭṭagunṭa Mādha-ojhalu Śāṇḍilya-gōtram Kāṇḍava(Kāṇva)-śākha ||  
 119 Kuṇḍēṭi Mallā-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Kāṇḍava(Kāṇva)-śākha ||  
 120 Rēmalla Bhīmā-ojhalu Kāśyapa-gōtram Kāṇḍava(Kāṇva)-śākha || Mu-  
 121 kḷōḷani Mādha-ojhalu Hārita-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi ||

*Eighth Plate, First Side<sup>2</sup>*

- 122 Pulya Prōlu-bhaṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Ālamā-  
 123 ri Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu Kaumḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Appāya-dvi-  
 124 vēḍula Tallu-bhaṭṭu Chām(Śām)ḍilya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi ||[\*] Maṇḍavarapu Te-  
 125 luṅḡari-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || [A]<sup>3</sup>avarōmūla Kā-  
 126 maḍēva-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Kāṭanagaḍḍa Aubhaḥa-bha-  
 127 ṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Metaku Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu Kaumḍi-  
 128 nya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Dūrvāṇḍa Appalā-bhaṭṭu Śrīvata-gōtra-  
 129 ṇi Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || [Chā]takūri Sāru-bhaṭṭu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi

*Eighth Plate, Second Side*

- 130 || 20 || Vēraśi 120<sup>4</sup> || [\*]

*Ninth Plate, First Side*

- 140 ḍi<sup>5</sup> paḍamaṭi-mukhamai mōṭa-rāviki vellī ōḍugula-putṭa mō-  
 141 chī vu(u)ttaraṇ-mukhamai Bhīmarati(thi)-ḍikari prāṇṭa-putṭa mōchenu ||[\*] Ām-  
 142 ḍuṇ-umḍi paḍamaṭi-mukhamai būrevuku vellī ā-paḍamaṭi-  
 143 Kuṁpaṭiputti tirigi nēla-putṭan-umḍi vu(u)ttaraṇ-mukhamai pōi(yi)-  
 144 lōkunīṁḡāṇi-dirigi uttaraṇ-mukhamai pōyi dēvara-chēṇi-  
 145 paḍamaṭi-nallaṇ-buṭṭan-umḍi(ḍi) paḍamaṭi-mukhamai pōyi  
 146 mōṭa-rāviki vellī ā-paḍamaṭi-pedda-putṭan-umḍi dakaba(kshi)ṇaṇi-mi-  
 147 khaṇai pōyi ḍaṁṭṭa-tāḍi-putṭan-umḍi paḍamaṭi-mukhamai pō-  
 148 yi ōḍugula-putṭan-umḍi uttaraṇ-mukhamai nēla-kūḍa mōchi pa-  
 149 ḍamaṭi-mukhamai pōyi pedda-putṭan-umḍi uttaraṇ-mukhamaiyi(mai)

<sup>1</sup> The Telugu numeral 1 and a floral design are faintly seen at the margin.

<sup>2</sup> The number 10 in Telugu numerals is engraved near the ring hole. This plate is only 6 inches height.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *r* seems to have been corrected to *a*.

<sup>4</sup> The old writing on the rest of the plate is beaten in. Some letters belonging to the earlier grant are visible here and there.

<sup>5</sup> The writing on this plate referring to the boundaries of the gift land begins abruptly in the middle of a word which may be *ṇaṇḍa-mai*.



*Ninth Plate, Second Side*

- 150 mamchi-nilla-kuditta-ājāā(gnē)yaṁ-mūla yarram-butta mōchen [I\*]  
 151 Amḍun-umḍi dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇaṁ-mukhamai pōyi Penichikalapāḍu mō-  
 152 chi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi pāḍu tirigi dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa-mukhamai  
 153 pōyi prāṁta-mōḁḁugu-puttan-umḍi tūrupu-mukhamai  
 154 pōyi yarram-buttan-umḍi dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa-mukhamai pōyi pe-  
 155 dda-putta mōchi paḍamaṭi-mukhamai pōyi borra-nakka-viriki vellī-  
 156 kara-veṁṭṭanē pōyi Bhīmarati(thī) dāṁṭi duriya(ya)-dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa-mukha-  
 157 mai pōyi vāṁṭṭu vu(u)ttarapu-prāṁta-putta mōchi paḍamaṭi-mu-  
 158 khamai tṛge-mrōḁḁumuku vellī Paimḍi-mukula-rāvula-ḁomkka  
 159 mōchi vu(u)ttaraṁ-mukhamai pōyi ḁomka tirigi pedda-puttan-umḍi-

*Tenth Plate, First Side*

- 160 [ḁ=im\*]ohika-mēra<sup>1</sup> pōyi paḍamaṭi mukhamai Bhīmarati mōchen [I\*] Amḍun-n-  
 161 mḍi Bhīmarati(thī) veṁṭṭanē uttaram-mukhamai pōyi Mallamarāju-kana-  
 162 man-umḍi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi Penamamgūri polamēra-  
 163 mīmḍi pedda-puttan-umḍi uttaram-mukhamai Sainbaṁ-kudita paḍamaṭi-  
 164 gāḁ-bōyi Nāgamayya-putta mōchi paḍamaṭi-mukhamai i-  
 165 mōhika-mēra pōyi uttaram-mukhamai pōyi Geragapartī po-  
 166 lamēra mīmḍi nēla-putta mōchi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi tui-  
 167 ga-kumṭa mōchen [I\*] Amḍun-umḍi uttaram-mukhamai pōyi graddala-  
 168 marri-kudita tirigi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi nēla-kudita mōchi u-  
 169 ttaram-mukhamai pōyi Mōramṭāḍa polamēra-mīmḍi Garapapu-

*Tenth Plate, Second Side<sup>2</sup>*

- 170 polamēra nīrṇa(rṇa)yamu (I)lāṁy-āḍi Kanamūri voḁḁun-jēruvu dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa-pu-tū  
 171 munan-umḍi(ḁi) dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa-pu-mukhamai pōyi avurum-gōḁu dāṁṭi  
 172 imōhika-mēra pōyi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa-pu-mu-  
 173 khamai pōyi appaṭimṇi(ni) paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa-  
 174 mukhamai pōyi nallach-buttan-umḍi tūrpu-mu-  
 175 khamai pōyi prāṁta-puttan-umḍi dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa-mukhamai  
 176 pōyi Dodḁapanāḁi-vāri-tōṁṭa paḍamaṭi Pōturāju van-  
 177 kka-tāḁi-puttan-umḍi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi Mmḍlap[ū]-  
 178 mḍi mamchi-nilla-kumṭa paḍamaṭi-chaṭa-nūṁtan-umḍi(ḁi) dakṣha(kṣhī)ṇa  
 179 mukhamai pōyi Mirti-pedda-puttan-umḍi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi 3<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letter ru is engraved above the line.<sup>2</sup> The Telugu numerals 1 and 2 are written vertically at the side of the ring hole.<sup>3</sup> The writing stops here abruptly.



*Eleventh Plate, First Side\**

## [Oriya]

- 180 Mēdura-thala-madhyē Vēlagāliṇi Kōṣṭa(shṭha)-kari(ra)ṇa-nāmā khaṇḍi āti-  
 181 tō Bhōgyana-dapḍapāṇa mūla-kōṭha-dasārū phōḍi Śrīharata(ṣṭa)-  
 182 santako Gaḍṭami-nadi-gara(bha)-bhūṭa\* jre Siṅga Vrōhala(pa)ti Purṇa-  
 183 kalli(la)-masa Śrīhastō pāṇi chhāḍilā bhūmi-dāna nūnā-gōṭa Vrā(Brā)-  
 184 hmagāḥku Vira-śrī-Gajapṭa(pati)-Gaḍḍēsara ṇṇa(na)-va-kōṭi-Karṇṇāṭa-  
 185 Kalavarag-ēsara Pratāpa-Kapilēsaraḍēva-mahārājā-  
 186 ākara-data Jāgēsaraṇa-pura-sāsana Vēlamapura-sāsana Pratāpa-Ka-  
 187 pilēsaraṇa-pura-sāsana & tiri sāsanaḥ bhā[ga\*] 40 lēkhā bhāga 120 [ ] [ā\*]  
 188 vāḍi-tōḷā-jaḷa-bhūmi madhikari dōi hōilā [ ] & gāra bhūmi-  
 189 pāa [ ] aihmō sarva-māṇṇṇa chhatī āvadānā madhikari chhāḍi bhāḥ(ga)-[bhō]-

*Eleventh Plate, Second Side*

- 190 ga kurāivā [ ]\*

## [Sanskrit]

- 191 Kalyāṇam-ākalayatāni Kamalādhināthaḥ Kōlākṛti-jala-nidhō-  
 192 s-samudrahyamānā [ ] ( ) dantēna yasya kanak-āchala-karṇikā  
 193 bhūr-vyākōcha-kōkanada-kōraka-kāmṭir-āṇi [ ] | Śrī[b\*] |  
 194 \*Āvadanāni ahaṭṭrimāṣa-tyaktvā ści-Kapilēśvaraḥ [ ] grāma-  
 195 grāṇa-ānvītaḥ grāmāni sarva-mānyāni sud-ākārūt [ ] Rā-  
 196 māny-[ōyam dha]ṇma-sētar-nipāṇām kālē kālē pāla-  
 197 nī[yyō(yō)] bhavadbhūḥ | ittham sarvān bhāvīnaḥ pā-  
 198 rṭhī[vēndrā]n bhūyō bhūyō yā[cha]tē [Rā\*]ma-  
 199 chaṇ[dra]ḥ [ ]\*

\* A floral design is engraved near the ring hole.

\* The various designs engraved after this have already been discussed above, p. 275.

\* Moire : Facsimilata.

\* The following six lines, apparently belonging to the original charter, have to be read from the bottom side of the plate. They exhibit marks of being partially beaten in and appear to have been engraved by a different hand. These lines were probably not completely beaten in because they are not unsuitable to the context of the new record.

\* Moire : *Asakṣatā*.

\* Moire : *Śānta*.



No. 53—BANDORA PLATES OF MAURYA ANIRJITAVARMAN, YEAR 29.

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.11.1958)

This copper-plate inscription is edited here, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, from a set of photographs obtained in his office during the year 1949-50.<sup>1</sup> The plates are reported to have been found at a place called **Bandora** in the Goa territory, along with the two grants of Bhōja Prithivīmallavarman<sup>2</sup> and another two of the Kadamba kings Tribhuvanamalladēva<sup>3</sup> and Shashādēva II<sup>4</sup> respectively.

The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 6·6" by 2·6". In the left margin of each plate, there is a hole about ·25" in diameter, through which passed a ring. A small piece of copper is chipped off in the right-hand corner of the first plate; but only three or four letters have been lost thereby, which, however, can be restored without difficulty. Otherwise, the writing is well-preserved.

The characters of the record closely resemble those of the two grants of the Bhōja king Prithivīmallavarman referred to above though they are box-headed (of a peculiar type) in our inscription instead of what has been called hook-headed in the other records. So on grounds of palaeography, the present inscription may be referred to about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Each plate is engraved on the inner side only and there are eleven lines of writing, the first plate containing five lines while the second plate six. The orthography of the record does not call for any special remarks. The language is Sanskrit and the entire text is in prose. In point of style also the record bears close similarity to the two Bhōja grants mentioned above.

The inscription opens with the word *śiṣham*. The charter is issued from the victorious **Kumāra-dvīpa** and refers itself to the reign of the Maurya *Mahārāja* **Anirjitavarman** (line 1). It is addressed, in the words of the king, to the inhabitants of the Twelve-village *śālā* as well as the present and future officials such as the *bhōjakas*, *śyuktakas* and *sthāyins* (lines 2-3). The object of the record in lines 3-8 seems to register the king's grant of one *kula* of *khajjana* land as well as a piece of land, including a house-site, a garden and a tank belonging to an unnamed *Rāshṭra-kūta*. In addition to this, some land to be reclaimed by clearing the forest (*aranyā-karsaṇa*) by employing four batches of workers (*prēshya-kula*) was also granted. The gift was made for securing the welfare and final beatitude of the king as well as of Nāgapadda, Malladatta and Achala. The donor was Hastyārya of the Hārīta *gōtra*, who is called *ukta-nigōḍa* and *grīhīta-sāhasra*. The expression *ukta-nigōḍa* seems to have been used in the sense of 'a specified or appointed person, while *grīhīta-sāhasra* appears to denote 'a person learned in the Sāma-Vēda [which is supposed to have a thousand branches]'. The gift was exempted from all taxes (*paṇḍa*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is registered in *A.R. Ep.*, 1949-50, App. A, No. 9. Cf. also above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 439-40.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 51 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Below, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For *paṇḍa* meaning a kind of tax, see above, pp. 54 ff.



Lines 8-9 state that the Brāhmaga, i.e. the donee Hastyārya, who would enjoy the produce of the land by putting up a bund to prevent the salt water [from entering the field on the sea-shore] should not be disturbed in his enjoyment by anybody. This is followed by another imprecatory sentence in lines 9-11.

The executor (*āyāpti*) of the grant was the king himself (line 11). The charter ends with the date (line 11) which is given as the tenth day of the seventh fortnight of Hēma, i.e. Hēmanā, in the twentieth year apparently of the king's reign. This year 29 is expressed by the numerical symbols for 20 and 9.

The inscription is important as it introduces a hitherto unknown king of the Maurya dynasty, viz. Anirjitavarman who seems to have held sway somewhere in the western coast about the Goa territory about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Though it is difficult to identify Kumāra-dvīpa whence the charter was issued, it appears to have been located somewhere in this region. In this connection, we may notice another copper-plate inscription which is also reported to have been discovered in Goa and which belongs to the reign of a king named Chandravarman.<sup>1</sup> It is dated in the second regnal year of the king, Chaitra (?) ba-di 10. On palaeographical grounds, this record may be referred to a date slightly earlier than that of the inscription under study. Its object is to record the donation of some land to the *Mahā-vihāra* at Śivapura which is identified with the modern village of the same name near Chandor in Goa. This shows that Chandravarman was ruling over some part of the Goa territory. Unfortunately the first line of the record which apparently contained the name of the dynasty to which Chandravarman belonged is very badly damaged and effaced. Dr. M.G. Dikshit read two letters in this line as *m-āryya* and suggested that the king might have belonged to the early Kadamba dynasty. In a note on this inscription,<sup>2</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar suggested the reading of the word *Mauryya* as an alternative to *m-āryya* and observed that Chandravarman of Goa might have had some relations with the Mauryas of the Kōṅkan. A close examination of the printed facsimile of the record would show that the reading of the word *Mauryya* in line 1 is almost certain and this no doubt refers to the dynasty to which Chandravarman belonged. Thus we get one Chandravarman of the Maurya dynasty who was also ruling somewhere in the west coast in the Goa territory near about the period of the inscription under study. Except Chandravarman and Anirjitavarman, no other king of this dynasty ruling in the said region at this period is known. But from the Siroda plates of Divarāja<sup>3</sup> and from the recent discovery of a few copper-plate grants of the kings of the Bhōja dynasty, we learn that these Bhōja kings also held sway somewhere in the Goa territory on the west coast from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The relations between the two Maurya kings Anirjitavarman and Chandravarman with the Bhōja kings cannot be determined without further light on the subject. It may, however, be noted that, in the celebrated Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II dated in 634 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> the king's father Kirtivarman I is described as a night of death to the Mauryas, Nālas and Kadambas<sup>5</sup> of whom the Mauryas were ruling in the Kōṅkan as stated later in the record. Maṅgalēśa and Pulakēśin II also are credited with success against these Mauryas.<sup>6</sup> The events took place during the latter half of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh century A.D. It is not impossible that the Mauryas defeated by the early Chālukyan kings belonged to the same branch as that of Anirjitavarman and Chandravarman. Since the early Western Chālukyan records do not refer to the defeat of the Bhōjas but

<sup>1</sup> *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 183-84 and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *As. BA, Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXIII (Silver Jubilee Volume), pp. 516-17.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 142 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff., text line 4.

<sup>5</sup> This event is also referred to in the later records like the Kanthām grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.)

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff., text lines 6 and 10.

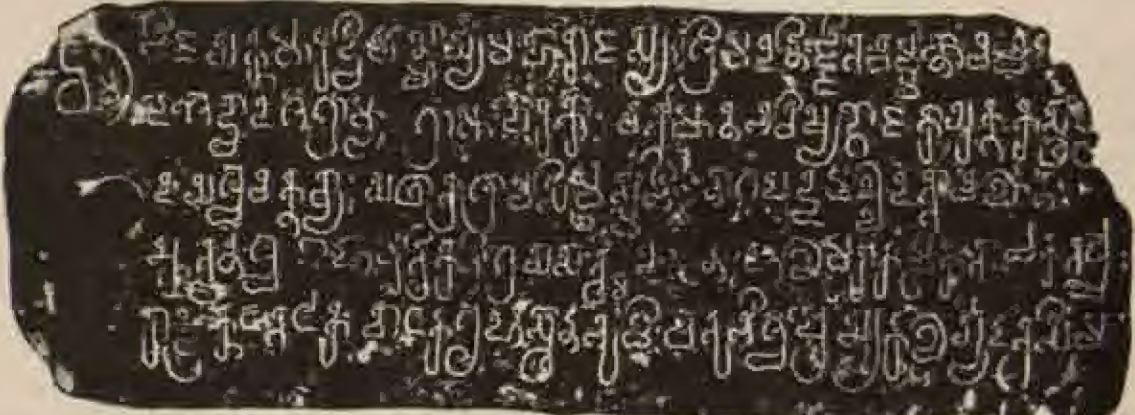




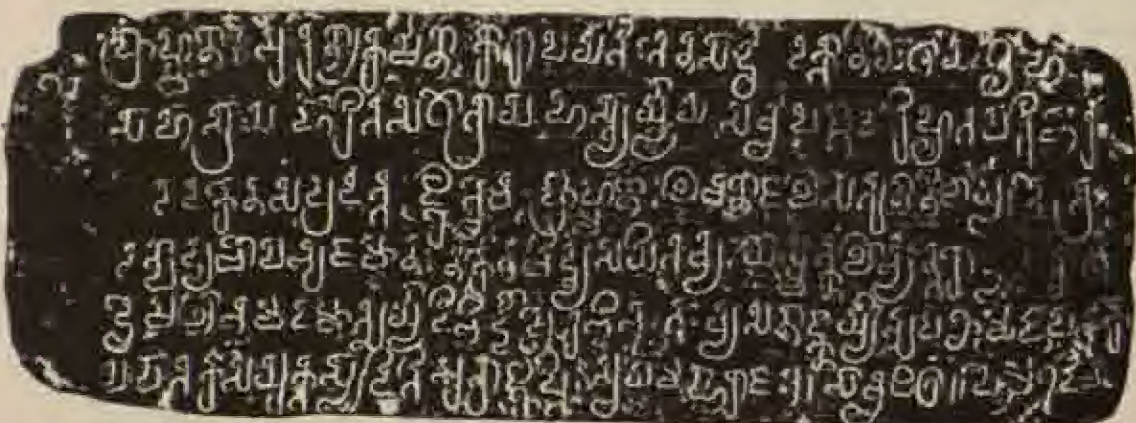


BANDORA PLATES OF MAURYA ANIRJITAVARMAN, YEAR 29

2 2  
4 4



6 6  
8 8  
10 10



(from Photographs)



only to that of the Mauryas, it appears that the latter ousted the Bhôja kings in the west coast about the sixth century A.D. and that they, in their turn, were defeated by the early Châlukyas of Bādāmi.

As stated before, the gift was made for the merit of the king as well as that of three other persons named Nāgapadda, Malladatta and Achala. The relationship of these three persons with the king is not mentioned. It is possible that they were the real donors of the gift,<sup>1</sup> and the land, including the house-site, garden and tank belonging to the *Rāshtrakūṭa*, appears to have been purchased by them for the purpose of the gift. The expression *khajjana* occurs in some other records of this region and it has been shown to be the same word as the modern Marāṭhī (and also Konkani) *khājan* meaning 'a rice-field created out of the nullah on a sea-shore by putting embankments after the ebb-tide.'<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that this meaning is supported by our inscription which states that the donee would cultivate the land by putting up an embankment to prevent the salt water (*lavapa-jalān sētunā nivārya kshētram=utpādya cha*).

Kumāra-dvīpa is the only geographical name mentioned in the record and it has been discussed above.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 [Di]ṭṭham (Dṛiṣṭam) [ ]\* Vijaya-Kumāradvīpān-Mauryya-mahārājasya śrīmad-Anirjittavarmanmaṇḍa vacha[nāt]<sup>4</sup>
- 2 dāsō Dvādaśagrāmāyā<sup>5</sup> grāmō(ma)-paurakāḥ varttamāna-bhavishyad-bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthā-  
[yy-ā]<sup>6</sup>
- 3 dayas=cha vaktavyāḥ yath=ātra grāma-sīmō-smābhiḥ Nāgapadda-Malladatt-Achalānān(nām)
- 4 ātmanas=cha ih-ānutrika-ni[h\*]ārōyas-ārttham khajjanam(na)-halam-ārākam<sup>7</sup>-ākataḥ  
ākata=cha
- 5 rāshtrakūṭa-taṭāka-vāṭaka-griha-sthāna-bhu(bhū)mīḥ chatu[r\*]bbis=cha prēshya-kulair-  
yyad=atra sīmā

## Second Plate

- 6 Brāhmaṇaḥ aranya-karṣaṇam(pam) kārāpayati<sup>8</sup> tēna sārddha[m](rddham) uktā[kta]-  
niyōgāya grih[ita]-
- 7 sālā(ha)urāya Hārta-sagōtrāya Hastyāryyāya sarvva-paṅga-parihṛita-pari(ni)hāram
- 8 adakēna sampradattam [ ]\* jñātva-ivam Brāhmaṇaḥ lavapa-jalā[m] sētunā nivārya kshē-  
ram
- 9 utpādya ch-ōpabhumjamānaḥ na kēnachid-vyamaṇyatavyaḥ [ ]\* yō-smat-kul-ābhyanantarō-  
nyō vā rāga-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 53-54 and 55.

<sup>3</sup> From photographs.

<sup>4</sup> The portion in brackets has been chipped off.

<sup>5</sup> Read "grāmāṇi".

<sup>6</sup> Read "stham".

<sup>7</sup> Read "ārākam".



- 10 dvēsha-lōbha-māda-mātsaryy-ādibhir-ddōshair-abhibbūtaḥ vyāsanāḥ-kuryyāt-sa pañcha-  
mahāpātak-ō-
- 11 papāta-saṁyukta[?]\* syād=iti [?]\* str=ājñaptiḥ svayam mahācāryaḥ || sārva(sarīva) 20  
9 || Hēma 7 diva 10 [?]\*



## No. 54—CHANDIL STONE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 23.3.1958)

In November 1957 I received an impression of a stone inscription for examination from Mr. A. C. Banerji of the Mid-Eastern Circle of the Department of Archaeology, Patna. The inscribed stone was found by the Circle officers at the village of Chandil in the Singhbhum District of Bihar. The stone slab was originally the lintel in the doorway of an old temple destroyed long ago. A new temple was later constructed on the foundation of the old one.

The inscription is written in three lines; but the third line is very small. The beginning of the second line is ahead of the first while line 3 begins ahead of line 2. The incision of the letters is deep and most of them can be seen clearly from the back of the impression. But the impression itself suffers from indifferent inking. The space covered by the writing is about 25½ inches in length and about 3½ inches in height.

The characters of the record resemble those in the epigraphs of the age of the early Palas and may be assigned to a date in the eighth or ninth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Both the Devanāgarī and Bengali types of the *anusvāra* are used in the epigraph.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; but it is very corrupt there being a number of grammatical and orthographical errors. An interesting orthographical feature is the indiscriminate use of *ś* and *s* in the words *śatata* (Sanskrit *śatata*), *śuta* (Sanskrit *suta*) and *sira* (either Sanskrit *śira*s or a mistake for *Siva*).

The inscription, written in three sentences, bears neither any date nor the name of the ruler of the country. Its object is to record the construction of a *dēvakula* or temple, apparently at Chandil in the Singhbhum District where the inscribed stone has been found, by a person named Dāmappa who was the son of Bhōgulla. This is indicated by the last sentence of the record which reads: *Bhōgullasya śuta-Dāmappena dēvakula sthāpitam* (i.e. *Bhōgullasya suta Dāmappena dēvakulam sthāpitam*). The name Dāmappa seems to be of Kannaḍa origin and the original home of the family to which the person belonged may have been in the southern part of India. The name of the deity for whom Dāmappa built the shrine is not clear from the context. But the person is introduced in the first sentence of the record as a devotee of a deity called *Bhagavati Trailōkyavijayā* and it is apparently this goddess whose shrine was built. This sentence reads: *śrī-bhagavatyaṁ Trailōkyavijayāṁ Dāmappa śatatam bhaktibhāve tiśṭhati* (i.e. *śrī-bhagavatyaṁ Trailōkyavijayāṁ Dāmappaśatatam bhakti-bhāveṇa tiśṭhati*).

The second sentence of the inscription is very much corrupt. It reads: *nā[ma]-śarapaṁ pra[tyakṣha] jī[ti]-śājalim-aś[ṭha]ga śirasā yōjyā pata[ṁ] praṇamāmi*. It will be seen that, while the first sentence uses the name of the individual responsible for the construction of the shrine in the Third Person, the second is apparently represented as his speech in the First Person. Moreover the too many grammatical errors in the sentence make it very difficult to understand its real import. But we may possibly suggest that the main part of the sentence in correct Sanskrit should be *nāma-smaraṇāt pratyakṣhām kṛit-śājalim a-śṣṭha-gaṁ śirasā yōjyāṁ pataṁ praṇamāmi*. In that case, *śirasā yōjyā*, 'one worthy of being placed on the head', together with *nāma-smaraṇāt pratyakṣhā*, 'one who becomes visible to a person as soon as the latter remembers her name', has to be regarded as an epithet of the goddess Trailōkyavijayā. The sentence would then mean: 'I bow down, with all my eight limbs and with folded palms, to the goddess who becomes visible to a person as soon as he remembers her name and who is worthy of being placed on the head, after having fallen flat on the ground.'



Or, should we think that the intended word is *Śiva-śāyayāna*? *Śiva-śāyayāna* is of course 'communion with the god Śiva', or 'absorption into Śiva'. *Śāyayāna* is the last of the four grades or states of *mukti* or beatitude, the three others being *śāntika* (being in the same world as the god to whom one is devoted), *śāntipya* (nearness to the object of devotion), and *śāntipya* (assimilation to or conformity with the deity), to which some authorities add *śānti* (equality in rank or condition or power with the deity).<sup>1</sup> If this emendation is accepted, Dāmappa no doubt believed that his devotion to the goddess Trailōkyavijayā would lead to his communion with Śiva. The association of Trailōkyavijayā and Śiva again would suggest that the goddess was conceived as the *Śakti* of the god.

There is no goddess named Trailōkyavijayā in the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon. In the lexicons, the expression *trailōkyavijayā* in the feminine is recognised only in the sense of 'a sort of hemp from which an intoxicating infusion is prepared'. But the name of the goddess reminds us of the Buddhist god Trailōkyavijaya whose conception is associated with the Buddhist attempt to humiliate the Hindu deities Śiva and Pārvatī. This god is represented as blue-coloured, four-faced and eight-armed and as exhibiting the Vajrahūkara-mudrā (i.e. with the wrists of the principal hands crossing at the breast, an attitude indicating intensity) with the hands holding the bell and thunderbolt, as carrying in the three other right hands the *khajrāṅga* (a staff with a skull at the top), goad and arrow and in the three other left hands the bow, noose and thunderbolt, as standing in the *pratyakṣa* attitude (i.e. with the left foot advanced and the right drawn back) with garments of various colours, and as trampling on the head of Śiva with his left foot and the breasts of Gaurī or Pārvatī with the right.<sup>2</sup> Trailōkyavijayā was probably conceived by the Buddhists as the *Śakti* of the god Trailōkyavijaya even though she may not have enjoyed wide popularity. But our inscription may also suggest that in the early medieval period the goddess was already identified with Gaurī or Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva. The case may thus be similar to such other Buddhist deities as Tārā. The inscription would then, along with others like the Nārāyaṇpur Vināyaka image inscription<sup>3</sup> of the fourth regnal year of the Pāla king Mahipāla (probably Mahipāla I, c. 992-1040 A.D.), give an indication as to how the Buddhist masses were gradually absorbed into the Brahmanical society. The Nārāyaṇpur inscription records the installation of a Brahmanical deity by a follower of the Buddhist faith. Whether the nature of our inscription is Buddhist, or semi-Buddhist, the region around Chamli appears to have come once under the influence of Buddhism.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Śrī-bhagavatya[ni] Trailōkyavijayā[ni] Dāmappa[h\*] śa(m)tata[m] bhakti-bhāvō ti(ti)śhṛṣṭati  
[i\*] uś[ma]-śaraga[ni]
- 2 pra(tyākṣa)\* [it-śājalim-śaṣṭhaṅga\* śicā yōjyā<sup>10</sup> pata[ni]]<sup>11</sup> prāṇamān [12 Bhōgullasya  
śa(m)ta<sup>13</sup>-Dāmappena
- 3 dōvakula[ni] nṛhāpitam[am] || ]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Saṅghaśāstram*, v, v. 202/203.

<sup>2</sup> See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, (1) C.E., p. 321, No. 262; (2) *Śaṅkhaśāstra*, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 146-47; A. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 114-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. C.A.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>4</sup> From an impression.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'nṛhāpitam'.

<sup>6</sup> Better read 'bhāvō'.

<sup>7</sup> Better read 'śaraga[ni]'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'pratyakṣa'.

<sup>9</sup> The akṣara śha is written below the line. Read 'it-śājalim-śaṣṭhaṅga'.

<sup>10</sup> The intended reading may be *śānta yōjyā* (or *śāntipya*) or *Śiva-śāyayāna*.

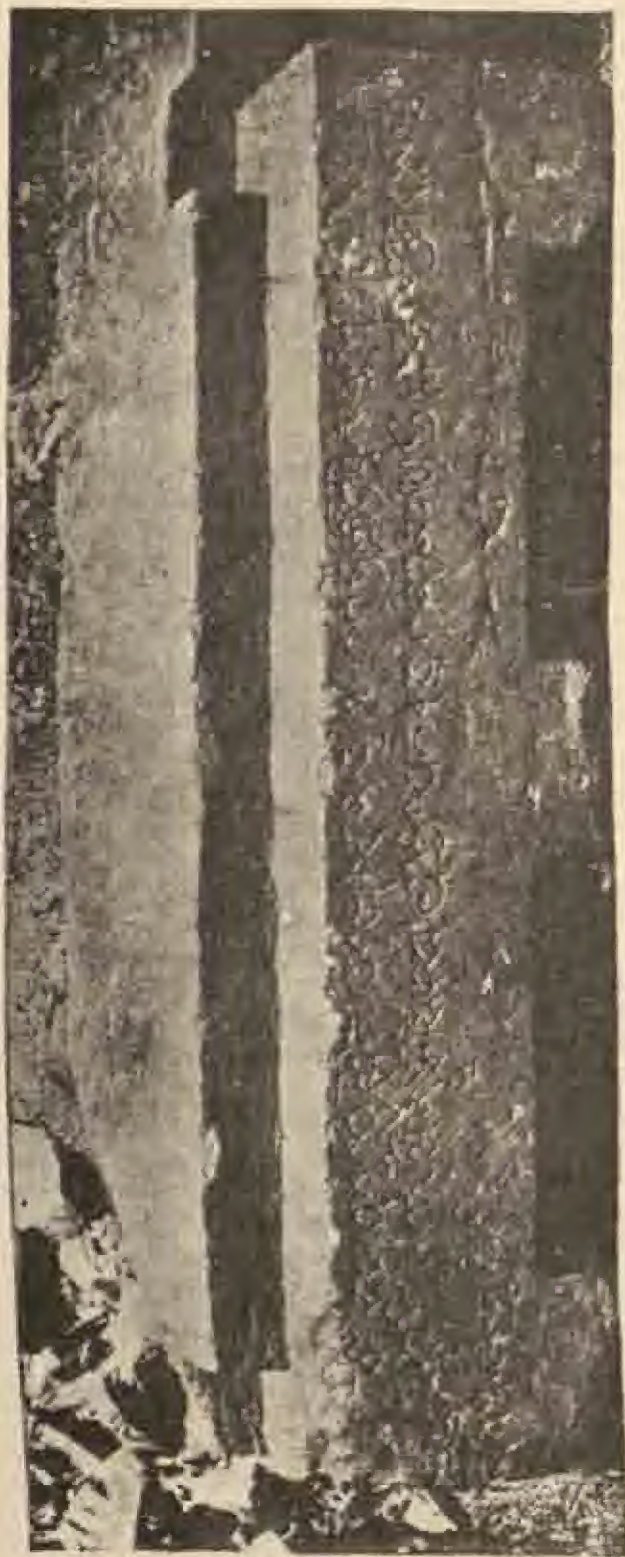
<sup>11</sup> Read *prāṇam*.

<sup>12</sup> The punctuation mark is indicated by a cōmpe-like sign.

<sup>13</sup> Better *Bhōgulla-sūta* or *Bhōgullasya sūta*; but *śānta-sūta* are quite common in the epigraphic literature of India. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 176, note 6; p. 179; p. 278, note 2, etc.



CANDIL STONE INSCRIPTION



Scale : One-third







## No. 55—INSCRIPTION FROM BANTVALA

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND, AND R. SATHYANARAYANA, MYSORE

(Received on 6.3.1958)

The inscription,<sup>1</sup> edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a stone tablet fixed into a platform in front of the Veṅkaṭaramaṣvāmin temple at Bantvāla in the Mangalore Taluk of the South Kanara District.

The epigraph is engraved in Kannaḍa script excepting the last two lines which are in Nāgarī characters. Its language, however, is Kannaḍa all through. As regards the palaeography of this late record, it is interesting to note that it uses the sign for indicating the length for 2 and 3, which is placed to the right side of the letter.

The record registers the death of Svāmi Bhuvaṇēndra-tīrtha Śrīpāda of the Kāśī maṭha and the erection of a lamp-post by Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga, the fifth son\* of Venkaṭēśa Bāḷiga of Bantvāla, in commemoration of the event. The inscription contains two dates, one relating to the death of the Svāmi and the other to the erection of the lamp-post. The first date is Śaka 1808, Vyaya, Mārgaśīrsha-ṣu. 1, Friday, corresponding to the 26th November 1886 A.D. The same date is referred to in the concluding section in Nāgarī characters (lines 20-21), where reference is made to Friday the twelfth day of the month of Vṛ̥schika in the year Vyaya. The details agree with the 26th November 1886 A.D. The date of the erection of the lamp-post is given as Māgha ṣu. 15, Tuesday, regularly corresponding the 8th February 1887 A. D., and this English date also is specified in the record in line 19.

Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga, the donor of the lamp-post, was a Brāhmaṇa of the Gauḍa-Sārasvata community belonging to the Kāśī maṭha. It is said that the Sārasvatas originally belonged to the Punjab where they dwelt on the banks of the river Sarasvatī. Some of them are believed to have migrated to Bihar and settled in Tirhut, whence they moved westwards and settled in Goa in the South Konkan.<sup>2</sup> About 1554 A.D. when the Portuguese, who were by then masters of Goa, began their religious persecution, the Sārasvatas fled from Goa and settled in the neighbouring Sonda State, the North and South Kanara Districts and the Cochin and Travancore States. In the earliest *Kaḍatas* (old account books) and palm-leaf documents available in the South Kanara District, they are known as *Koṅkanastha* or, as we find in our inscription, *Koṅkana-ḍēṣiya-Gauḍa-Sārasvata*.

Till the advent of Madhvāchārya, the founder of the dualistic philosophy, the Sārasvatas belonged to the Kavale maṭha (Kaivalyapura or Quela in Goa). But later many of them became followers of Madhvāchārya and set up their own spiritual heads. Thus there are two other maṭhas of the Gauḍa-Sārasvata community besides the Kavale maṭha, viz., the Kāśī maṭha and the Gōkarṇa maṭha, both being Vaiṣṇava institutions of the dualistic school of philosophy. A maṭha at Bantvāla was established by Svāmi Dēvēndra-tīrtha of the Kāśī maṭha about the middle of the 18th century. Svāmi Bhuvaṇēndra-tīrtha, whose death our record registers, was the disciple of Svāmi Suyatīndra-tīrtha and is said to have possessed *mantra-śakti* as well as *vaidya-śakti*. He attained *samādhi* at Basrūr in 1886 A.D. on the date given above.

<sup>1</sup> A.R.E.-p., 1956-57, No. B 223.

<sup>2</sup> According to a note received by us from the authorities of the Kāśī maṭha, Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga was the second son of Venkaṭēśa Bāḷiga. But, according to the genealogical chart received from Śrī B. Vaikunta Bāḷiga, the former was the fifth son of the latter and this is supported by the record under study.

<sup>3</sup> For further details about the Gauḍa-Sārasvatas, see Chavan, *Vaiṣṇava Dharma of the Gauḍa-Sārasvatas*.



The donor of our record was a member of the Bājiga family that was among those that fled from Goa and after various vicissitudes at last settled at Baṇṭvāla and had a temple constructed there. A celebrated member of this family is the late Bāb Bājiga, in whose memory a peepal tree was planted and a high stone platform was built for its protection. Our inscription is engraved on one of the stones fixed into this platform.<sup>1</sup> In the present inscription, Baṇṭvāla, described as the abode of the *guru*, is referred to as **Vaṭapura**.

The main interest in the record lies in the fact that it contains a song in praise of the *guru*. The song is, as the record itself mentions, in the *Kāpi-rāga* and *aṭṭa-tāla* (*aṣṭa-tāla*). *Kāpi* is a *dēśya* (imported) *rāga*, borrowed from Hindustani music and assimilated into the Kārṇāṭaka system. It is a *bhāṭhāṅga-janya-rāga* belonging to the Kharāṣarapriya *māla*, omitting *ga* and *dha* in the ascent, with curvature about *dha* in the descent, and employing *Kakuli niśāda* as an accidental in the ascent. It bears a general structural resemblance with its North Indian namesake and is in wide usage in South India, especially since the advent of the Trinity of Kārṇāṭaka music, viz. Tyāgarāja, Dikshitar and Śāma Śāstri. *Aṭṭa-tāla* is one of the seven *sulādi tālas* of ancient origin popular in Kārṇāṭaka, especially in the devotional songs of the Haridāśas.

The song in our record consists of a *pallavi*, an *anupallavi* and two *charaṇas*, and is in the literary style of the Haridāśas. The *pallavi* and *anupallavi* are of equal length, each consisting of two lines of eleven and thirteen syllables respectively. Each of the two *charaṇas* is of approximately the same size and consists of four lines. Inasmuch as the *anupallavi* of the present composition is of the same size as the *pallavi*, the general rule in musical composition that the *anupallavi* should be twice the length (i.e. twice the number of lines of the same size as in the *pallavi*) is not observed. It may, however, be noted that it is one of the numerous exceptions where this rule is not followed. The composition conforms, in any case, to the rule so far as the *charaṇa* is concerned as it is twice in length of the *anupallavi*. The two *charaṇas* are also in general agreement with the compositional style of the Haridāśas in the simple, almost prosaic, form of the language, the subject matter, the length of each line and the mention of the author in the last line of the last *charaṇa*.

The metre of the composition cannot be classified under *mātrā-gaṇa* or *māhā-gaṇa*. The accent and caesura are nowhere uniform. At best, it is an approximate *Anācārāṇi-vṛtta* and as such suits melodic rendering. The approximately uniform syllabic quantity in the lines of the verse is an advantage to the composition which is *nibaddha* (i.e., set to time) in view of the possibility of equitable syllabic distribution over the *tāla* cycle. The syllabic quantity in the lines is suited to the *aṭṭa-tāla* cycle of fourteen *mātras*, as there would be the minimum crowding or gap. Moreover there is abundance of the metrical units tribrach, dactyl and anapaest in the composition. The absence of complex consonantal combinations is a feature of the song. Despite all these, the composition lacks force of expression and elegance.

The literary theme of the song is consistent with Mādhva philosophy which places considerable importance on the status of the *guru* and marks out a gradation of the *jīvas* in the cosmic world in which the *guru-traya* head the list. The theme of the song is suitable since Bhuvanēndra-viṣṭha was probably the *guru* of the author.

The song may be translated freely as follows :

*Pallavi* : There is no god greater than the Preceptor. Emancipation cannot be obtained without [the guidance of] a good Preceptor.

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to the manager of the Kāñi *maṭha* for giving us information about the Gauda-Śaivite community and the Kāñi *maṭha* and some other details.



*Anupallavi*: The foot of the lord, the Preceptor, which has created the world, is without beginning, middle or end. It is beyond *nāda* and *kruti*. It is to be seen and understood through *sādhana*.

*Charaṇas*: The mortals made of the three *guṇas* (*vir.*, *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) contemplate the foot of the Preceptor which is free from these constant attributes. Countless great saints contemplate the foot of the Preceptor in their hearts. All the living world as represented by the celestial, human, reptilian, aerial and animal beings as well as the movable and immovable (i.e., animate and inanimate) are but the light [reflected] from the dust on the Preceptor's foot. The noble Vāṭapura is the abode of the Preceptor.

The name of the composer of the song occurs in line 7 as Śrīvāsakṛishṇa. Enquiries reveal that the donor was a pious man who was an ardent lover of poetry and music. It may be surmised that he himself composed the song. The text, however, refers to the composer as hailing from Śrīvāṭa which we are unable to identify.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Ōm [i\*] Rāga kāpi ashtatāḷa [varasa]\*[i\*] Guruvind-adhika daivavilla sad-guru vinahā
- 2 muktī doregonbad-illa || pallavi || Ādi-madhy-ādita-rāhitavū | jagad-ādi-
- 3 nirmita gurumāthana padavū | nāt-ādi-krutig-agōcharavū | bha(ba)lu sādhiṣi ti-
- 4 jidu-no(nō)ḍirō guru-padavū | Guṇa(tri)ti(tī)ṣ-ātma mūrtiyarū nitya-guṇa-virāhi-
- 5 ta guru-pāda-dhyānīparū | gaṇanēv-illada yōgi[āvara]rū | hṛday-āṅga-padali guru-pā-
- 6 da-dhyānīparū || Sa(Su)ra-nar-ōraga-khaga-mṛigavū | char-āchāra jagat guru-pāda-rāpu-
- 7 [sa]vū | Vāṭa-Vāṭapura guru-yiravū | Śrīvāṭada Śrī(Śrī)vāsakṛishṇana sa[d-gu]\*ruvū ||
- 8 yama-mīya-
- 9 m-ādya-ashtāṅga-yōga-sadūpannar-āda Kōṇikapa-dēśi(al)ya Gauḍa-Sārasvata Brāhmaṇa-
- 10 [jñā]-
- 9 ti(tī)ya<sup>2</sup> guru-parāmparya<sup>3</sup> Kāśi-mata[tha]da Suyatindratīrtha Śrīpādamaṅgalavara kara-ka-
- 10 mala-samjāta Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpādamaṅgalavarū asht-āṅga-yōga ba-
- 11 lādih sahaj-ānamāda samādhiyarū padadu sthita-prajñar-āgi prārābh-ānusāra bhōga-
- 12 van tiriṣi adya Śālīvāhana Śaka varuṣa 1808 nō Vyaya sam<sup>4</sup> | rada Mārgi(rga)-
- 13 śirsha śu-
- 13 kla pratipada Bhṛigu-vāru mā(ma)dhyānna(hna) abhūja(ji)n-mahūrtakke iha
- 14 prakra(kṛi)t-ānusāra dēhavānī tore-
- 14 du ātm-ānamāda chidābhā nāma aikya nirupādhiḥka punarāvartitarahita āśvi(śva)ta mōksh-
- 15 ānamāda-
- 15 mu-aidid-ā śrīguruvarar-ādighriya [ś]kānta bhakt-ānubhaktar-ādha(da)vara pāda-kamala-
- 16 rōgugaḷitida

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> The reading is doubtful and the meaning not clear.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> Could the reading be *śā* in the sense of caste?

<sup>5</sup> Read *pāruṣarpa*.

<sup>6</sup> The akshara *śu* is the abbreviated form of *śarāṇam* the last letter (*ru*) of which, however, is also inscribed.



- 16 alamkara(kṛi)tan-āta śira[s-sarṣ]<sup>1</sup>-chā(jā)ta || Supravarā Kāśya(śya)pa-gōiraja ghana-  
vanāhi(śa)sthar-āda Baṁṭavāja
- 17 Verhkaṭṭha Bāḷigara aidans maga Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiganu Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpā-  
daṁgaḷavara yaḷassu chinnakāla uḷiyuvante 1 di(dī)pa-stambhavu sthāpiciidd-āg-iruttade [ ]\*
- 19 Māgha śukla paurṇami Kuja-vāra t̃ā<sup>2</sup> 8 nō Phēbravari 1887 nō isavi [ ]\*
- 20 \*Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpādaṁgaḷavaru Vyasa nama sarpaṭṭasarada Vṛtāchi-  
ka-māsa dina 12 nō Bhṛigu-vāra dāhavadī tōra(re)du mōkahavan-aidda(ru) [ ]\*

<sup>1</sup> The letter r̥ looks like ṛ.

<sup>2</sup> The letter t̃ is the abbreviated form of t̃āṭā meaning date.

\*This and the next line are engraved in Nāgarī characters.



## NO. 56—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9.5.1959)

### 1. Kalāchhalā Fragmentary Grant of Iśvararāta

The inscription was discovered by Prof. A. V. Pandya of Sardar Vallabhbhai University at the village of Kalāchhalā near Karālī, about 10 miles to the west of Chhota Udaipur in Kathiawar. It is stated to have been lying with one Gambhirasingh Adesingh Parmar of the said village. Prof. Pandya deciphered the text of the inscription with the help of Prof. V. V. Mirashi and Dr. M. G. Dikshit and has published his transcript in the *Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 2, International Language Section, pp. 2 and 28, with a photograph (Plate II A facing p. 4) and an eye-copy (p. 28).<sup>1</sup> Prof. V. V. Mirashi has also edited the inscription in *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 603-04, Plate XCVII.

This is the first plate of a set, which is inscribed only on the inner side. The concluding part of the record, probably engraved on two other plates (i.e. on both sides of the second and the inner side of the third), is lost. There is a hole in the lower margin of the writing. But the ring which must have passed through it to hold the plates together and the seal of the donor of the charter which may have been affixed to it are both lost. The plate measures about 8 inches in length and about 3 inches in height. Its weight has not been recorded.

There are only four lines of writing on the plate. The characters belong to the West Indian variety of the South Indian alphabet of about the second half of the 4th century A.D. Letters like *ṣ* and medial *ṣ* exhibit an angle at the lower end. The initial vowel *i* occurs in line 1. The language of the record is Sanskrit. Of orthographical interest is the fact that consonants are rarely reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

Prof. Pandya assigns the record approximately to the fourth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> and further says, "Shri Mirashi supports the writer's dating of this plate (4th century A.D.), for its characters and wording bear close resemblance to those of the grants of the *Mahārājas* Svāmīdāsa, Bhulupda and Rudradāsa. He suggests further that Iśvararāta's suzerain was some king of the Ābhīra dynasty."<sup>3</sup> In his own work referred to above, Prof. Mirashi says that Iśvararāta ruled in the 4th century A.D. over a fairly extensive territory including Central Gujarāt and parts of the Khandesh District as a feudatory of the Ābhīras and that his family continued to hold Central Gujarāt until it was ousted by Śarva-bhaṭṭāraka who rose to power about 400 A.D. as indicated by his coins imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas.<sup>4</sup> We are sorry that it is not possible to agree with these views entirely. About the period in question, Kathiawar and the adjoining regions formed a part of the dominions first of the Śakas of Western India and then of the Imperial Guptas. No Ābhīra emperor is known to have ruled in the 4th century over wide areas of Western India.

The palaeography of the epigraph closely resembles that of the Sanchi inscription<sup>5</sup> of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.), which is dated in the Gupta year 93 (412 A.D.). It is considerably earlier

<sup>1</sup> An inaccurate transcript and a faulty interpretation of the record were originally published by Prof. Pandya in a brochure entitled *New Dynasties of Gujarat History*, 1950, p. 12, together with the same photograph and eye-copy.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xixvii. Prof. Mirashi's views that the records of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulupda and Rudradāsa (Bhandarkar's Nos. 1259, 1260 and 1861) are dated in the Tvaṣṭakā-Kalachuri-Chāḍi era and that they were feudatories of an unknown Ābhīra ruler (cf. *ASORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.; *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 5 ff.) are absolutely untenable. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 84-85; Vol. XXIV, pp. 75-77.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *CHI*, Vol. III, No. 3, Plate III B; Bühler's Table VII.



than the Mandasor inscription<sup>1</sup> (473 A.D.) written in the same alphabet. Among the copper-plate grants<sup>2</sup> of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulupda and Rudradāsa, the palaeography of Svāmīdāsa's grant of the Gupta year 67 (386 A.D.) resembles that of our record while the characters of Bhulupda and Rudradāsa, dated respectively in the Gupta years 107 (426 A.D.) and 117 (436 A.D.), are decidedly later. The characters of our epigraph, however, appear to be slightly earlier than the inscriptions of Chandragupta II and Svāmīdāsa, referred to above. A date in the second half or about the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. appears therefore to suit the inscription under study.

The charter begins with a symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by a single sentence forming the introductory part of the grant. It introduces a subordinate ruler named *Īśvararāta*<sup>3</sup> who is described as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*, i.e. meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* who was an imperial ruler and apparently *Īśvararāta*'s overlord. The order of the chief *Īśvararāta*, in regard to the grant to be recorded in the document, was issued from *Prachakāśā* to the Brāhmanas and other villagers of *Vādhyakūpikā-grāma* situated in *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* and to all his officers such as the *Ayuktas* and *Vinīyuktas* as well as the *Kumārāmūṭyas*, *Uparikas*, *Dāṇḍikas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Hastyaśvajanyāpṛitas*, *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* who were associated with the said village. This shows that *Īśvararāta* granted either the village called *Vādhyakūpikā-grāma* or a portion of it to some donee whose name must have occurred in the latter part of the document engraved on the other plates of the set, which are now lost. The word *paṭṭa* in the name *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* reminds us of its use in the sense of a district in records like a copper-plate grant<sup>4</sup> of king Hastin of the Parivrajaka family. *Ayukta* seems to have been an administrative officer appointed by the king and *Vinīyukta* a subordinate officer under the *Ayukta*, who was probably appointed by the latter. *Kumārāmūṭya* was an administrative officer enjoying the status of a prince and *Uparika* a viceroy. *Dāṇḍika* and *Dāṇḍapāśika*, generally occurring in the list of royal officials in the copper-plate grants, are often understood in the sense of a judge of criminal cases and a police officer respectively. *Hastyaśvajanyāpṛitas* were apparently military officers in charge of the elephant force, cavalry and infantry. The *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* appearing in numerous records seem to have been policemen and *Pāika*.

The title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, applied to *Īśvararāta*'s overlord who is not mentioned by name, was not assumed by Indian monarchs before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The official designations *Kumārāmūṭya*,<sup>5</sup> *Uparika*<sup>6</sup> and *Vinīyukta*<sup>7</sup> are similarly unknown in the records of the pre-Gupta age. There also appears to be Gupta influence on the official designation *Hastyaśvajanyāpṛita*.<sup>8</sup> Under the circumstances, it is impossible to believe that *Īśvararāta* flourished before the Gupta occupation of Western India.

It is well known that the imperial style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, together with *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*, was popularized by the Gupta emperors whose feudatories enjoyed the title *Mahārāja*. This is clearly indicated by epigraphic records like the Udayagiri inscription<sup>9</sup> of 401 A.D. mentioning a Śaṅkṣika *Mahārāja* as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, No. 18, Plate XI.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XV, Plate facing p. 280; *CII*, Vol. IV, Plate II, A.C.

<sup>3</sup> For names ending in *rāta*, see *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 23, 254; *IRQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, p. 102, text line 15.

<sup>5</sup> This first occurs in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 290).

<sup>6</sup> One of the earliest occurrences of this designation is found in the Damodarpur inscription of 444 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 284).

<sup>7</sup> This seems to be the same as *Vinīyuktaka*, *Tadmaivaśūma* and *Tadāyuktaka*. See (*Ibid.*, pp. 284, 351, 360, etc.; *CII*, Vol. III, p. 169 and note).

<sup>8</sup> The expression *hastya-śvajanyāpṛita* occurs in the Damodarpur plates of 543 A.D. and *śaśa-śvajanyāpṛita* in the spurious Salanda and Gaya plates of Samudragupta (*Select Inscriptions*, pp. 263, 265, 339). Cf. *Hastyaśvajanyāpṛita* of some epigraphs.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271. Cf. also the evidence of the Damodarpur plates (*Ibid.*, pp. 324-26, 328-30) mentioning the *Mahārāja* Brahmadatta and Jayadatta as favoured by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Indragupta.



*Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Chandragupta II. That the Gupta suzerain was sometimes mentioned only as *Bhaṭṭāraka* or *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* without specifying the name is clearly indicated by inscriptions like the Raigam plate<sup>1</sup> of 448 A.D., and the Paharpur plate<sup>2</sup> of 479 A.D. There is little doubt that, about the beginning of the 6th century A.D., king Narēndra of Śarabhapura mentions a Gupta emperor in his Kurud plates<sup>3</sup> merely as the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and that *Mahārāja* Śatruḍamaṇa (first half of the 5th century A.D.) in his Peddasingam plates<sup>4</sup> and Maitraka Drōṇasinha in his Bhamodra Mohota plates<sup>5</sup> (502 A.D.) call themselves respectively *Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuhyāta* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuhyāta* with reference to a Gupta emperor. There can also be no reasonable doubt that the *Mahārājas* Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūḍa and Rudradāsa issued their charters in the Gupta years 67 (386 A.D.), 107 (426 A.D.) and 117 (436 A.D.) respectively and called themselves *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuhyāta* with reference to their Gupta suzerains.

The Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.) claims to have defeated the Āryāvarta ruler Rudradāsa who seems to be none other than the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasēna III ruling over the Malwa-Rajasthan-Kathiawar region in the period between 348 and 378 A.D. The absence of Rudrasēna's coins for the period between 351 and 364 A.D. was rightly regarded by Rapson as 'marked by some political disturbance during which the coinage ceased'.<sup>6</sup> As we have suggested elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> this was probably due to his defeat at the hands of Samudragupta and acceptance of the latter's allegiance. But Rudrasēna III appears to have assumed independence about fifteen years after his subjugation by the Gupta monarch. This necessitated the reconquest of the Śaka dominions by Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.). The latest date on the coins of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasinha III falls between 383 and 397 A.D., while the presence of Chandragupta in East Malwa, in connection with a military expedition, is indicated by his Udayagiri inscriptions, one of which is dated in the Gupta year 82 (401 A.D.).<sup>8</sup> The Śaka dominions in Western India thus appear to have been permanently annexed to the Gupta empire about the close of the 4th century A.D.<sup>9</sup> Īśvararāta of Kathiawar, acknowledging the supremacy of a Gupta emperor, may thus have issued his grant either about 360 A.D. when Kathiawar appears to have formed a part of the Samudragupta's empire or shortly after the overthrow of Śaka Rudrasinha III by Chandragupta II. It may be questioned whether he would have been allowed to issue a charter in his own name in the above fashion when Gupta power was fully established in the erstwhile Śaka kingdom. But, as already indicated above, we have instances of some other feudatories of the Gupta emperors issuing similar grants apparently with the permission or acquiescence of their overlords.

The importance of the inscription under study lies in the fact that it is the earliest extant copper-plate charter of the usual type so far discovered in the northern part of India. It appears to be earlier than the Dhansidaha plate<sup>10</sup> (dated the Gupta year 113-432 A.D.) of the time of Kumāragupta I, which was so long regarded as the earliest such genuine record.

I am not sure about the location of *Prachakāśā* nor of the district called *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* and the village called *Vēdhya-kūpikā-grāma*. But *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* may be modern Wankaner in Kathiawar. *Prachakāśā* cannot be identified with Prakasha in the West Khandesh District, since the chieftdom of Īśvararāta does not appear to have extended beyond Kathiawar.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 342 ff. (cf. *Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuhyāta* in line 1 and *Bhaṭṭāraka-pādāta* in line 13).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 346 ff. (cf. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādāta* in line 16).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 267-68.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 89 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 403 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. 145.

<sup>7</sup> *Proc. IHC*, 1944, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 271, 272 and note 8.

<sup>9</sup> Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. cxlix ff.; Alan, *Catalogue (Gupta)*, pp. xxviii f., lxxvi f.

<sup>10</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 260 ff.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [ ]\*<sup>3</sup> svasti [ ]\* Prachakāśyāḥ paramabhatā(ṭṭā)ṭaka-pād-ānuhyāta  
Iśvararāta[h] kṛtall
- 2 Vāṅkikā-paṭṭā Vēdhyakūpikā-grāma-samupāgatātes(n=sa)rvvān=ṣv=śamad-āyukta-  
vini-
- 3 yuktān=kumārāmāty-śparika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāśika-hastyaśva[anavyā[prita]-chāṭa-
- 4 bhāt-āḍḍbrā(n=Brā)hmaṇ-ṭtarāś=cha grāma-prativāsi[na]h kuśalam-anuvargya  
bōdhaya<sup>4</sup>

## No. 2. Supia Pillar Inscription of the time of Skandagupta, Gupta Year 141.

The stone pillar bearing the old inscription under study was discovered in the village of Supia in the former Rewa State now merged in Madhya Pradesh. The pillar was utilised at a much later date to incise another inscription recording a performance of the *Sati* rite. This second epigraph on the back side of the pillar is much damaged; but its purport is clear from the sculptural representation above the lines of writing. The older inscription recording the purpose for which the pillar was originally raised is written in seventeen lines covering an area about 8 inches in breadth and about 22½ inches in height.

Impressions of the inscription and photographs of the pillar were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India for examination about fifteen years ago. A small paper on the inscription was read at the Archaeological Section of the Banaras Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1943-44. It was published in the *Proceedings* of the Session, Vol. III, 1949, pp. 587-89. Unfortunately, the note was based on an inaccurate transcript of the epigraph. It is stated that 'the object of the inscription is to record the consecration of an image of the goddess Shashthi by one Chhandaka.' But what was read as *Shashthi* is clearly *yashthi(śhṭi)* meaning 'a pillar' and undoubtedly referring to the stone pillar on which the inscription is engraved.<sup>5</sup> It was moreover not Chhandaka but his brother Varga whose pious activity is described in the record. About ten years ago, I received an impression of the inscription from the late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar through Dr. R. C. Majumdar and noticed it briefly in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Vol. XV, 1949, p. 6.

The characters are the same as in the contemporary inscriptions of the central part of India such as the earlier records of the kings of the Parivrajaka and Uchchakalpa dynasties.<sup>6</sup> The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there are some errors of grammar and orthography. As regards orthography, it may be noted that, like many contemporary inscriptions, our epigraph exhibits the reduplication of some consonants preceding or following *r*. A point of orthographical interest is offered by the words *vanāś* (for *vanāśa*) and *chaturinśa* (for *chaturinśa*).

The date of the record is quoted in lines 8-9 in words as the year 141 of the reign of Skandagupta. The year has of course not to be referred to the regnal reckoning of the monarch, as the language may literally suggest, but to the Gupta era. Thus our inscription was engraved in the year 460-61 A.D. The specific day of the year, when the epigraph was incised, is indicated at the end of the record in lines 16-17, although the passage *ayāśa dīpasa-pārvadyāśa* follows the mention of the year in lines 9-10 as if the day has been already indicated in the preceding section. The exact date of the record is given as the second *tithi* of the bright half of the month of *Jyāshṭha*.

<sup>1</sup> From the photograph published in the *Valabhi Vajrapanagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 2, International Language Section, Plate facing p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> The last letter of the expression *āḍḍapati* was apparently engraved on another plate which is now lost.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 607 and note, to which my attention was drawn when this paper was going through the press.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 92 E., Nos. 21 E.



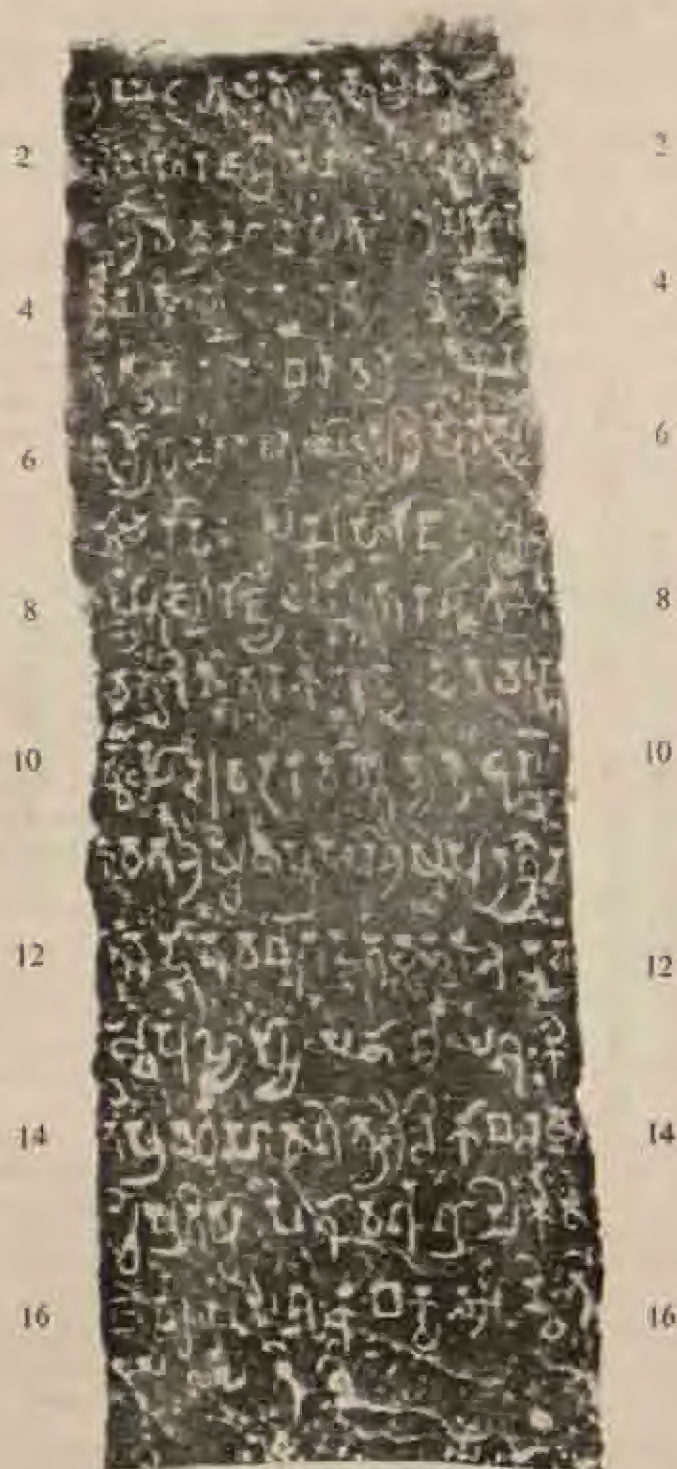
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE  
 I. KALACHIHALA FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF ISVARARATA



(from a Photograph)



2. SUPIA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SKANDAGUPTA, GUPTA YEAR 141



Scale : One-Third



Lines 1-8 introduce the reigning monarch, during whose rule the pillar was raised by one of his subjects. Mention is first made of Ghaṭōtkacha, and *Mahārāja* Samudragupta is then stated to have belonged to the former's family. Samudragupta was actually the son of Chandragupta I and the grandson of Ghaṭōtkacha. The inscription then mentions Vikramāditya, the son of Samudragupta, and Vikramāditya's son *Mahārāja* Mahāndrāditya. There is no reference to the qualities or achievements of any of these rulers, and Ghaṭōtkacha and Vikramāditya are mentioned even without the epithet *Mahārāja*. It may be mentioned in this connection that the genealogy of the Guptas in the records of the family generally begins with *Mahārāja* Gupta, father of *Mahārāja* Ghaṭōtkacha. But the mention of Ghaṭōtkacha as the head of the Gupta genealogy is found in the copper-plate grants of the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, which represent Ghaṭōtkacha as the first king of the Gupta family.<sup>1</sup> Another interesting feature of this part of the record under study is that Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta, and the former's son Kumāragupta I have been mentioned in it by their titles as Vikramāditya and Mahāndrāditya respectively. These titles are found in the legends of some of the coins issued by these monarchs and not in the inscriptions of the family. We have also to note that the Gupta records generally mention Gupta and his son Ghaṭōtkacha with the title *Mahārāja*, while Ghaṭōtkacha's son Chandragupta I and the latter's successors are endowed with the more dignified title *Mahārājādhirāja*. But inaccuracy in such details is not unexpected in a private record like the one under study.<sup>2</sup>

Lines 4-8 describe the reigning monarch *Skandagupta*, also called a *Mahārāja* rather inaccurately. He is stated to have been equal to the *Chakravartins*<sup>3</sup> in prowess and valour, to Rāma (probably meaning Rāma, son of Dākṛatha) in righteousness and to Yudhiṣṭhira in the matter of speaking the truth as well as of good conduct and modesty. These are of course vague praises which do not offer any historical information.

The next three lines (lines 10-12) introduce the person who was responsible for erecting the pillar. First is mentioned a *śrēṣṭhīn* or banker named Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhīn. Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhīn's son is stated to have been Hari-śrēṣṭhīn whose son was Śrīdatta. This Śrīdatta seems to be described as a *kuṣumbhika*, i.e. a husbandman, residing at the locality called Avaḍara. The language of the section may also be taken to mean that it was Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhīn who was a *kuṣumbhika* of Avaḍara. But it is doubtful whether the same person should have been called both a *śrēṣṭhīn* and a *kuṣumbhika*.<sup>4</sup>

Next Varga is introduced as the brother of Śrīdatta and Chhandaka as the brother of Varga. Thus Hari-śrēṣṭhīn had three sons, viz. Śrīdatta, Varga and Chhandaka, of whom Śrīdatta seems to have been the eldest and Chhandaka the youngest. It is interesting to note that, while the father and grandfather were *śrēṣṭhīns* or bankers by profession, none of the three brothers is called a *śrēṣṭhīn*. On the other hand, as already indicated above, the elder brother appears to be described as a *kuṣumbhika* or husbandman while the second brother Varga is called a *grāmika* or village headman in the latter part of the document. This probably suggests that the cognomen was not yet stereotyped in the family.

Lines 13-15, recording the object of the inscription, state that Varga-grāmika, for the purpose of acquiring merit for himself, erected the *śāla-yajñī* which was a *gōtra-śālikā* meant for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 412, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the Mankwar image inscription mentioning Kumāragupta I as a *Mahārāja* (ibid., p. 388, note 2).

<sup>3</sup> Twelve ancient imperial rulers of Indian tradition, beginning with Bharata, are specially called *Chakravartins*. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> The words *śrēṣṭhīn* and *kuṣumbhika* as found in inscriptions have been generally understood in the above sense. See Lüders' *List*, Nos. 976, etc.; Nos. 24, etc. Cf. R. Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-East India*, Eng. trans., pp. 256-57.



increase of *yaśaś* and *kīrti*. It will be seen that Varga, who was the elder brother of Chhandaka, younger brother of Śrīdatta, son of Hari-śrīśhṭhin and grandson of Kaivarti-śrīśhṭhin, has been mentioned here as Varga-grāmika. The word *grāmika* affixed to Varga's name suggests that he was the headman of a village which seems to be no other than Avadara. The synonymous words *yaśaś* and *kīrti*, when used together, are often understood in the sense of glory in this life and fame after death.<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that the stone pillar, which bears the inscription and was erected by Varga, is called a *bala-yashṭi*. The use of the word *yashṭi* in the sense of a pillar raised in memory of the dead is known from the Sui-Vihār and Andhan inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> It therefore appears that Varga raised the pillar bearing the inscription in memory of his grandfather Kaivarti-śrīśhṭhin, his father Hari-śrīśhṭhin, his elder brother Śrīdatta and his younger brother Chhandaka who were apparently all dead. The memorial pillar is also called a *gōtra-sailikā* or 'family [pillar of] stone' apparently because it was raised in the memory of several members of the family. We know that the word *gūtra*, apparently a mistake for *gōtra* which is a contraction of *gōtra-sailikā*, was used to indicate a memorial pillar in the region in question even in the medieval period.<sup>3</sup>

The word *bala* in the expression *bala-yashṭi* seems to have been used in the sense of 'strong or stout'. Otherwise we have probably to suggest that, somehow in some regions, such memorial pillars were called 'Bala's (i.e. Balarāma's) Club' just as the pillars bearing Aśoka's inscriptions are known in certain places as 'Bhīmasāna's Club'. But this is less likely.

The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription is Avadara which appears to have been a locality near modern Supiā, the findspot of the epigraph.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 [Śrī]-Gha[ṭṭ]akacha[ḥ] [\*] tad-vaṇāṣ<sup>5</sup> prava . . \*
- 2 [nā] mahāra(tā)ja-śrī-Samu[dragu]pta[ḥ] [\*] ta[t-pu]-
- 3 [tra][ḥ] [\*] śrī-Vikkramā[ditya][ḥ] [\*] ta[ṭputra][ḥ] [\*] mahārā[ja]-
- 4 [śrī]-Mahā[ndrāditya][ḥ] [\*] tāya [pu]tra[ḥ] [\*] Chakka[ra]va
- 5 [rtti]-tu[lyō] [mahā]-bala-vikkra[mā]ga R[āma]-
- 6 [tu]lyō dha[rma]-pa[ra]tāyā Yūdhishtira<sup>6</sup> sa[tyō]-
- 7 nacharavi[naya]<sup>7</sup> mahārāja-śrī-Ska[nda]-
- 8 guptasaya<sup>8</sup> rājya-[samva]tsara<sup>9</sup> śatā Śka-
- 9 chatvāri[nśōtta]rakā<sup>10</sup> [ ] [\*] [asyān] divasa-pū-
- 10 rrvāyān(yām) Avadara-vāstavya-kupumbi[kaḥ] \*
- 11 Kaivartti-śrīśhṭhi-napti[ptā] Hari-śrīśhṭhi-pu[tra][ḥ] [\*] Śrīda-
- 12 [ta][ḥ] [\*] tad-bhrātri(tā) Vargga[ḥ] [\*] ta[d-bhrā]ta(tā) Chchha(Chha)ndaka<sup>11</sup> [ ] [\*]
- 13 sva-puṇy-āpyāyan-ārtham yaśaś-ki-
- 14 [rtti]-pravardha[ya] [\*] māna-gōtra-sailikā bala-ya-
- 15 shṭhi(shṭi) pratishṭhāpitā Vargga-grāmikēna
- 16 Jā(Jyō)shṭha-māṣō śukla-pakhasya dviti-
- 17 [yāyān] ti[thau] [ ] [\*]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *III*, Vol. I, p. 18, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 133-36, 167-69.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> From an impression.

<sup>5</sup> Read *inf. vanāṣ*.

<sup>6</sup> The two lost akṣaras may be restored as *rttina* or *rdānna*.

<sup>7</sup> The damaged letter looks more like *shn*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Yūdhishtira-tāyān*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *\*madhura-nimagaḥ* or *in size sixty-dakṣa-nimagaḥ*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *\*gopāḥ* | *saṅga*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *śukla*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *\*vināś-uttarāḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> The last letters may be restored as *\*śakānti*.



## No. 57—NOTE ON DIDGUR INSCRIPTION OF KATTIYARA

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 26-11-1958)

The inscription which comes from Didgur in the Haveri Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State, was published by Fleet in the pages of this journal, Vol. VI, pp. 231-53. It refers itself to the reign of a king named **Kattiyara** under whom a certain Dōl was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand provinces. The record is not dated but Fleet assigned it, on palaeographical grounds, to about 800 A.D. As regards the king and the governor, he wrote, "The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter."<sup>1</sup> Further, from the emblem of boar found at the top of the record, he suggested that Kattiyara was a Chālukya, descended from the Chālukya house of Bādāmi, and that he might be the same Kattiyaradēva mentioned as an ancestor of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa in the Managoli inscription of 1161 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Thus, according to Fleet, Kattiyara of the Didgur inscription was a Chālukya chief of the Bādāmi house, who flourished about 800 A.D. during the time of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas.

Now palaeography is only an approximate test and, as will be shown below, we shall not be wrong even if we refer the Didgur inscription to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Then the question arises whether there was any king named Kattiyara at this time and in this region who, as stated in the record, was 'ruling the earth' indicating thereby his sovereign status. And the only supreme king about this period was Kirtivarman II (744-45 to 757 A.D.), the last ruler of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi. One is therefore led to identify the Kattiyara of the Didgur inscription with Kirtivarman II and it is not difficult to see that the name Kattiyara is only a colloquial form of Kirtivarman. This identification is supported by the fact that Kirtivarman I (566-96 A.D.) who was the sixth king in ascent from Kirtivarman II was also called Katti-arasa as revealed by his Godachi plates.<sup>3</sup> Just as the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dhruva, Kṛṣṇa and Gōvinda were also called Dhōra or Dhōrapparasa, Kannara and Gojjiga or Gojjigadēva respectively, Kirtivarman I as well as Kirtivarman II were called Katti-arasa or Kattiyara.<sup>4</sup> The palaeography of the Didgur inscription does not militate against this identification. The characters of the record resemble those of the Ādur<sup>5</sup> and Pattadakal<sup>6</sup> stone inscriptions as well as the Vakkaleri<sup>7</sup> and Kendur<sup>8</sup> plates of Kirtivarman II. We may, for example, compare the letters *ṇ*, *ḍ*, *y*, *l*, *ḍ*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The name Kattiyara is only the shortened form of Kattiyarasa.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 202 ff.



Now Kattiyaradēva mentioned in the Managoḷi inscription referred to above as an ancestor of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa is, in my opinion, none other than the same Kirtivarman II, though Fleet was not inclined to accept this identification. The record expressly states that this Kattiyaradēva was of the Chālukya family and that his hereditary capital was at Kisuvoḷa, i.e. modern Pattadakal. It is not clear why Fleet says<sup>1</sup> that Kirtivarman II did not stand in the relationship with Ayyapa I of the later Chālukyas as asserted in the Managoḷi record. For, the inscription clearly states (text lines 5-6) that Ayyapa belonged to the Chālukya lineage descended from the younger brother of Kirtivarman's father, i.e. Bhīma I who was the younger brother of Vikramāditya II and uncle of Kirtivarman II. And exactly this is the relationship which is mentioned in the Kautham<sup>2</sup> plates of Vikramāditya V and the Nilgund plates<sup>3</sup> of Vikramāditya VI and is accepted by Fleet.<sup>4</sup>

In view of the identification of Kattiyara of the Diḍḡur inscription suggested above, let us now see whether Dōsi who is mentioned therein as the governor of Banavāsi-12000 could also be identified. From the Vakkalāri plates of Kirtivarman II, we learn that certain villages included in Pānuḡal-vishaya were granted by the king at the request of one Dōsirāja. This would suggest that Dōsirāja was a subordinate of the king, probably in charge of the Pānuḡal-vishaya which was included in the larger territorial division of Banavāsi-12000 and comprised the area round about modern Hangal in the Dharwar District. As the provenance of the Diḍḡur inscription is not far from Hangal, it is tempting to identify Dōsi of the Diḍḡur record with Dōsirāja of the Vakkalāri plates. Incidentally, it may be observed that the Diḍḡur inscription provides the earliest reference known so far to the Banavāsi province as a twelve-thousand division in the records of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. V, p. 20, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 142 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 279.



# No. 58—MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.11.1953)

During the year 1941-42, a set of copper-plates was obtained in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India from one Shri Venkata Reddi who was then a Branch Post Master at Nossam in the Koilkuntla Taluk of the Kurnool District, through Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma.<sup>1</sup> The plates are reported to have been found at **Māyalūr**, a village in the same Taluk. The inscription is edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India from a set of impressions preserved in his office.

This is a set of three rectangular plates with slightly raised rims all round to protect the writing. Each plate measures 9.12" by 4.25" approximately and has a hole (about .6" in diameter) at the left margin, through which passes a ring with a diameter of about 4.5". The ends of the ring are soldered to the brackets at the base of a circular seal about 1.36" in diameter, which contains on its counter-sunk surface the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right. The plates, with the ring and the seal, weigh 132 *tolas*.

The plates have suffered some damage, specially the second and the third, and hence the writing is not in a good state of preservation. Moreover, the engraving on the third plate is rather careless. The first plate is engraved on one side (inner) only while the remaining two plates bear writing on both the sides, the second side of the third plate having only four lines of writing. There are altogether 43 lines of writing, the first plate and the two sides of the second plate having 10 lines each and first side of the third plate 9 lines and its second side 4 lines.

The characters are early Kannaḍa-Telugu and closely resemble those of the other grants of the same king.<sup>2</sup> The palaeography and orthography do not call for special remarks. The language is Sanskrit and except the invocatory and imprecatory verses, the text of the entire record is in prose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Vijayāditya who ruled from 690 to 733 A.D. The introductory portion (lines 1-31) giving the genealogy of the family from Pulakēśin I to the ruling king Vijayāditya is identical with that found in the other known grants of this king.

The record is dated in Śaka 622 (expressed in words) and the fourth regnal year, Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī. Since Śrāvaṇa of the Śaka year 618 expired was the first month of the first year of this king,<sup>3</sup> Vaiśākha of Śaka 622 expired would fall in his fourth year as stated in the record. The date is not verifiable in the absence of further details. However, according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vaiśākha Paurṇamī of Śaka 622 expired corresponded to Thursday, the 8th April 700 A.D.

The inscription records that on the above-mentioned date, when the king was camping at Poṭṭalikānagara in the Bāviḥāra district, he made a grant of the village of Yūkrōmbē to the west of Viśāchinichēḍi in the Poḍḍekal district as an *śka-śāḍga* gift to a person named Mārāśarmaṇ of the Vāṭsa gōtra and to other Brāhmanas well-versed in the *Vēdas*.

<sup>1</sup> See *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 232 (No. A 9 of 1941-42).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 379 and note 3.



The record is important in that it is one of the few inscriptions belonging to the early part of the king's reign and is the earliest copper plate grant of the king discovered so far in the Telugu country. We have two more records dated in the fourth regnal year of this king. One is the Kottāra stone inscription<sup>1</sup> which does not supply any more details of the date except the mention of the regnal year. The other is the Nerur copper-plate inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in Śaka 622 (expired), Āshādha Paurṇimā. In this year, the month of Āshādha was intercalary so that the date of the inscription under study is two or three months earlier than that of the Nerur plates. The Nerur plates were issued from Rāsēnanagara which is identified with modern Rāsin in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay State. And Poṭṭalikānagara in Bāvihāra-vishaya from where the present plates are issued may be the same as Poṭṭalakeṛe or Poṭṭalakeṛe which was the capital of the Western Chālukya king Jagadeśkamalla Jayasimha II (1018-42 A.D.) and is also spelt as Hoṭṭalakeṛe in the Kannaḍa records, the change of *p* to *h* being a regular feature in that language. If this identification is accepted, then our inscription provides the earliest reference to the place known so far. Poṭṭalakeṛe was identified by Fleet with modern Daṇḍāyākankere in the Bellary District on insufficient grounds;<sup>3</sup> but later researches have shown that the place can be identified with modern Paṭaṇcheru which is situated at a distance of about 18 miles north-west of Hyderabad.<sup>4</sup> And so Bāvihāra-vishaya seems to have comprised the area round about this place. As shown above, the Nerur plates were issued two or three months later than our grant and, during this intervening period, the royal camp was shifted from Paṭaṇcheru to Rāsin which is about 250 miles north-west of Paṭaṇcheru.

The writer of the grant was *Mahādēvādhipati* (minister for peace and war) Rāma Puṇyavallabha. He lived almost contemporaneously with Vinayāditya and wrote almost all his grants while the same position was enjoyed by Niravadya Puṇyavallabha, who was possibly his son, during the reign of Vijayāditya. Rāma Puṇyavallabha was last mentioned as the composer of the Harihar plates of Vinayāditya dated Śaka 616,<sup>5</sup> and Niravadya Puṇyavallabha appears for the first time in the Rāyagad plates of Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the inscription under study is interesting in that it shows that Rāma Puṇyavallabha lived also for some time during the reign of Vijayāditya and seems to have died sometime between Śaka 622 and Śaka 625. Puṇyavallabha was possibly the name of the family.<sup>7</sup>

Besides Poṭṭalikānagara and Bāvihāra-vishaya discussed above, other geographical names mentioned in the record are: Peḍekal-vishaya, the gift village Yūkrōmas included in it and Viśchikichēḍi to the west of which the gift village was situated. Peḍekal-vishaya is mentioned in an earlier copper-plate inscription of the king's father and predecessor Vinayāditya also secured from the same village Māyalur.<sup>8</sup> It also figures as Peḍekali-vishaya in the Togarchēḍu plates of the same king Vinayāditya.<sup>9</sup> This tract is identified with the Peḍakunji-stūṇ of the later Vijayanagara records, which comprised a part of the modern Kurnool District.<sup>10</sup> I am not sure about the identification of Yūkrōmas and Viśchikichēḍi.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 437 and note 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Sarasa Sāhitya* (Kannaḍa), Vol. IX, pp. 456-57 and 521-25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 306 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff. The last two or three lines of the Nerur plates of Vijayāditya dated in Śaka 622 and referred to above, which are lost, possibly contained the name of the writer of that grant.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 13; Vol. XXVI, p. 323.

<sup>8</sup> *JOR*, Vol. X, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 231.

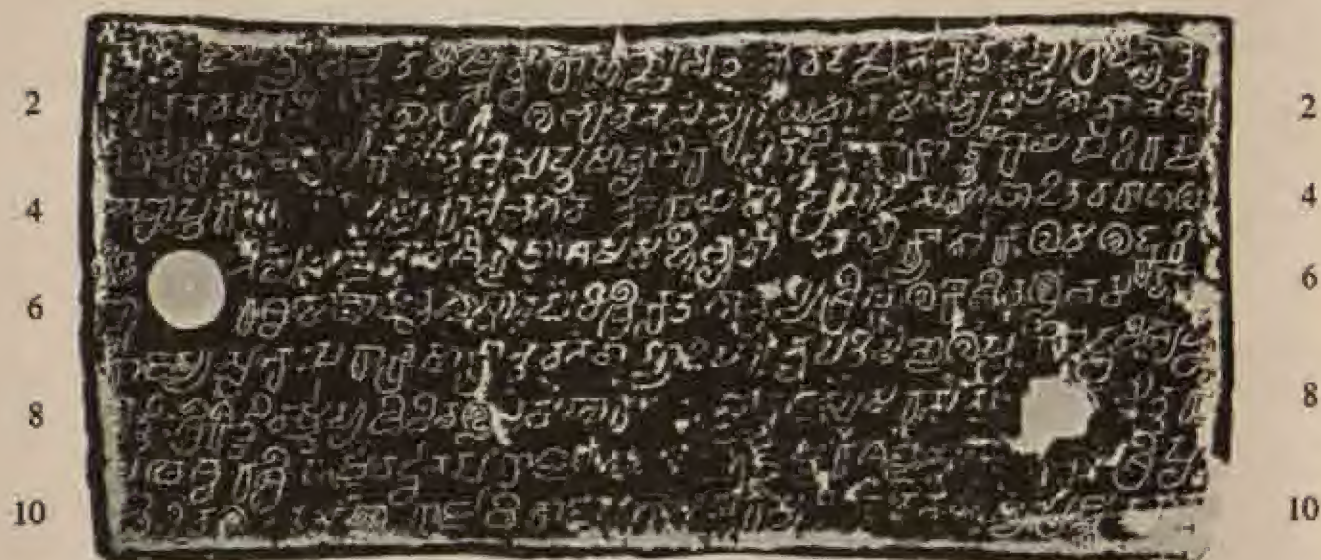
<sup>10</sup> Cf. *A.N.Sp.* for 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 232.



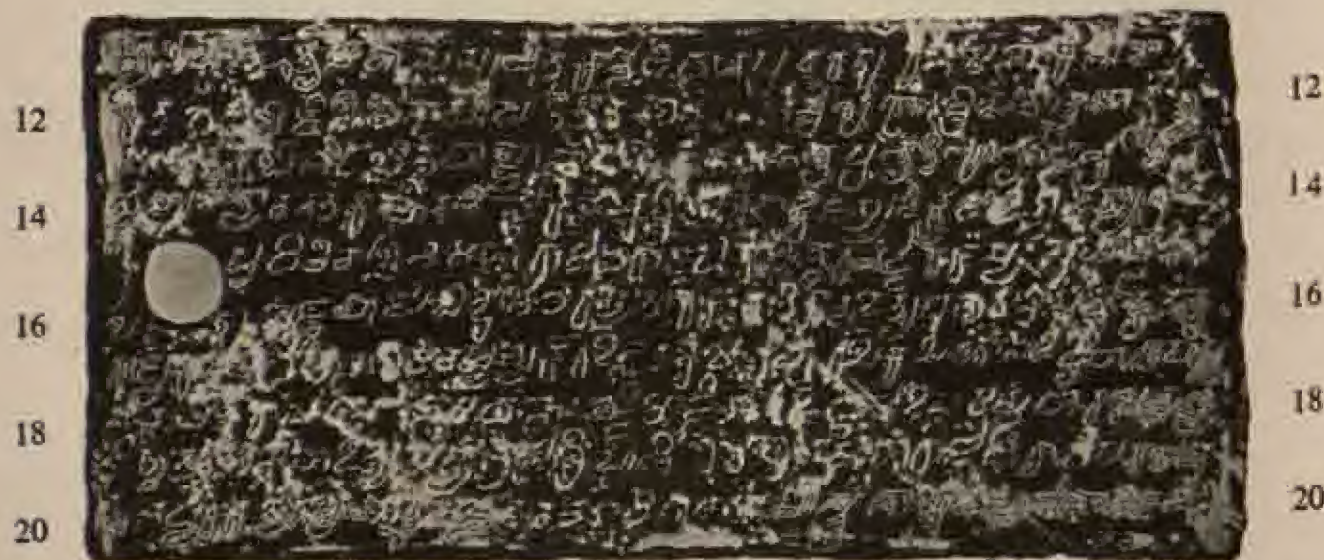




MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622—PLATE I



ii, a



Scale : Two-thirds



TEXT<sup>1</sup>*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [I\*] Jayaty āvishkritān Viśvōr-<sup>2</sup>vyārāha[m] kahōbhī-<sup>3</sup>āruṇava[m] (vam) [I\*] dakṣhi-  
ṇnata-da[m]bhīr-āgra-viārānta-
- 2 bhuvana[m] vapuḥ [I\*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāpām Hā-
- 3 rīti-putrāpāda sapta-lōka-mātrībhis-sapta-mātrībhir-abhivarddhitānām Kārttikēya-pari-  
rakṣa-
- 4 ga-prāpta-kalyāṇ[ga-param]parāpām Bhāgavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-Varāha-lā-
- 5 ṇchhan-ākṣhaya-kabaṇa-vakṛit-āśśaha-mahābhīrām Chalikyānām kulam-alaṅkari-
- 6 śhpōr-<sup>4</sup>avamēdh-āva<sup>3</sup>bhīrītha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-gūtrasya śrī-Pulakēśivallabha-mahā-
- 7 rājasya sūnū<sup>3</sup> parākram-ākṛānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-para-nipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-  
viśuddha-
- 8 kīrtitū śrī-Kīrtti<sup>3</sup>varmuna-<sup>3</sup>ī<sup>3</sup>thivivallabha-mahārāj[as-ta]sy-ātma<sup>3</sup>jag-samata-sa<sup>3</sup>tha[ka-  
saka]<sup>3</sup>!-Ottarā-
- 9 pathōśvara-śrī-Harabavarddhana-parāja[y-ōpala]bdha<sup>3</sup>-Paramēśvata-śabdasya [Satyā]<sup>4</sup>-  
ārāya-Śrīpri-
- 10 thivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya [priya]<sup>3</sup>-tanayasya prajānta-naya-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 11 sya khaḍga-mātri(ṭa) = bhāyasya Chitrakṣī<sup>3</sup>b-ābhīdhāna-ptavara-turāṅgamēg-<sup>3</sup>alkēn-ōv-ō  
[tā]-
- 12 rit-āśśha-vijigīśhōr-avanipati-tṛtaya-<sup>3</sup>antantā[m] vva-gurō<sup>3</sup>[h\*] śrīyam-ātmasātkṛitya
- 13 prabhāva-kulīsa-dalita-Pāndya-Chōja-Kē[ra]ja-Ka[ab]hīr-<sup>3</sup>prabā<sup>3</sup>hīti-bhūbhīrī<sup>3</sup>[a]jābhīra-  
vi[ūhā]-
- 14 masy-<sup>3</sup>ānany-āvanata-Kāñchīpati-makara-chundita-pāḍīnuv[ā]m[ā]jasya Vikramāditya-  
Satyāārāya-
- 15 Śrīpīthivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvata-śabd[ā]vāsyā [priya-sūnū]
- 16 pītur-ājūyā Bālī[ā]nduśśekhara<sup>3</sup>sya Tīrakōśa<sup>3</sup>śa<sup>3</sup>śa<sup>3</sup> dasya-balam<sup>3</sup>antī<sup>3</sup>śamābhā<sup>3</sup>śam<sup>3</sup> tral-
- 17 rājya-Kāñchīpati-balam-avasthā<sup>3</sup>hya karādikṛita-Kamēra-Pārasika-Sīmha-ādi-  
dvīp-ādhipāsyā
- 18 akal-Ottarāpatha-nātha-mathan-ōpārjit-ōrjita-Pāp-dhva<sup>3</sup>j-ādi-samata-pāramāśvartya-
- 19 chūhnasya Vinayāditya-Satyāārāya-Śrīpīthivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
- 20 ra-bhaṭṭārakasya priy-ātma<sup>3</sup>jag-sa<sup>3</sup>kava<sup>3</sup> ēv-ādhipat-āśśha-āstra-āśtrō dakṣhiṇ-āśśa-vijayini

<sup>1</sup> From impressions<sup>2</sup> The portion in brackets is lost due to a hole in the plate.<sup>3</sup> The portion in brackets is indistinct.



*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 21 pitāma[hē] samannūḍita-sikhila-kapṭaka-samhatir-Uttarapathā(tha)-vijigṛhō(r-gu)rō-  
 22 magrāta śv=śhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāhi-gaṇa-(gḥa)ṭṭā-pāṭana-viśrīyamaṇa-kri-  
 23 pāṇa-dhāra=samagṛa-vigraha-āgrāsaras=sen=sā[hasa]-raṇikaḥ-parāṇmu(rāṇmu)khikṛita-  
 {āstrū-maṇḍa}-  
 24 [10] Garhgā-Yamunā-pāḥi-dhvaṇa-pa[ḍa]-dhakkā-mahāśabḍa-chihṇaka-māṇkya-matamga-  
 ād[ī(r=pi)]-  
 25 tṛisātkurvan=paraliḥ-pālāyamānair=āsādyā katham=api vidhivaśād=apanītō=pi pra-  
 26 tāpād=eva viśha[ya]-prakōpa=arājaka=utsārayan=Vatsarāja iv=ānapēkahit-ā-  
 27 para-sāhāyaka[s=tad-a]vagrahān=nirgatyā eva-bhuj-āvasāṭambha-prasādhit-āsāha-vi-  
 28 svambharaḥ=prabhur=akhaṇḍita-śakti-trayatvātchha(ch=chha)tru-māda-bhāḥjanatvā(d=udāra)tvān=niravadyaevā  
 29 [d=ya=sama]sta-bhuvan-āśraya=sakala-pāramāśvarya-vyakti-bhūta-(pāḥi-dhva)-ādya-uj[va-(jiva)]la-  
 30 prāṇya-rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-pa-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 31 ramāvara-bhaṭṭāraka=survān=śvam=ā]nāpayatī [1\*] viditam=astu vō=amā-  
 32 bhīr-dvāvinśaty-uttara-shachchha(t=chha)tōshu Śaka-(varabō)shv-atitōshu  
 pravarddhāmā-  
 33 na-v[ī]ṣa]ya-rājya-samvatsarē chaturthē varttamānō Bāvivhāra-viśha-  
 34 [yō] Pottalikā-nagaram=adhivasatī vijaya-ekandhāyārē Vaiśā-  
 35 [kha]-Pauruṇamāyām Agnikārya-nimittam Pe[ḍa]ka-viśhayē Viśeti[hī]-  
 36 (chō)ḥi-vārūya-dīśā-Yukrōmb[ī]-nāmā-grāman[ī](mah) Vata-gotrāya  
 37 Māraarmamāṇu(rmnaṇḍ) ēka-bhōgam Brāhmaṇēbhyō vōda-pārā(ra)gēbhyas=sa-bhō-  
 38 gas=survva-bādha-parihāc=ōpētō dattam[ī](ttah) Yasya yasya yadā-bhūm-  
 39 [s=tasya]tasya tadā phalam [11\*] Svām(Svam) [dātum] samahata(ch=chha)kya[ḥ] duḥkha-  
 [m].

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 40 m=anyatcha(sya) pālana[m] [1\*] dānam vā pālana[m] [1\*] v=ōti dānāri(ch=chhrā)yō=nagā-  
 lana[m] [1\*]  
 41 Svadatta(ttaṇ) parādatta(ttaṇ) vā yyō(yō) harēti(ta) vasundhā(ndha)rā[m] [1\*] ahas[ī](m)  
 vataha-sā[sa]hā(ha)srū-  
 42 ṇi viśṭa(śh[ī])yā[ḥ] [1\*] jāyatā krīma(mī) [1] Mahāsandhivigraha-ārī-Rāma-punya(va [1\*]-  
 43 lathā(hh[ī])na likhītam=ilān[ī] sāsā[sa]na[m] [1]

\* This is the second half of a well-known stanza.

\* This final m is unnecessary.

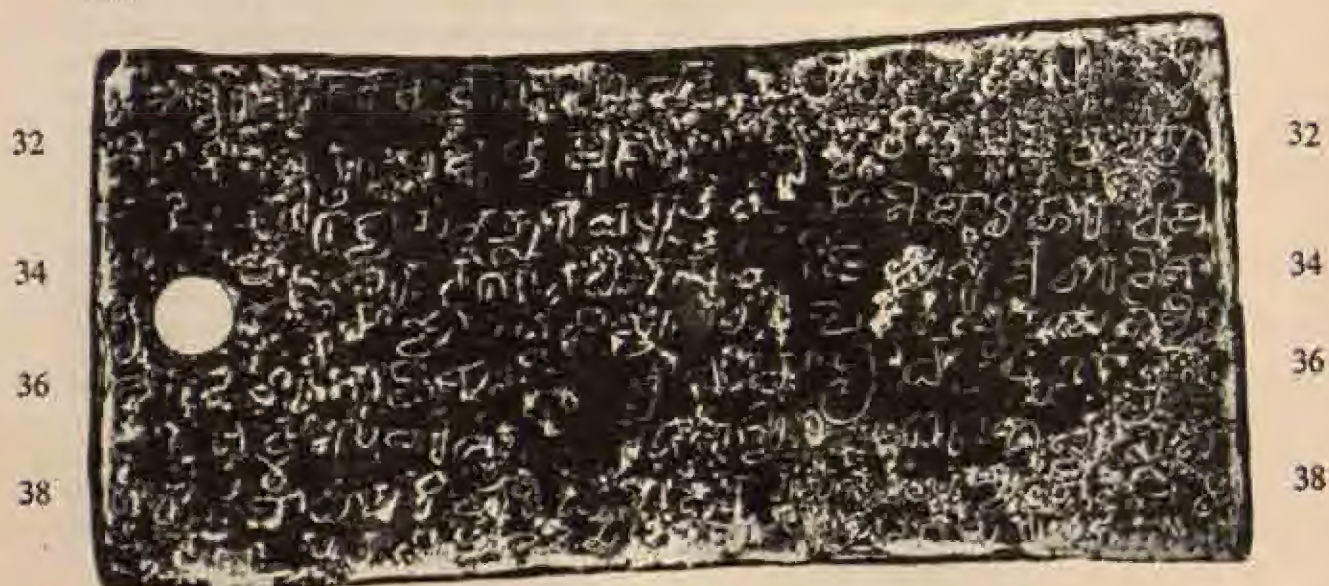


# MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622—PLATE II

ii, b



iii, a

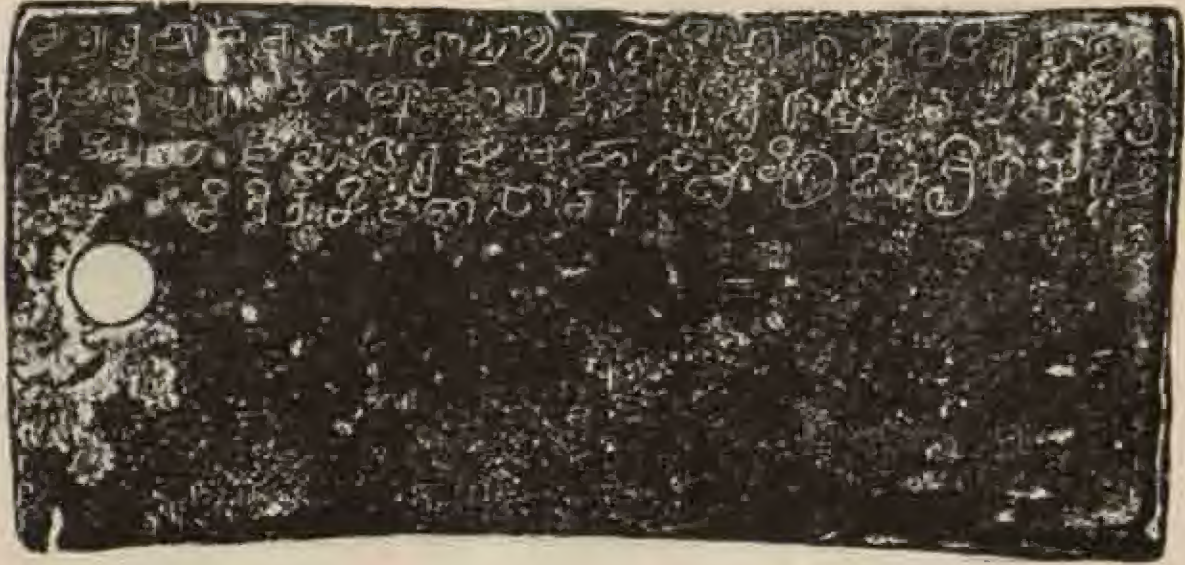


Scale : Two-thirds



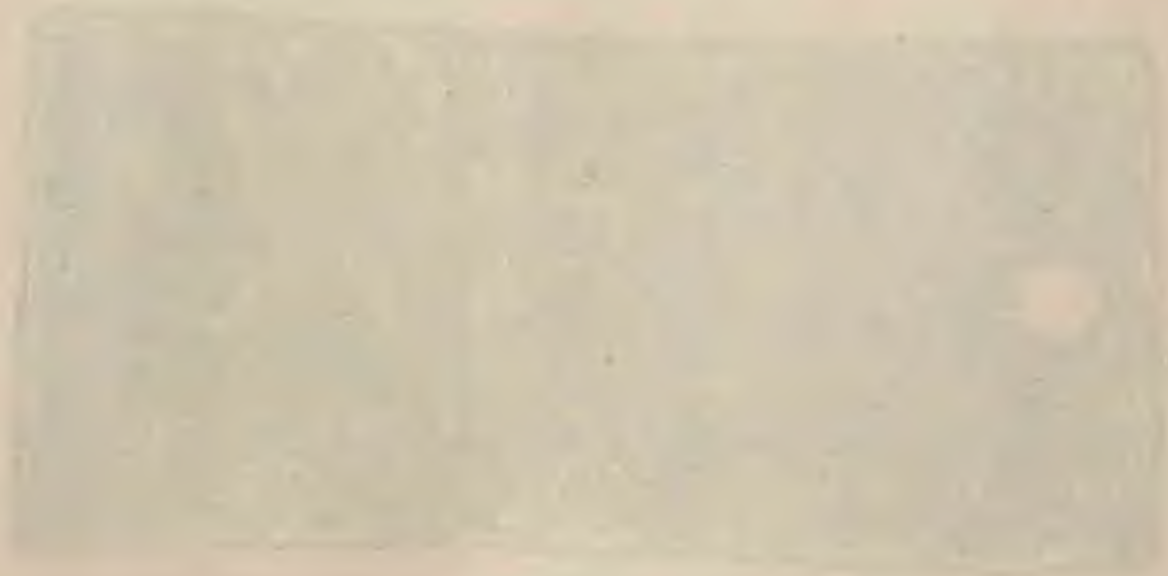
40

42



40

42





## No. 59—MADANAPADA PLATE OF VISVARUPASENA

( 2 Plates )

D. C. SIRCAR, OCTACAMUND

( Received on 30.3.1959 )

The inscription was first published by N. N. Vasu in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part 1, pp. 6-15 and Plates. He recorded its discovery as follows: "In the village of Madanapādā, Post Office Pinjari, Pargana Kojālīpādā of the Faridpur District, a peasant whilst digging his field found a copper plate and made it over to the land-holder who kept it in his house. This plate was made over to me by Paṇḍita Lakshmi Chandra Sāṅkhyatīrtha in 1892."<sup>1</sup> The inscription was subsequently acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, though later it could not be traced in the Society's collection. N. G. Majumdar re-edited the inscription in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 133-39, from the facsimile published by Vasu, which was, however, not quite satisfactory and reliable. Neither Vasu nor Majumdar could read and interpret the grant portion of the record correctly and the latter remarked, "This portion of the text being extremely corrupt and full of scribal mistakes, it is difficult to say what is actually intended."<sup>2</sup>

In 1952, I had an opportunity of examining the plate in the Dacca Museum where it is now preserved and was also allowed by the authorities of the Museum to take impressions of the inscription. On an examination of the epigraph, it was found that the said grant portion of the charter is fairly free from scribal errors while its meaning is quite clear. Consequently I published my reading and interpretation of parts of the record in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Vol. XX, 1954, pp. 209-17 and Plates. Since the inscription throws considerable new light on the history of the Śēnas of Bengal, some of the readers of my paper have requested me to re-edit the Madanapādā plate in the *Epigraphia Indica* with a full-size illustration.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a **single** plate measuring 12½ inches in length and 10 inches in height. The Śēna **seal** representing the god Sadāśiva is affixed at the top of the plate and it is referred to as the *Sadāśiva-mudrā* in line 50 of the inscription. As regards **palaeography** and **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles other Bengal epigraphs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and nothing calls for remarks in these respects. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in both prose and verse. After the *Siddham* symbol followed by the *mangala Ō namo Nārāyaṇāya* at the beginning, there are 20 stanzas in lines 1-31. All these verses are also found in the Idilpur plate<sup>3</sup> often ascribed to Kāśyapaśēna who is supposed to have been a brother of Viśvarūpaśēna. The Idilpur plate, however, contains four additional stanzas which are also found in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpaśēna.<sup>4</sup> The versified introduction referred to above is followed by the grant portion in prose in lines 31-53. Then come seven of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas and a verse mentioning the *dhruva* in lines 53-59. Lines 59-60 contain certain endorsements in prose and the **date** of the charter in the regnal year 14.

The most interesting feature of the inscription is that a large number of passages in it are re-engraved on erasures. As will be seen from our discussion below and the notes on the text of the inscription, the original donor of the charter was another king of the Śēna family, whose name was erased to re-engrave the name Viśvarūpa at a later date.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 138, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 118 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 140 ff., and Plates.



Verse 1 contains an adoration to the Sun-god, to whom the *Paramasaura* donor of the charter was specially devoted, while verse 2 introduces the Moon-god whom the Śēna kings claimed as the progenitor of their family. The next stanza (verse 3) refers to the kings of the lunar race and verse 4 introduces king *Vijayasēna* (c. 1095-1158 A.D.) as one of them. The following two stanzas (verses 5-6) describe *Vijayasēna*'s might in vague terms. Verse 7 speaks of *Ballālasēna* (c. 1158-79 A.D.), son of *Vijayasēna*, while *Lakshmapasēna* (c. 1179-1205 A.D.), son of *Ballālasēna*, is introduced in the following stanza (verse 8). Verses 9-10 continue the description of king *Lakshmapasēna*. The second of these two stanzas may be translated as follows: "In hundreds of previous births, that king (i.e. *Lakshmapasēna*), leaving aside all care for his liberation, surely propitiated Hara (i.e. the god Śiva), on the banks of the *Suradhuni* (i.e. the Ganges), being desirous of having a son. For this [reason] (*āśamāt*), the illustrious *Viśvarūpa*, who was the head of (i.e. the foremost among) the celebrated kings and was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives, was born [to him]. Otherwise how could it be [possible]?" If the word *āśamāt* used in the stanza is taken to mean 'from this [king, i.e. *Lakshmapasēna*]', we may have the following in place of the last two sentences of our translation: "Otherwise, how could he be born to this [king] the illustrious *Viśvarūpa* who was the head of the celebrated kings and was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives?" Thus king *Viśvarūpasēna* is introduced in this stanza as the son of *Lakshmapasēna* and the verses immediately following must naturally be regarded as describing his achievements and not of his father *Lakshmapasēna*.

The second of the two verses 11-12 in the following description of *Viśvarūpasēna* state that the king planted sacrificial posts as well as pillars of his victories in battles at the following places: (1) the coast of the **Southern Ocean** where there is the altar on which *Musaladhara* (*Balarāma-Saṅkarashaya*) and *Gadāpāṇi* (*Vishṇu-Krishṇa*) dwell; (2) the site of *Viśvāsvara* near the junction of the **Asi**, **Varaṇṣī** and **Ganges**; and (3) the banks of the **Trivēṇī**. The three places referred to are no doubt *Puri* in *Orissa*, *Vārāṇasī* (*Banāras*) and *Prayāga* (*Allahābād*). Verse 13 mentions the queen of the same *Viśvarūpasēna*. But the original name in three *akṣharas* (— — —) following *śrī* was erased and a new name in four *akṣharas* was re-engraved in the space, the re-engraving also affecting the medial *i* sign of *śrī*. The third and fourth of the four *akṣharas* read *dēvi*; but the first and second of them cannot be deciphered because neither the original writing was fully erased nor were the re-engraved *akṣharas* clearly incised and properly shaped. There is no doubt that originally the name of *Viśvarūpasēna*'s queen was engraved in the verse. But whose name was re-engraved after having erased the original writing? The answer to this question is clearly supplied by the next stanza (verse 14) in which the donor of the charter is introduced as born of the king and his queen mentioned in the previous stanza. It is interesting to note that the *akṣharas* *viśvarūpa* are quite obviously re-engraved before *śrī* in this verse in the space where originally only two *akṣharas* were engraved. It is also to be noticed that the second of these two *akṣharas* of the original name had a superscript *r* above it and that this sign was not erased apparently through oversight. Owing to the incision of four *akṣharas* in the space of only two and to the presence of the superscript *r* above the second of the two *akṣharas* originally engraved, the donor's name looks more like *Viśvarūrā* than *Viśvarūpa*. The two corrections in the names of the donor and his mother in the original writing of the introductory part of the *Madanapādā* plate show beyond doubt that the grant was originally made by the son of *Viśvarūpasēna* and that *Viśvarūpasēna*'s name was subsequently inserted in the place of his son's.<sup>1</sup> As a result of these corrections arbitrarily made at a later date in the original composition, the reader is compelled to regard verses 11-12 as describing *Lakshmapasēna* even though this is quite against the trend of the composition and its original and real meaning. As we shall see below, there is further evidence in the grant

<sup>1</sup> The son's name was in two *akṣharas* and the metre of the stanza was originally *Āryā*. With the introduction of the bigger name of the father, the metre became *Gmī*.



portion of the document to show that the original charter was issued by the son of king Viśvarūpasēna.

Verses 15-20 describe the donor of the original grant, i.e. the son of Viśvarūpasēna, although the corrections in verses 13-14 lead to the description being referred to Viśvarūpasēna himself. Verse 15 states that the king in question had a thirst for military pursuits ever since his youth. Verse 16 refers to his liberality vaguely while the next stanza (verse 17) represents him as the death to the Garga-Yavanas no doubt meaning the Turkish Muhammadans, whatever the significance of the word *garga* in this context may be. Of verses 18-20, the first and second speak of his scholarship and physical charm respectively and the third states that he granted many villages in favour of the Brāhmanas.

Lines 31 ff. introduce the donor as having issued the charter from his victorious camp at Phasphagrāma, the name of which has been wrongly read as Phalgugrāma. In this section, *śrīmat-Viśvarūpasēnadēva*, supposed to be described as *Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-śaṅkara*, is mentioned as the son of *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara-śrīmat-Lakṣmapasēnadēva*, the grandson of *Arirāja-niṣāṅka-śaṅkara-śrīmat-Ballālasēnadēva* and the great-grandson of *Arirāja-vṛishabha-śaṅkara-śrīmat-Vijayasēnadēva*. It is, however, interesting to note that, as in verse 14 in the introductory part discussed above, the four *akṣaras viśvarūpa* in the king's name (line 33) have been re-engraved on an erasure offering space only for two *akṣaras* which were originally engraved and the second of which had a superscript *r* above it. In this case also, the sign of superscript *r* was not erased apparently through oversight. Equally interesting is the fact that, in his title written as *Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-śaṅkara*, the *akṣaras vṛishabha* appear to have been re-engraved after having erased the *akṣaras niṣā*, so that the title of the original donor of the grant was *Arirāja-niṣāṅka-śaṅkara*. But more interesting is another fact. It is that, in the names and titles of the donor's father, grandfather and great-grandfather, the *akṣaras* between *śrīmat* (or *śrīmat*) and *sēnadēva* in the former and between *arirāja* and *śaṅkara* in the latter are re-engraved on erasures. In many of these cases, the traces of the original writing are clear and these show beyond doubt that the original donor was represented as the son of Viśvarūpasēna, the grandson of Lakṣmapasēna and the great-grandson of Ballālasēna. That such was the case is also suggested by the description of the father of the donor of the charter, i.e. Lakṣmapasēna after the correction but Viśvarūpasēna in the original writing, as *Paramasūra*. In his own records, Lakṣmapasēna is called either *Paramavishṇava* or *Paramanāśinḥa*<sup>1</sup> while his son Viśvarūpasēna was the first *Paramasūra* in the Sēna family.<sup>2</sup> This shows that the person, who was responsible for the erasure and re-engraving and changed the name of Viśvarūpasēna to that of Lakṣmapasēna, forgot to correct the former's epithet *Paramasūra* to the latter's *Paramavishṇava* or *Paramanāśinḥa*. It has also to be noticed that the final *t* in *śrīmat* has been joined in sandhi with the first letter of the king's names in this section in all the cases excepting that of Viśvarūpasēna. This fact suggests that the first letter of the original royal name in the stanza did not require any modification of *t* in Sandhi. It may have thus been a letter like *s*.

All the five kings including the donor are called *Gauḍēśvara*. But the donor and his father are endowed with certain additional epithets such as those indicating their descent from the Sēna family and the lunar race. They have also the imperial titles *Paramāvara*, *Paramabhāṣṭṛaka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. Their title *Śaraṇāgata-vajra-patijara* was originally used by the subordinate rulers of the Kannaḍa-speaking area which was the original home of the Sēnas. The title *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-traya-ādhipati* appears to have been assumed by the later Sēnas after a

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 86, 95, 101, 111.

<sup>2</sup> In their own records, Vijayasēna and Ballālasēna claim to have been *Paramanāśinḥa* (ibid., pp. 62, 73). Ballālasēna seems to have become a *Vaiṣṇava* in the later years of his life since he is described as *Paramavaiṣṇava* in one of his son's records (ibid., p. 95).



successful encounter with the Gāhaḍavālas of U. P., who are known to have enjoyed the title. It has to be pointed out that verse 12 of our inscription refers to the victories of Viśvarūpasēna (Lakṣmapasēna after the correction) at Banāras and Allahābād which formed parts of the dominions of the Gāhaḍavālas before their overthrow by the Turkish Muhammadans. Since Viśvarūpasēna's reign of about fourteen years has to be assigned to c. 1205-20 A. D., i.e. after the Turkish conquest of Eastern India, his exploits at Banāras and Allahābād have to be assigned to the period when his father Lakṣmapasēna was ruling. The Mādhānagar plate represents Lakṣmapasēna as having conquered the king of Kāśī (Banāras), i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king, and having obtained success in Kaliṅga and other countries.<sup>1</sup> Viśvarūpasēna must have commanded the Sēna forces against the Gāhaḍavālas as his father's general.

The list of subordinates and officers, whom the donor addressed in respect of the grant, is quoted in lines 38-41. This is similar to such lists quoted in other Sēna charters. The said list of addressees is followed in lines 41 ff. by the declaration regarding the grant. Lines 41-43 state that the gift land was situated in a village in the Vikramapura bhāga (division) of Vaṅga forming a part of the bhukti (province) of Puṇḍravardhana and that it was bounded in the east by an embankment and a plot of land belonging to the village of Athayāga-grāma (or Aṭhapāga-grāma), in the south by a piece of land belonging to Vāraytpaḍa-grāma, in the west by a plot of land belonging to Uñchōkāṭṭi-grāma and in the north by an embankment belonging to the locality called Vitrakāṭṭi. The expression *vārayi-paḍa* in the name of one of the boundary villages is interesting as it means 'the habitation of the Bārayis (betelvine-growers)'.

The actual description of the gift land in lines 45-46 is entirely written on an erasure, clear traces of the original writing being visible under many of the akṣharas. The gift land is stated to have been situated in the village called Piñjōkāshṭhi or Piñjōṭhiya which is the modern Piñjāri near Madanapāḍā, the findspot of the record. A portion of the village yielding an annual income of 132 Purāgas or Chūrṅis was excluded and the remainder yielding 500 [Purāgas or Chūrṅis] per annum was made the subject of the grant. In this connection, the contraction *sām* stands for *sāmvatsarika* 'annual', and *sām-bhā-hi* for *sāmvatsarika-bhūmi-hiranya*, 'annual revenue of the land in cash', while *baḥiḥ* has been used to indicate 'excluded'. The smaller part of the village, yielding 132 Purāgas per year, was called Padāti-Śāpāmārka apparently after a Pāik named Śāpāmārka, and belonged to the *śrama* of Kandarpaśaṅkara probably a deity named after *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara* Lakṣmapasēna, the expressions *kandarpa-śaṅkara* and *madana-śaṅkara* being synonymous. It is further stated that the donee also received another plot of land yielding 127 Purāgas or Chūrṅis annually (*sām-hi-sāmvatsarika-hiranya*) and situated in the village of Nāraṇḍapa-grāma belonging to the share of the said *śrama* of Kandarpaśaṅkara. It was the property of a dependant of the king (*svakīya-pālya-sva*), that is to say, it formed part of a *jāgir* in the possession of one of the king's dependants. The two plots of gift land is now mentioned as Piñjōṭhiya-grāma. It appears that, in the original grant, the whole village of Piñjōkāshṭhi was granted in favour of the donee of the charter and that, sometime later when it was brought to the notice of the authorities that a part of the village belonged to the Kandarpaśaṅkara *śrama*, the necessity of making a readjustment was felt. The donee's loss of 132 Purāgas or Chūrṅis per year was then compensated by the gift of another piece of land yielding 127 Purāgas or Chūrṅis. The two plots of the gift land were situated in the villages of Piñjōkāshṭhi and Nāraṇḍapa, apparently abutting on each other; but they were now made one unit under the name Piñjōṭhiya which appears to be a modified form of Piñjōkāshṭhi. The donee's privileges enumerated in lines 45-46 are similar to those found in the other charters of the Sēnas.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 111.



Lines 46 ff. describe the donee who was the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpadēvasarman of the *Vatas-gōtra* and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *prataras*. He was the son of Vanamālīn, grandson of Garbhēśvara and great-grandson of Parāśara. The donee is called a *śruti-pāṭhaka*, i.e. a reciter of the Vedic texts, and the grant is stated to have been made according to the principle of *bhūmi-ekchhidra* for acquiring the merits as described in the *Siva Purāṇa*. An interesting passage in this section states that the grant was made in the month of Bhādra (probably on the 8th day) in the year 14. But, in the expression *chaturdaśayodī(bdi)ya*, *chaturdaśa* is clearly re-engraved after having erased the *akṣaras dviti*, so that the passage read *dvitiyāyodī(bdi)ya* in the original writing. Thus the original grant was made by the son of Viśvarūpasēna in his second regnal year while the corrections were carried out in the charter in the 14th year of Viśvarūpasēna's reign.

The above section is followed in lines 52 ff. by the donor's request to future kings for the protection of the grant, seven imprecatory and benedictory verses being quoted in this connection. The concluding section contains a verse (lines 58-59) stating that Kōpivishṇu, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahaika* (minister of foreign affairs) of Gaṇḍa, was the *dāta* or executor of the grant. This is followed by three endorsements: (1) *śrīman-mahāsādhī-karapa-ni* (i.e. *śrīman-mahāsāndhivigrahaika-karapa-nirīkṣita*),<sup>1</sup> 'examined and approved by the office or clerk of the minister of foreign affairs'; (2) *śrī-mahāmahattaka-karapa-ni*, i.e. examined and approved by the office or clerk of the *Mahāmahattaka* (probably the head of the group of villages including the gift land); and (3) *śrīmat-karapa-ni*, i.e. examined by the king's personal office or by his personal clerk. The date of the issue of the charter, viz. the 1st of Āvina in the year 14, comes at the end. It is interesting to note that this date is not re-engraved on an erasure, although it certainly refers to the reign of Viśvarūpasēna and not of the original donor of the charter. This is clear from the fact that while the original grant was made in the second year of the reign of Viśvarūpasēna's son, the corrections were inserted in the 14th regnal year of Viśvarūpasēna himself. It seems that this space was blank in the original grant, the date of which in the donor's second regnal year was quoted in line 51.

What has been stated above regarding the nature of the grant, viz. its original issue by the son of Viśvarūpasēna and the later insertion of Viśvarūpasēna's name in the place of that of the original donor, seems to admit of no doubt. But it involves a number of problems most of which cannot be settled without further light being thrown on the subject by new discoveries. We have seen that the name of the original donor of the Madanapādā plate, who was the son of king Viśvarūpasēna and whose name was erased in verse 14 and line 28, was written in two *akṣaras* before *sēna*, that the second of these two *akṣaras* was endowed with a sign of superscript <sup>2</sup> and that the first of them was a letter like *a* which did not necessitate the change of the preceding *t* in *Sandhi*. The word in two *akṣaras* that suggests itself to us for filling up this lacuna is *sūryya* since *Kumāra Sūryasēna* is known from the Vatgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna and he is generally regarded as a son of the latter.<sup>3</sup> But the name of his mother who was the queen of Viśvarūpasēna, that was erased in verse 13, cannot be restored. Even the re-engraved name of Viśvarūpasēna's mother, who was the queen of Lakṣmanasēna, cannot be read in our inscription. It has been read as *Tādādevi* or *Tāndrādevi*. But they do not suit the metre. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the Idilpur plate, ascribed to Kēśavasēna, exhibits the erasure of the old writing of the name of the donor's mother in verse 14 (verse 13 of our record) and that of the donor in verse 15 (verse 14 of our record) as well as in line 43 (just as in line 38 of our record). The queen-mother's name in this case has been read as *Chāndrādevi* which also violates the metre.

<sup>1</sup> The contraction *ni* may also stand for *nirīkṣita* or registered (cf. above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, text line 16). We have *droṇa*, which is the same as *nirīkṣita*, 'seen', on the copper plates of such dynasties as the Vāṭakas and the Pallavas. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 406, 412, 419, 433, 437.

<sup>2</sup> See *Hind. Reap.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 227.



The *akṣaras* read as *\*dāvi su(śa)ya* in this record are, however, clearly *\*dāy-amaśya* which is also the reading in the same verse as found in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. In the Madanapāḍā plate, the intention of the person responsible for the corrections was probably to correct *śa-da* after *\*dāvi* to *śa-ya* in accordance with the requirement of the metre, though he forgot to effect the change. The Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna quotes the name of his mother, in our opinion, as *Ahvaṇadēvi*.<sup>1</sup> It thus appears that the intended correction in the Madanapāḍā plate was *\*dāy-Ahvaṇadēvi śa-ya* and in the Idilpur plate *\*dāy-Ahvaṇadēvy-amaśya*, even though the *akṣaras* *Avaṇa* are not recognisable in either of the cases. I do not think it possible that the queen's name was quoted differently in the three inscriptions.

Another problem relates to the name of the donor of the Idilpur plate which exhibits similar re-engravings on erasures as the Madanapāḍā plate and was issued from Phasphagrāma whence the Madanapāḍā plate was also issued. In our opinion, the reading *Kēśara* in verse 15 and line 43 of this inscription is a mistake for *viśvarūpa* engraved after having erased *vāryya* exactly as in the Madanapāḍā plate. Indeed the suggestion that *Kēśara* is a wrong reading for *viśvarūpa* in the Idilpur plate was already offered by some scholars, although it has been generally ignored by writers on the history of the Sēnas.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, difficult to ignore it since it appears to be supported not only by the re-engraved names but also by the fact that the so-called Kēśavasēna's title in the Idilpur plate, which was wrongly read as *Arirāja-amaśya-śaṅkara* by previous writers, reads *Arirāja-nāśabha-śaṅkara*, in which *śabha* is clearly written on an erasure. It appears that what now looks like *nāśabha* is the result of an attempt to re-engrave *viśhabha* after having erased *nāśaśa* just as in the Madanapāḍā plate. Viśvarūpasēna's title appears really to have been *Arirāja-viśhabha-śaṅkara* as in the case of his great-grandfather Vijayasēna just as his son assumed the title *Arirāja-nāśabha-śaṅkara* in imitation of his own great-grandfather Ballālasēna. We have seen how, in the Madanapāḍā plate, *viśhabha* is re-engraved after having erased *nāśa* so that the epithet reads there as *Arirāja-viśhabhaśaṅkara-śaṅkara* which is meaningless.

Now we come to the most important of the problem relating to this enquiry. It is that the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate, which does not exhibit clear signs of re-engraving the names of Viśvarūpasēna and his mother on erasures, has all the stanzas of the Madanapāḍā plate in the same order with a few additional stanzas that are also found in the Idilpur plate and that Viśvarūpasēna's title there reads *Arirāja-viśhabhaśaṅkara-śaṅkara*. In our analysis of the introductory stanzas of the Madanapāḍā plate, we have seen that verses 11 ff. should have to be regarded as referring to Viśvarūpasēna and verses 14 ff. to his son and that, by the arbitrary insertion of Viśvarūpasēna's name in the place of his son's, we have not only Viśvarūpasēna twice introduced in this part, the second introduction being quite unnecessary and even unnatural, but have also to regard verses 11 ff. as continuing the description of Lakṣmīpasēna and verses 14 ff. as describing Viśvarūpasēna, even though this is plainly against the trend of the composition. How then could this modified composition be quoted in a genuine charter of Viśvarūpasēna himself? The only answer to this question that suggests itself to us is that the introductory part of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna is merely a copy of the modified draft of the introductory section of his son's records and is not a fresh and independent composition.<sup>3</sup> This seems to be supported by his title *Arirāja-Viśhabhaśaṅkara-śaṅkara* as found in Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. *Viśhabhaśaṅkara* in this expression is quite meaningless and the emendation *viśhabha-śaṅkara* does

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, pp. 201-02.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 149 and note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Bhattacharya's List, No. 1893 and notes; *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation I suggested in *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, p. 212, seems to be wrong.



not improve the position since the title would not still offer any satisfactory sense.<sup>1</sup> The copy must have been made from a modified draft like that of the Madanapādā plate which, as we have seen, reads *ṛiṣabhaka* since *ṛiṣabha* was re-engraved on *nīśa* of *nīśaka* without erasing *aka*. That *aka* was left out through oversight is suggested by the correction effected in the same title in the Idilpur plate in which *shabha* is re-engraved after having erased *śaka*.

The circumstances under which Viśvarūpasēna's son ruled during the lifetime of his father cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The case does not look like that of Paṇḍu Nirjitavarman succeeding his son Pārtha on the throne of Kashmir.<sup>2</sup> It appears that the 14th regnal year of Viśvarūpasēna, when the corrections were effected in the Madanapādā plate, fell not long after the 2nd regnal year of his son when it was originally issued. Thus it looks as if the son was raised to the throne when the father was already a king for several years. Whether this was the result of the son's revolt and temporary success against the father or the father being temporarily incapacitated by the attack of some disease from which his recovery was not expected or by his captivity for a few years in the hands of his enemies is more than what we can say at present. In the Idilpur plate, originally issued by Viśvarūpa's son like the Madanapādā plate, the son seems to refer to his father reverentially as *byīhan-nripati-charapāḥ*<sup>3</sup> while the son, if he is identical with Sūryasēna as he seems to us to be, is mentioned in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate as having crested a *jāgīr* which was ratified by Viśvarūpasēna.<sup>4</sup> These facts probably suggest that the second of the two alternatives, viz. the son ascending the throne during a period when the father was somehow incapable of holding the reins of government, is preferable. Whether the issue of Sūryasēna's grants from Phaspha-grāma suggests the temporary loss of Vikramapura to some enemy is more than what we can say at present. He ruled at least for about three years since the Idilpur plate was issued in his 3rd regnal year. The period of the son's rule seems to have corresponded roughly to the years 11-13 of the father's reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have already spoken of the reference to Puri, Banāras and Allahābād. The gift village was situated in the province of Puṇḍra-vardhana which included wide areas of Northern and South-Eastern Bengal in the age in question. Its division called Vaṅga must have comprised the Dacca-Faridpur region while the Sub-Division of Vikramapura no doubt included the Munshiganj Sub-Division of the Dacca District and the Madaripur Sub-Division of the Faridpur District. The Madaripur region, now separated from the Pargana of Vikramapura in Munshiganj by the river Padmā, is still called Dakṣiṇa-Vikramapura, 'South Vikramapura', and it seems that the old Vikramapura division was divided into two halves by the changing course of the Padmā at a date later than the Sēna age. As already indicated above, the gift village called Piñjōkashthī or Piñjōphiya is the modern Piñjāri in the Kotālipādā Pargana of the Faridpur District. The other localities mentioned in the inscription including the description of the boundaries of the gift village have not been identified.

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

[Metres: verses 1 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 2-3, 5, 7-10, 13, 15-16, 20 *Śardūlavikrīḍita*; verses 4, 17 *Pythot*; verses 6, 12 *Śragdhurā*; verses 11, 26 *Pushpitāgrā*; verse 14 *Giti*; verses 18, 21-25 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 19 *Mandākrāntā*; verse 27 *Āryā*.]

#### Obores

I Siddham<sup>6</sup> Ō namō Nārāyaṇāya || Vandē<sup>7</sup> ravinda-vana-vā(bā)ndhavam-andhakāra-kārā-niva-(ba)ddha-bhuvana-traya-mukti-hētum | paryāya-vistṛita-ai-

<sup>1</sup> *Arīṣṭa-ṛiṣabhā-śakara* means 'the god Śiva to the bull that was the enemy kings', the bull being Śiva's mount. The expression *ṛiṣabh-śaka* has no sense suitable to the context.

<sup>2</sup> See Ray, *DBNI*, Vol. I, pp. 124-25.

<sup>3</sup> N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 125, text line 49.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 147, text line 54; p. 148, text line 55.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by symbol.



- 2 i-āṣita-pakṣa-[yugmaṁ=adya]ntam=adbhuta-khaṇḍa-nigama-drumaṣya || [1\*] Paryasta-spha-  
tik-āchalāt vasmatīr viśva(śhva)g-vimudrābhavan-muktā-kṛtmalaṁ=advhi(bdhi)ṁ=ā-
- 3 mva(mba)ra-nadi-vany-āvanaddham nabhaḥ | ndbhina-smṛta-maḥjari-parichita dik-kāminīḥ  
kalpayan pratyunmīlata Puṣpasāyaka-yaśo janm-āntaram
- 4 Chandramāḥ || [2\*] Ītasmāt kahiri-bhāra-niḥsaḥ-ārō-ḍam(da)rvvikara-grāmapī-vikram-ōtma-  
dāna-dikahita-bhujā=tō bhūbhujō jajūrt | ydāhām-apra-
- 5 timalla-vikrama-kath-āravdha(bdha)-prava(ta)ndb-ādbhuta-vyākhy-ānanda-vinidra-sāndra-  
pulakair-vyāptāḥ sadasyair-ddisāḥ || [3\*] Avātarad-ath-ānvayē mahati tatva dāvah
- 6 avayam Sudhākrapaśākarō Vijayasēna ity-ākhyayā | yad-anghri-nakha-dhōmapi-sphurita-  
maulayaḥ kalmābhujō Dāśeya-nati-ribhramam vīda-
- 7 dhīrō kil-sākaṁsaḥ(sah) || [4\*] Nil-āmbhōruha-sōdarō=pi dalayan-marmamāpi kīdamviṣṭhāḥ  
kāntō=pi jvalayan-munāśmā madhupa-sugdhō=pi tarvan bha-
- 8 yam || ( ) nirupkt-ājjana-mannibhō=pi janayan-nōtra-klamath vairipāḥ yasy-āśāha-jan-  
ādbhutāya samarā kaukākṣyakaḥ khēlati || [5\*] Iṣan-nistritrīda-ni-
- 9 drā-viraha-vilasitair-vyairi-bhūpāla-vamāyan=ochchhidy-ōchchhidyā mūl-āvadhi bhuvam-  
akhilāḥ āśatō yaśya rājāḥ | āśit-tājō-jigīṣāt saha diva-
- 10 sakarō=āiva dōḥpa=tol-ābhūd=bharitr-āiv-āśviahāṇam=ajani dig-adhipair-āva timā-  
virādāḥ || [6\*] Khēlat-khaḍga-lat-āpamājjana-bhūta-pratyarthi-
- 11 darppa-jvarita-tasmād=apratimalla-krttir-abhavad=Va(d=Ba)Hālaśnō nripaḥ | yasy-āyō-  
dhana-sīmāi āṅgita-sarid-duḥsañcharāyām hritāḥ saṁskṛta-dvīpa-
- 12 danta-dapḍa-śivikām-āṅpāya vairi-āriyaḥ || [7\*] Śrī-kāntō=pi na māyayā Va(Ba)u-jayī Vāg-  
bhavarō=py-akṣharam vaktum n=ōty-apeyaḥ kalā-nidhir-āpi
- 13 prōnmukta-dōḥāgrahaḥ | Bhōg-Indrō=pi na jīhvaṅgāḥ parivṛta-trailōkyā-śāk-ādbhuta-  
tasmāt-Lakṣmīnārasēna-bhūpatir-ābhūd=bhūlōka-kalpa-drumaḥ || [8\*]
- 14 [Pratyā]hā nigōḍa-āvanair-nāyamita-pratyarthi-bhūmibhujām madhyāhne jala-pāna-  
mukta-karoti-prāśāhla-ghaṣṭā-ravaiḥ | āyam vāḥ-villāṁi-ja-
- 15 na-nagan-maḥjira-maḥja-āvanair-yō=ākāri vihhina-āvda(bda)-ghaṣan-āvandhyam tri-m-  
ndhyam nabhaḥ || [9\*] Pūrvam janma-tatōchu bhūmipatinē santyaḥja mukti-gra-
- 16 ham nānam tēna sut-ārtinā Suradhunī-tīrō Harāḥ prīṭitaḥ | ātasmāt-katham-anyathā ripa-  
vadhū-vaidhavya-va(ba)ddha-vratō vikhyāta-kātipāla-mān-
- 17 līr-abhavat' śrī-Viśvarūpō nripaḥ || [10\*] Na gagana-tala āva āṣṭa-raśmir-ma' Kanaka-bhū-  
dhara āva kalpa-ākāḥ | na vivu(bu)ḍha-pura āva Dōvarājō
- 18 vīṣanti yatra dhar-īvatāra-bhāji || [11\*] Vāḥyām Dakṣiṇ-āvdhō(bdhō)=Mmūśadhara-  
Gadāpāni-sachvāsa-rōdyām kahātrō Viśvōśvarasya sphurad-Asi-Vara-
- 19 ā-āśāha-Gaṅg-ōrmīni-bhāji | līr-ōśaṅgō Trivēṇyāḥ Kamalabhava-makh-āṣambha-  
nirvvyāḥ-pūtō yō=ōchchair-yaḥṣa-yūpaḥ saha samara-jaya-śa-
- 20 mha-mālā nyadhyāyī || [12\*] Yām nirmāya pavita-pāṇir-abhavad=Vēdhāḥ satināḥ śikhā-  
ratnām yā kim-āpi āva-rūpa-charitair-viśvaḥ yay-ālakṣitam |

\* This has been wrongly read as prāśāḥ here and in the IDGper and Sākye Perished plates.

\* Soudi has not been observed here.

\* This has been read as rāśmī Yea.







- 21 Lakshmi-Bhūṛ=apī vādehhitāni vidadhē yasayāḥ sapatnyau<sup>1</sup> mahārājāḥ śrī(1..dēvi)<sup>2</sup> tad-  
asya<sup>3</sup> mahishī s-ābhūt-tri-vargg-ōchitā || [13\*] Etābhyaḥ Śaśīśkha-
- 22 ra-Girijābhyaḥ=iva va(ba)bhūva Śaktidharāḥ | śrī-[Viśvarūpa]<sup>4</sup>śnādēvaḥ prathibhāḥ-  
bhūpāla-mukṣa-mayīḥ || [14\*] Ā-kaumāram=apāra-saṅgāra-bhāra-vyāpā-
- 23 ra-triśāpā=vaśa-sv-āntasy-āya nīlāmya vīra-parishad-vandyaśya dōr-vvikramam | n=śam  
n=śam=idaḥ=cha n=ēti chakitat=duṛggam praviśya drutaḥ nirggachcha-
- 24 dbhir-arāti-bhūpa-nivahair=bhramyadbhir=ev=āsyatē || [15\*] Kalpa-kāmāruha-kāśanāni  
Kāśaka-kāmābhrid-vibhāgān=niḥniḥ ratnānām pulin-āntarāpi cha pari-
- 25 bhramya prayāśaśāḥ | tat-pāśa-payōdhara-prapayini cōchhāyā-vitān-āśobalā viśā-  
myanti sātām=anītra-vidāś-ōdbhrāntā manō-vpittayāḥ || [16\*]
- 26 Kim=ētaḥ=iti vismay-ākulita-lōkapāl-āvali-vilōkita-viśpūkhala-pradhana-jaitra-jā(yā)trā-  
bharāḥ<sup>5</sup> | āśāśa prithivīm=imām prathita-vīra-va-
- 27 rgg-āgrāḥ sa Gargga-Yavan-ānvaya-pralaya-kāla-Rudrō nripaḥ || [17\*] Padm-ālay-ēti  
yā khyātir=Lakshmyā śva jagat-trayō | Samavaty=api tān lōbbā yad-ānana-
- 28 kṛit-ālayā || [18\*] Āruhy-ābhramlūha-grīha-ākāśam=asya saundaryya-rūkhām paśyantibhiḥ  
puri viharataḥ pauma-simantinihiḥ | vānt-ākūtair=anaya-
- 29 na-valitair=vibhramam darśayantyō dṛiṣṭāḥ sakhyāḥ kahapa-vigraṣṭita-prōma-rukhāḥ kaṣ-  
khaḥ || [19\*] Etēn=ōnnata-vēśma=śākaṣa-bhuvāḥ arōtasvati-
- 30 saikata-kṛdā-lōla-marāla-kōmala-kalā[<sup>6</sup>]-kvāpa-prapit-ōtasvāḥ | viprēbhyō dadirē mahi-  
magha(va)ṭā nāka-pratishṭhā-bhṛitāḥ pāka-pra-

## Reverse

- 31 kramaśāli-śāli-layala-kahētr-ōkatāḥ karvvaṭāḥ || [20\*] iha khalu Phasphagrāma<sup>7</sup>=samā-  
vāśita-śrīmaḥ-jayaakandhāvārāt sama-
- 32 atasu<sup>8</sup>prāśastypēta<sup>9</sup>-Arirāja[<sup>10</sup>vṛishabha]<sup>11</sup>śāśkara-Gauḍēśvara-śrīma[<sup>12</sup>d\*]-[Viṣaya]<sup>13</sup>-  
śnādēva-pād-ānandhyāta-samestasu<sup>14</sup>prāśastypēta<sup>15</sup>-Arirāja-

<sup>1</sup> For *sapatnyau mahā*, better read *śapatni-dvayāḥ* or *sapatnyā-dvayāḥ* as in the Yaśgiya Śāhitya Parishad plate. The language of the stanzas as found in the Madanapādā and Idilpur plates is faulty because the use of *sapatnyau* in the dual renders the verb *śodhāt* in the singular unsuitable.

<sup>2</sup> The four *akṣaras* giving the name of the queen are written on the erasure which originally accommodated only three *akṣaras* after *śrī*. The *i* sign of *śrī* has been affected by the erasure and it looks like *śrī*. Of the two damaged letters before *dēvi*, neither can be satisfactorily read because the original *akṣaras* were not carefully and fully prased and the new *akṣaras* clearly shaped. The name has been read as *śrī-Phadēśvati* or *śrī-Phadēśvati* both of which violate the metre and could not have been the intended reading. See above, pp. 319-20.

<sup>3</sup> Here the four *akṣaras* *śnādēva* have been re-engraved in the space for only two *akṣaras* that had been originally incised. The name *śnādēva* cannot be easily recognised and looks somewhat like *śnādēva*. The superscript *r* above the second of the two *akṣaras* in which the original name was written has not been affected by the erasure. The two original *akṣaras* may have been *śārya*. See line 32 below.

<sup>4</sup> The reading is *śāśk* and not *śāśk*.

<sup>5</sup> This has been wrongly read as *śrī-āśāśa*.

<sup>6</sup> The name of the locality has been read by previous writers as *Phasphagrāma*.

<sup>7</sup> The *akṣara* looks more like *śa*, though in the Gauḍiya alphabet often there is no difference between the medial sign for *ś* and subscript *ś*. In any case, the intended reading is *śa*.

<sup>8</sup> *Śaśk* has not been observed here.

<sup>9</sup> These three *akṣaras* were re-engraved after having erased the *akṣaras* *śāśkara*. The original *ś* was changed to *r* by re-touching its loop. The superscript and medial *i* signs of the original *śā* are still visible.

<sup>10</sup> Although the traces are not clear, there were no doubt re-engraved after having erased *ś. Viṣaya*.



- 33 [niśāṅka]<sup>1</sup>śaṅkara-Gauḍśvara-śrīma[d\*]-Va(Ba)llāla<sup>2</sup>śānadēva-pād-ānudyāta-  
sarnastasu<sup>3</sup>prastayupēta<sup>4</sup>-śvapatiga<sup>5</sup>spatīnara<sup>6</sup>patirā<sup>7</sup>ratrayādhi-  
34 pati-Sēnakulakamalavikṣa<sup>8</sup>bhāskara-Sōmavathā<sup>9</sup>pradīpa-pratipanna-Karṇya-satyavrata-  
Gāṅgēya-śaraṇāgatavajrapañjara-paramēśva-  
35 ra-paramabha<sup>10</sup>tāraka-paramasa<sup>11</sup>ura-mahārājādhirāja-Arirāja(madana)<sup>12</sup>śaṅkara-  
Gauḍśvara-śrīma[l-Lakṣmaṇa]<sup>13</sup>śānadēva-nād-ānudyā-  
36 ta<sup>14</sup>-śvapatiga<sup>5</sup>spatīnara<sup>6</sup>patirā<sup>7</sup>ratrayādhipati-Sēnakulakamalavikṣa<sup>8</sup>bhāskara-Sōmavathā<sup>9</sup>pra-  
dīpa-pratipanna-Karṇya-satyavra-  
37 ta-Gāṅgēya-śaraṇāgatavajrapañjara-paramēśvara-paramabha<sup>10</sup>tāraka-paramasa<sup>11</sup>ura-mahārājā-  
dhirāja-Arirāja[<sup>15</sup>vṛishabha]<sup>16</sup>śāśaṅkara-  
38 Gauḍśvara-śrīmat-(Viśvarūpa)<sup>17</sup>śānadēva-pādā vijayina<sup>18</sup> | samupāgat-āsēsha-rāja-  
rājanyaka-rājñi-rājaka-rājaputra-rājīmātya-ma-  
39 hāpurūhita-mahādharmanādhya<sup>19</sup>ksha-mahāśāndhivigrahika-mahāśānāpati-dauśādika-  
chaurōddharanika-nauva(ba)lāhastyaśvagōma-  
40 hātā<sup>20</sup>vikādivyāpita-gaulnika-dan<sup>21</sup>apāsika-dandanāyaka-vishayapaty-ādīn=anyāñā<sup>22</sup>-cha  
sakala-rāja-pād-ōpajivinō<sup>23</sup>-dhyakha-  
41 pravarān cha<sup>24</sup>ṭṭa-bha<sup>25</sup>tā<sup>26</sup>-jā<sup>27</sup>tyān Brāhmaṇān Brāhmaṇ-ōttarīnā<sup>28</sup>-cha yathārham mānaya<sup>29</sup>nti  
vō(bō)dhayanti samōdīanti cha [[\*] viditā<sup>30</sup>m=astu bhavati<sup>31</sup>ān ya-  
42 thā Paupdravardhana<sup>32</sup>-bhukty-anta<sup>33</sup>hpati-Vaṅgē Vikramapura<sup>34</sup>-bhāgē pūrvē Athayāga-  
grāma<sup>35</sup>-jaṅghāla-bhūh śmā daka<sup>36</sup>hīnē Vārayipadā<sup>37</sup>-grāma-bhūh ś-  
43 mā paśchimē Uchōkāt<sup>38</sup>tī-grāma-bhūh śmā uttarē Virakāt<sup>39</sup>tī<sup>40</sup>-jaṅghāla[h\*] śmā ittham  
chatu<sup>41</sup>h śm-āvachchinnā<sup>42</sup>(h)ma-Piājōkāt<sup>43</sup>hī<sup>44</sup>-grāma-madhyāt Kandarppa<sup>45</sup>śaṅkar-ā-

<sup>1</sup> These three akṣaras are clearly re-engraved on an erasure. Originally madana must have been engraved at this place.

<sup>2</sup> These akṣaras are re-engraved on an erasure. Originally l-Lakṣmaṇa must have been engraved. The first akṣara still looks more like la.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 323, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>5</sup> The person responsible for the erasure and re-engraving forgot to change this epithet of Viśvarūpaśrīma to Paramarāṣṭra or Paramarāṣṭrīnā which was the correct epithet of Lakṣmaṇaśrīma.

<sup>6</sup> These three akṣaras must have been re-engraved after having erased the akṣaras vishāṭha, although the traces are not clear.

<sup>7</sup> These akṣaras are clearly re-engraved on an erasure. That originally ś-Viśvarūpa was engraved is proved by the traces of pa underneath so and of the medial i sign of śai. The space also suggests that four akṣaras and not three were originally engraved here.

<sup>8</sup> These three akṣaras were apparently re-engraved after having erased śikha of śikhaśa, the last akṣara of the original word in three akṣaras being left out through oversight. The intended reading seems to be arirāja-erishabha-śaṅkara and not arirāja-erishabhaśa-śaṅkara.

<sup>9</sup> These four akṣaras were clearly re-engraved after having erased a name in two akṣaras. The second akṣara of this original name had a superscript r which was not erased. The re-engraved name looks more like Viśvarūpa than Viśvarūpa. Note that i of śrīmat has not been modified in sandhi as in the other cases in this section. The original name engraved here seems to have been Śūrya. See line 22 above.

<sup>10</sup> This is the same as śāṭṭa-śāṭṭa of early inscriptions.

<sup>11</sup> The name may also be read as śāṭṭa-śāṭṭa.

<sup>12</sup> The name has been read as Virakāt<sup>13</sup>hī.

<sup>13</sup> The name has been read as Piājōkāt<sup>14</sup>hī. From this word down to Piājōkāt<sup>15</sup>hī in line 46, the letters are all re-engraved on erasures. From the beginning of this re-engraved section down to the end of line 45, the akṣaras are small in shape and pressed against each other. This was due to the fear that all the akṣaras might not find space enough to be accommodated in the blank created by the erasure. But when the work of re-engraving had reached the beginning of line 46, it was found that the remaining akṣaras were not enough to fill up the available space in that line. Thus the akṣaras re-engraved on the erasure in line 46 are bigger in size, and have more space between any two of them than even in the original part of the writing.



32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60







- 56 tasya tadā phalam || [23\*] Shashī-varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ | ākshēptā  
ch=ānmanā chā tāny=eva narakē vasēt || [24\*] Sva-da-
- 57 tām para-daśmāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām | na viśṭhāyām bṛimīr-bhūtvā pītṛibhiḥ  
sahā pachyatā || [25\*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lā-
- 58 lām āryam=anuchintya manushya-jivitaā=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaḥcha vu(bu)ddhāvā  
na hi parushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [26\*] Sachiva-
- 59 kām-mauli-lālita-pad-āmvu(mbu)jasy=ānuśāsanē dūtāḥ | īri-Kōpivishpur=abhavad-Gauḍa-  
mahāsāndhivigrahikāḥ || [27\*] śrīman-mahā-
- 60 sām-karaṇa-ni || śrī-mahāmahattaka-karaṇa-ni || śrīmat-karaṇa-ni || sām 14 Āsvina-dinē  
1 || ||



# No. 60—BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 726

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.7.1959)

The inscription was published by Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 125—27 and Plates. The findspot of the plates is unknown. They appear to have been deposited in the British Museum along with the other epigraphical collections bequeathed by Fleet.

The set consists of three plates, each measuring about 5.75" long and 2.5" broad. The ring attached to the plates is .35" in thickness and 2.5" in diameter. The circular seal fixed to the ring is about 1.5" in diameter and has, in relief on a counter sunk surface, a much worn representation of Garuḍa, sitting cross-legged on a lotus and facing full front. The first and the last plate are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. Though the plates are corroded here and there, the writing is very well preserved. The first plate and the second side of the second plate have each 6 lines of writing whereas the first side of the second plate and the third plate have 4 and 3 lines respectively. Thus there are 19 lines altogether.

The characters are early Kannada-Telugu and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. Of the initial vowels *a* occurs in line 16, *i* in lines 12 and 13 and *e* in lines 2, 9 and 11. Dravidian *r* is found in lines 1, 10 and 18 and *ḷ* in lines 1, 7 and 9. Final *u* is met with in line 15 and final *ḷ* in lines 5 and 6. *L* is written either with a curve inside the letter as in lines 4, 8, 10, etc., or with a curve outside as in lines 9 and 19. *B* is of the box type (cf. lines 3, 5, 8, 9, etc.) and *ḥ* of the cursive variety (cf. lines 2 and 19). There is no distinction between medial *e* and *ṣ* or *o* and *ṣ*. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is generally doubled (cf. lines 1, 6, 9, etc.). There are certain orthographical errors like *a* used for *i* (line 2), *ḥ* for *b* (line 2), *b* for *v* (line 14), etc.

The language is Kannada prose except the imprecatory verses and a sentence at the end referring to the composition of the record, which are in Sanskrit.

The inscription is interesting in more than one respects. It is the shortest of the copper-plate inscriptions of Govinda III discovered so far. Besides being the only copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty which is written in the Kannada language, it is one of the earliest copper plate inscriptions in that language. The form of the record resembles rather that of the stone inscriptions of the dynasty than that of the copper-plate grants. There is no invocatory verse at the beginning and the inscription straightway begins with the date-portion as in the case of the stone inscriptions. Neither the genealogical account of the ruling king is given nor is the grant addressed to the feudatory officials as is generally found in the case of the copper-plate grants. The present inscription is the only record mentioning the name of the Pallava adversary of Govinda III as Dantiga, i.e., Dantivarman (701-812 A.D.).

\* Prof. V. V. Mirashi's view (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 296 and note 4) that the absence of the genealogical section in these plates is due to the fact that they were not issued from the capital of the king is not convincing. There are numerous instances of copper-plate grants which were issued from places other than the capitals and yet contain the genealogical section. Cf. the copper-plate grants issued by Chālukya Vijayāditya (696-728 A.D.) from the following places away from his capital at Pūṣpāvali: Rāṣṭranagara (*Jed. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 ff.); Kāśhāṭanagara (above, Vol. X, pp. 149 ff.); Ellūrā (*Jed. Hist. Query*, Vol. IV, pp. 425 ff.) and Kūṭṭanagara (*J. R. Ep.*, 1934-36, App. A, No. 22). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III himself was encamped at a place called Śūgūṭra at the time of issuing the Nēarika grant (below, Vol. XXXIV, Part III.)



The inscription commences with the word *masi* and proceeds to give, as indicated above, the date which is expressed in words as Śaka 726 (expired), Subhānu, Vaśākha vadi 5, Thursday. According to the Southern cycle, the expired Śaka year 726 corresponded to Tāmasa not Thursday as mentioned in the record while, in the Śaka year 726 expired, it regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 4th April 804 A.D. This, therefore, appears to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Gōvīndara, the Kannaḍa form of the name Gōvinda, who, from his distinguishing epithet *Prabhūtavarsha* as well as the date of the record, is none else than Gōvinda III. He also bears the usual epithets *Prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhāṣāra*. We are informed in lines 5-8 that his queen (*mahādēvi*) was Gāmuṇḍabbe who is not known from any other source. It is not clear in what connection she is mentioned in the record. It may, however, be suggested that the king made the grant specified in the sequel at the request of his queen, though it is not so stated.

Lines 7-12, refer to the conflict of the king with the Pallava ruler and the object of the record. They have been translated by Fleet as follows: "when (*the king*), having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kāñchi, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra, and when having at (*his*) first (*visit*) approved of the tirtha called Rāmēśvara, he came (*there again*) to spear the boars that had been preserved (*for his sport*)—grant of king Kīrttiwarmā to (*the god*) Paramēśvara."

Fleet read the words in line 7 as *Dantiganame geḍu* and translated them as 'having conquered Dantiga.' But the word *geḍu* does not give any sense in Kannaḍa unless one assumes that it is a mistake for *geḍu*, the verb *geḍ* meaning 'to conquer'. Moreover, the emphatic *e* in *Dantiganame* means 'having marched against Dantiga.' Thus the sentence has to be understood in the sense that the king was on his march to Kāñchi against the Pallava king Dantiga in order to levy tribute from him and that on his way he had fixed his encampments on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra. This shows that the conquest of the Pallava king by Gōvinda III was not complete on the date of this record but was subsequent to it. In view of this conclusion, it would be necessary to modify the opinion of the scholars who have written on the chronology of the conquests of Gōvinda III and who following Fleet's translation, have understood that the conquest of the Pallava king was complete when the present plates were issued in 804 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Fleet translated the sentence *Rāmēśvara emba tirthadā modaloḥ-mepp-ikki* (lines 9-10) as 'having at (*his*) first (*visit*) approved of the tirtha called Rāmēśvara'. He understood *modaloḥ* in the sense of 'at first' and thought that it referred to the first visit of the king to the place. This led him to suppose that the king came there again to spear the boars referred to in the next sentence (line 10) *porada pandigaḷan-irigaḷ-bandalli*. He also took *mepp-ikki* in the sense of 'having approved'. Now the word *meppu* is not found in Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary* and the meaning given by Fleet does not suit the context. We feel that *meppu* may be connected with *meṇṇu* meaning 'grazing, pasturage' derived from the root *me* or *mē* 'to graze' and *mepp-ikki* has to be taken as qualifying the following words *porada pandigaḷan*. The word *modaloḥ* in the sense of 'first or first visit' does not suit the preceding word *tirthadā* which is in the genitive case.

<sup>1</sup> Artcher (*The Kāñchikopas and their Times*, p. 63) thought that Gōvinda III was returning from his expedition against the Pallava king when the present plates were issued. Cf. also above, Vol. XXIII, p. 210; Vol. XXXII, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Meṇṇu* is used in this sense in the Kannaḍa work *Pampa-Bhāṣam* (Chapt. V, section in press after verse 43) = the description of the hunting expedition of Arjuna.



So it has to be understood in the sense of 'in front of' or 'opposite to'. The whole sentence appears to mean that there was a sort of a game-sanctuary located on the opposite side of Rāmāvara-tirtha (i.e. on the other side of the river) where boars were grazed and preserved for hunting purposes. Thus the words *mololo* and *bandalli* do not support the view that the king had visited the same place on two occasions, as supposed by Fleet.<sup>1</sup> But this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier invasion of the Pallava capital by Gōvinda III. The fact that the king was on his march in order to levy tribute from the Pallava king may possibly suggest that the latter had failed to pay the tribute levied on a previous occasion. This view may gain support from the statement, that from Śrībhavana, Gōvinda III went to the banks of Tuṅgabhadra with his forces and captured the fortune of the Pallavas, though it was already in his hands.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the inscription (lines 11-12) is to register the renewal of a grant, by the king, to the priest (*gozava*) Śivadhāri. It is stated that the former grant was made by Kīrtivarmanarāja-paramēvara who was most probably Kīrtivarman II (744-45-757), the last imperial Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the expression *mudumbayama=untu* used in this connection is not clear but it appears to refer to the name of a locality or to the former privileges attached to the grant which was renewed by Gōvinda III.<sup>4</sup>

Thus lines 7-12 of the inscription may be rendered as: "When (Gōvinda III) was on his march, in order to levy tribute, against Dantiga who was ruling over Kāñchi, and when he had fixed his encampments on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra, and when he had come to spear the boars that had been grazed and preserved (for his sport) on the opposite side of the tirtha called Rāmāvara (i.e. on the other side of the river), seeing the beauty of the tirtha, he (i.e. the king) gave to the priest named Śivadhāri the grant of Mudumbayama which was (formerly) given by Kīrtivarmanarāja-paramēvara." Lines 13-17 contain the imprecatory portion and a sentence in lines 17-18 refers to a stream called Kunda or Kunda as lying on the boundary of the gift land. This is followed in lines 18-19 by the mention of Maṇḍanāśrīgrahā Śrīdhara as the writer of the grant. This officer is not known from the other grants of Gōvinda III.

The chronology of the campaigns of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III has been discussed by many scholars. As pointed out by Prof. Mirashi, the copper-plate charters of Gōvinda III fall into two groups. The first one gives the draft of the introductory part which mostly follows that of the earlier charters of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. To this group belong the Paiṭhaṇ plates (Śaka 716),<sup>5</sup> Añjanavati plates (Śaka 722)<sup>6</sup> and the Jharikā grant (Śaka 725).<sup>7</sup> To the second group, which gives a new draft describing the victories of Gōvinda III, belong all his other charters including the Maṇḍe plates<sup>8</sup> (first set) of Śaka 724 and the Badaṇḍuppe plates<sup>9</sup> of Śaka 730 which were issued by the king's brother Stambha. Prof. Mirashi has tried to show that all the important victories of Gōvinda III (including the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakradyutha) were attained before

<sup>1</sup> It may, however, be pointed out that though Fleet seems to have rectified this mistake later (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 367; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 159 and note b), other scholars have followed it. Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 216 and note 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 244, verso 12: *aru-karu-stāitāmapī paṇamāitāitānam-śrīśaṅkara . . . . . Pallavaśaṅkara-śrīpaṇa*. Cf. also, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 216 and K.V.S. Aiyar, *Three Lectures*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet takes Paramēvara as the name of the god to whom Kīrtivarman made the grant previously. But it seems better to take it as an epithet of Kīrtivarmanarāja.

<sup>4</sup> For other meanings suggested by Fleet, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127 and note 20.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Car.*, Vol. IX, XI, 61.

<sup>9</sup> *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1927, pp. 112 ff.



Śaka 724, the date of the Maṅge plates (first set).<sup>1</sup> But from the recent discovery of the Jharikā grant of Śaka 725 using the earlier draft, it has been shown that the Maṅge plates which are dated one year earlier (i.e. Śaka 724) and in which the later draft is used should be regarded as spurious.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the earliest record to use this new draft is the Nēsarikā grant<sup>3</sup> of Śaka 727. It follows that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in the north as well as south before Śaka 727, the date of the Nēsarikā grant, if we follow the usual criterion of ascertaining the chronology of his campaigns by the appearance of the earlier and later drafts. From the wellknown *varṣa* *śiṣṭa* Śrībhavana, etc., found in this later draft,<sup>4</sup> we learn that, from Śrībhavana (identified with modern Sarbhon in Braach District) where he had spent the rainy season, Gōvinda III marched with his forces to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra and, staying there, captured the fortune of the Pallavas. This shows that Gōvinda conducted his southern campaign from the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. This is corroborated by the fact that when the Jharikā grant was issued, the royal camp was on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra near Alampur, and that the inscription under review also states that the king had fixed his encampment on the bank of the same river. Evidently all the above-mentioned three references to the royal encampment on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra point to the same event in Gōvinda's southern campaign. It appears that this expedition commenced from the date of the Jharikā grant (November 803 A.D.) and was not yet complete on the date of the present inscription (April, 804 A.D.). However, it must have been completed soon after the date of the present record, since the Nēsarikā grant, dated 21st December 805 A.D., was issued when the king was apparently on his way back to his capital.

The chronology of the southern campaign detailed above would show that Gōvinda's northern conquests were completed before November 803 A.D., the date of the Jharikā grant. As indicated above, Gōvinda III marched quickly from Śrībhavana to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra as if to suppress some sort of revolt from the south. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Añjanavati plates, dated in June 800 A.D. (Śaka 722), were issued from Gōvinda's capital at Mayūrakhaṇḍī and, as already indicated, use the earlier draft. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the northern campaign of the king must have been conducted between June 800 A.D., the date of the Añjanavati plates, and November 803, the date of the Jharikā grant. One may, however, ask why this northern expedition is not referred to in the Jharikā grant. But, as already stated, the king was still engaged in his southern expedition on the date of this grant and even some time thereafter as proved by the inscription under study and he could only prepare the new draft incorporating his exploits in the north as well as in the south sometime before issuing the Nēsarikā grant in December 805 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

The village or locality called Mudumbe cannot be identified.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 297. In his latest contribution on the subject, Altakar also adopts the same view. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 159. [The reason cited cannot be regarded as enough for characterising the Maṅge plates as spurious. For a case of this kind among the records of the Eastern Ganga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239, where I suggested an unnecessary correction.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Below, Vol. XXXIV, Part III. [The Nēsarikā grant or any other record of Gōvinda III does not mention Chakrāyudha, though according to the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I he surrendered to Gōvinda III along with his ally Dharmapāla. Some of the conclusions of Mirashi and others thus appear to be based on argumentum ex silentio.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 244, verse 18.

<sup>5</sup> [The absence of reference to the northern campaign in the Jharikā grant of 803 A.D., before which it must have been completed as indicated by the issue of the charters of the period between 802 and 803 A.D. from the southern camps, makes Dr. Cal's explanation rather doubtful. Gōvinda III was not actually fighting with the Pallavas on the Tuṅgabhadra and the officers with him could have drawn up the new draft in any of his camps if he so desired.—Ed.]



TEXT<sup>1</sup>*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [ | \*] Śaka-nripa-kā]-ātita samvatsaramga]-ś[īnūri(r-i)rppatāraṇa-  
 2 yā Subhānu embhā(mba) varahadā Vaisā(śā)kha-māsa-kṛishṇa-pa-  
 3 ksha-paśchame(mi)-Bṛihaspati(ti)vāram-āgi [|\*] Svasti(sti) Prabhū-  
 4 tavaraha-śrī-Prithuvi(thvi)vallabha-mahārājā(hirāja) pa(rā\*)mā-  
 5 śvara Gōyindara-bhaṭārari Gāmuṇḍabbega<sup>2</sup> mahādē-  
 6 viyār-āgi<sup>3</sup>(gi) rājyā(jya)-pra(va)rddhamāna kālādo]

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 7 Kañchiyan-ā]vā(jva) Dantigana māg-e]du<sup>4</sup> kappam-go]a-  
 8 l-bandalli Tuṅgabhadrēyā taḍiyol-tāpa-biḍuga-  
 9 ]-i]du Rāmāśvara emba tīrtthadā modalo]-mopp-i-  
 10 kki porada pandigalan-i]piyal-bandalli(ili) tīrtthad-o]pa-  
 11 n=kaḍṇ<sup>5</sup> Śivadhāri emba gōravargga Mudumbeya-  
 12 maṇ-untu Kitthi(rtti)vammo(rmma)rāja\*-paramāśvara-dattamān-vi]tā(rj)[]\*] <sup>6</sup>

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 13 idam koḷisidarola(l=ā)r-appode int-appāt(ppār) [|\*]  
 14 Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattambā<sup>7</sup> yō harēti(ta) vasu-  
 15 ndharān(rām | ) śhaśṭhi(śṭi)-varsha-sahasrāḷi(ui) viśṭhā-  
 16 ]yām jāyatē krimi]b [|\*] Api varsha-sahasrāḷi

<sup>1</sup>From the Plates in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, between pp. 126 and 127.

<sup>2</sup>The two letters ga were first omitted and then inserted below the following letter ma.

<sup>3</sup>The character ra is written below the line between pa and ga.

<sup>4</sup>Fleet reads *Dantipaname gaḍṇa*.

<sup>5</sup>Fleet reads *tīrttham-oppa-kaḍṇa*.

<sup>6</sup>These two letters were first omitted and then inserted below the line between vā and the following letter

pa.

<sup>7</sup>Fleet reads *vittā(r\*)*.

<sup>8</sup>This character is redundant.

<sup>9</sup>Read *paradattān va*.



*Third Plate*

17 tēna mē n=ānyatō bhayam(yam) [ ]<sup>1</sup> pūrva-ethiti Ku-

18 nd=emba tote mēro [ ]<sup>2</sup> Mahāsandhivigrā(gra)hā<sup>3</sup>dhi-

19 kāra(r-ā)dhi(dhi)patā[ ]<sup>4</sup> Śrīdharasya likhita<sup>5</sup> aya<sup>6</sup>[ ]<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is only a half verse.

<sup>2</sup> This letter hā is written below the following letter dhī.

<sup>3</sup> Read *likhita*.

<sup>4</sup> This letter is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> While this article was going through the press, I visited Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. It was at this place, situated on the bank of the Tungabhadra, that Gōrinda III was camping as shown above. About a mile to the north of Alampur, there is, on the river-bank, a locality called Rāmāvara which is evidently the same as Rāmāvara-urika mentioned in our record. I noticed here the remains of one or two old temples. But what is more interesting is that, on the other bank of the river opposite Rāmāvara, there is still a small jungle and I was informed that it is infested with bears even today. I was also told that a stone inscription of the reign of Gōrinda III, which is now kept in the museum at Alampur, was originally found at this Rāmāvara. These facts go to confirm the interpretation of the text (lines 9-10) offered at pp. 328-29 above.



## No. 61—NOTE ON SHAR-I-KUNA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

D. C. SIEGAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 21.7.1959)

A rock inscription of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 269-232 B.C.) was recently discovered in a locality called **Shar-i-Kuna near Kandahar in Southern Afghanistan**, that is to say, in the vicinity of the site of the ancient city of Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great in Arachosia. It is a **bilingual record**, one of its two versions being in **Greek** and the other in **Aramaic**. Both the versions of the inscription have been published in Italian by U. Scorrato, G. Tucci, G. P. Carnatelli and G. L. della Vida in a small book entitled *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Asoka—La prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistan*, Rome, 1958, and in French by D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, No. 1, pp. 1 ff. A paper on the same inscription received by us from Prof. J. Filizot is appearing in the pages of this journal, below, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1 ff.

The Shar-i-Kuna inscription is an **edict** referring to the results of Aśoka's propagation of what he called his *Dharma* and we know that such results are referred to in some of his other edicts, especially in **Minor Rock Edicts I-II and Rock Edict IV**. The two versions of the Shar-i-Kuna inscription are really **independent free translations of an edict** (or two versions of an edict) that may have been drawn up in **Prakrit** at Aśoka's Record Office at Pataliputra and sent to his Viceroy and the *Mahādāras* at Alexandria in Arachosia for being translated into Greek and Aramaic no doubt for respectively the local Greek (Yavans) and Kāmbōja subjects of the Maurya emperor, who are referred to in Rock Edicts V and XIII. The Aramaic text refers to a fact recorded in Rock Edict I that formerly numerous birds and animals used to be killed daily at Aśoka's kitchen for the preparation of curries, but that, at the time of the issue of Rock Edict I, only three living beings were being killed for the same purpose. The Aramaic version also mentions the Maurya king clearly as the lord of the people and officers of the Kandahar region where the edict was engraved.<sup>1</sup> No clear allusion to these is found in the Greek text. Likewise there is mention of the king's hunters only in the Greek text and not in the Aramaic version. We may regard the Shar-i-Kuna inscription as **Minor Rock Edict IV**.<sup>2</sup>

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been satisfactorily deciphered and interpreted, though there are some doubtful passages in the Aramaic version.<sup>3</sup> The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it not only proves the inclusion of Afghanistan, apparently the home of the Yavans and Kāmbōjas, in Aśoka's empire but also quotes the date when the emperor became a zealous propagator of Dharma.

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been translated into French as follows:

- (A) Dix ans étant révolus, le roi Piodassète a montré aux hommes la Piété. (Ten years having passed [since his coronation], king Priyadarśin has shown<sup>4</sup> Piety to the people.)
- (B) Et depuis lors il a rendu les hommes plus pieux, et tout prospère sur toute la terre. (And, since then, he has rendered the people more pious, and all prosper on the whole earth.)

<sup>1</sup> Aśoka could not have issued such an edict to the subjects of a foreign ruler.

<sup>2</sup> The Bairāt-Bābri inscription may be regarded as Minor Rock Edict III. See my *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Delhi, 1957, pp. 27, 28-29.

<sup>3</sup> There is some difference between the views of the Italian and French scholars. We have followed the latter. A study of the Aramaic version by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl has since appeared in *East and West*, September 1958, pp. 132 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The use of Past Tense is required here since the following sentence makes it clear that the reference is to an earlier event.



- (C) Et le roi s'abstient des êtres vivants, et les autres hommes et tous les chasseurs et pêcheurs du roi ont cessé de chasser. (And the king abstains from [the eating or slaughter of] living beings, and other people and all the king's hunters and fishermen have given up hunting.)
- (D) Et ceux qui n'étaient pas maîtres d'eux-mêmes ont cessé, dans la mesure de leurs forces, de ne pas se maîtriser. (And those who could not control themselves have ceased not to control themselves as far as they could.)
- (E) Et ils sont devenus obéissants à père et mère et aux gens âgés, à l'inverse de ce qui était le cas précédemment. (And they have become obedient to [their] father and mother and to the old people contrary to what was the case previously.)
- (F) Et désormais, en agissant ainsi, ils vivront de façon meilleure et plus profitable en tout. (And henceforth, by so acting, they will live in an altogether better and more profitable way.)

It may be translated roughly into Prakrit, as used in Aśoka's inscriptions in general and, in particular, his edicts at Shāhbāgaṇi in the Peshawar District (as also Mansehrā in the Hazara District) of West Pakistan, as follows :

- (A) *daśa-vash-abhisittena rāja Priyadrasīna janaṣpi dharm-anulasti pravartita |*  
(*daśa-varaḥ-ābhishiktēna rājā Priyadarśinā janā dharm-anulastih pravartitā |*)
- (B) *ītaś chu tēna munīna bādhataraḥ dharmā-yuta kaṣa praṇa cha vādhitā hita-sukheṇa*  
*sarva-puṭhaviyaḥ | (ītaś cha tu tēna manuṣyāḥ bādhataraḥ dharmā-yutāḥ*  
*kṛitāḥ prāpāḥ cha varihitāḥ hita-sukheṇa sarva-prithivyām |)*
- (C) *rāja chu praṇ-sarabho paritijita sarvahi cha manuṣahi ludakehi cha sarvahi kevaṭahi*  
*cha rājo paritijita vihiṇa bhūtanāḥ | (rājā cha tu prāṇ-ālamblaḥ parityaktāḥ*  
*sarvāḥ cha manuṣyāḥ lubdhakāḥ cha sarvāḥ kaivartaḥ cha rājāḥ parityaktā*  
*vihiṇāḥ bhūtānām |)*
- (D) *yēśaḥ chu n-asī sadiyamo te pi cha sadiyātā bhūta yātha tēna tēna śakam | (yēśaḥ*  
*cha tu nā sīti samyamah tē api cha sadiyatāḥ bhūtāḥ yathā tēna tēna śakyam |)*
- (E) *te pi cha mātā-pitūṣu vudheshu cha suśmahanāti yadīśam no bhūta-pruṣam | (tē*  
*api cha mātā-pitṛiṣu vṛiddhēṣu cha suśrūṣhanti yādṛiśam no bhūta-pūrvam |)*
- (F) *evaṁ cha karamiṇa te paśa hita-sukheṇa vādhiśanti bādham cha vādhiśanti || (ēvaṁ*  
*cha kurrāṇāḥ tē paśchāt hita-sukheṇa vaddhishyantē bādham cha vaddhishyantē ||)*

The Aramaic text has been translated into French as follows :

- (A) Dix ans étant révolus (?), il advint (!) que notre seigneur Priyadarśi le roi se fit l'instaurateur de la Vérité. (Ten years having passed (?), it so happened (!) that our lord, king Priyadarśin, became the institutor of Truth.)
- (B) Depuis lors le mal a diminué pour tous les hommes, et toutes les infortunes (!), il les a fait disparaître ; et sur toute la terre [il y a] paix [et] joie. (Since then, evil became diminished among all men and all misfortunes (!) he caused to disappear ; and [there are] peace [and] joy on the whole earth.)
- (C) Et, en outre, [il y a] ceci en ce qui concerne la nourriture : pour notre seigneur le roi on [ne] tue [que] peu [d'animaux] ; en voyant cela, tous les hommes ont cessé [de tuer des animaux] ; même (!) ceux qui prennent les poissons (=les pêcheurs), ces hommes-là sont l'objet d'une interdiction. (And, moreover, [there is] this in regard to food : for our lord, the king [only] a few [animals] are killed ; having seen this, all men have given up [the slaughter of animals] ; even (!) those men who catch fish (i.e. fishermen) are subject to prohibition.)



- (D) Pareillement, ceux qui étaient sans frein, ceux-là ont cessé d'être sans frein. (Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased to be without restraint.)
- (E) Et [regne] l'obéissance à sa mère et à son père et aux gens âgés conformément aux obligations qu'a imposées à chacun le sort. (And obedience to mother and to father and to old men [reign] in conformity with the obligations imposed by fate on each [person].)
- (F) Et il n'y a pas de Jugement pour tous les hommes pieux. (And there is no Judgement for all the pious men.)
- (G) Cela (=la pratique de la Loi) a été profitable pour tous les hommes et sera encore profitable. (This [i.e. the practice of Law] has been profitable to all men and will be more profitable [in future].)

The text may be roughly translated into the same Prakrit as follows :

- (A) *daśa-vash-abhiśhitena rāṣa Priyadrasīna samikena no tadda dharm-anuśasti pravaṭṭita | (daśa-varaḥ-ābhishikṭēna rājā Priyadarśinā svāmikēna naḥ tadā dharm-anuśastiḥ pravartitā | )*
- (B) *tata apayasa hini jata savraspi cha janaspi tena dupratibhaga nivaṭṭita | asti pi sacchi cha priti cha savra-puṭhaviyam | (tataḥ apāyasya hāniḥ jātā sarvasamānā cha janā tēna dushpratibhāgāḥ nivartitāḥ | asti api śāntiḥ cha pritiḥ cha sarva-prithivyām | )*
- (C) *eta che pi bhutam | sup-arthaya chu rāṣo no samikasa lahukam arabhiyati | tam cha draśana savra manuśa na arabhamti | evam pi ye cha kevaṭa te pi cha niyamena samiyata | (ētat cha api bhūtam | sūp-arthāya cha rājāḥ naḥ svāmikasya laghukam-ālabhyatē | tasya cha darśanāt sarvā manuśyāḥ na ālabhantē | evam-api yē cha kaivartāḥ tē api cha niyamēna samiyatāḥ | )*
- (D) *evam pi yesham cha n=asi samyamno te pi cha samiyata bhuta | (evam-api yēśāṁ cha na āst samyamāḥ tē api cha samiyatāḥ bhūtāḥ | )*
- (E) *savre cha mata-pitūnam suśrūṣanti vudhesu cha suśrūṣanti yadiśam tassa tassa kaṭavam aropitam | (sarvā cha mātā-pitūnam suśrūṣanti vudhēsu cha suśrūṣanti yādīśam tasya tasya kartavyam ārōpitam | )*
- (F) *Dharma-yutanam chu kho paratra n=asti viśharaṇa | (dharma-yutānāṁ chu tu khalu paratra na asti viśhāraṇā | )*
- (G) *sarve cha manuśa dhama-charapena abhunnata cha abhunnamishanti ch=eva || (sarvā cha manuśyāḥ dhama-charapēna abhunnatāḥ cha abhunnamishanti cha ēva || )*

The first sentence in both the versions suggests that Aśoka became a zealous propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in the eleventh year of his reign. The same date is also suggested by the evidence of some of his other records.

It is usually believed that Aśoka's coronation took place about 269 B.C. and that he became a Buddhist after he had been greatly moved by the horrors of the campaigns in Kalinga which was conquered by him, according to Rock Edict XIII, eight years after his coronation, i.e., in his ninth regnal year.



Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued earlier than his Fourteen Rock Edicts.<sup>1</sup> They were promulgated when Asoka had passed the 356th night of a long tour undertaken for the propagation of *Dharma*.<sup>2</sup> Minor Rock Edict I states that, at the time of its issue, Asoka had already been an *upāsaka* (i.e., a lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two years and a half and that, out of this period of a little over two years and a half, he had not been zealous in respect of *Dharma* for one year at the beginning, but that, as a result of his close contact with the *Saṅgha* or Buddhist church,<sup>3</sup> he became a zealous propagator of *Dharma* thereafter for a little over one year.<sup>4</sup> To this period of zealous activity must be assigned the emperor's pilgrimage to Sambōdhi (i.e., Mahābōdhi or Bōdhgayā) undertaken, according to Rock Edict VIII, in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e., in the eleventh regnal year), and the creation of the posts of the *Dharma-Mahāmātrās* in the thirteenth year after coronation (i.e., in the fourteenth regnal year), which is referred to in Rock Edict V. The pilgrimage to Sambōdhi, the holiest of the Buddhist *tirthas* where the Buddha attained enlightenment, may be regarded as one of the earliest acts of the active period of Asoka's religious life, to which Minor Rock Edict I pointedly refers. Pillar Edict VI, issued in the twenty-sixth year after Asoka's coronation (i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year), states that he issued (i.e., first issued or began to issue) *Dharma-dīpas*, i.e., edicts relating to the *Dharma* he preached, in the twelfth year after his coronation (i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year). Rock Edict III contains an order of Asoka asking certain classes of his officers to set out on tour once in every five years for the propagation of his *Dharma* in addition to their normal duties, and this order was promulgated in the twelfth year after coronation, i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year. Rock Edict VI is stated to have been caused to be written down in the same year. These activities of the thirteenth regnal year of Asoka must likewise be attributed to the period when he was a zealous propagator of *Dharma*.

On the basis of these facts, we suggested elsewhere<sup>5</sup> (1) that Asoka became a Buddhist in the second half of his tenth regnal year (i.e., nine years after his coronation, c. 260-259 B.C.), (2) that he came into close contact with the Buddhist Church, became a zealous worker in the cause of *Dharma* and undertook a pilgrimage to Sambōdhi, in the second half of the eleventh regnal year (i.e., ten years after coronation, c. 259-258 B.C.), (3) that he set out on a tour for the propagation of *Dharma* about the middle of his twelfth regnal year (i.e., eleven years after coronation, c. 258-257 B.C.), and (4) that Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued in the course of that tour in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year (i.e., twelve years after coronation, c. 257-256 B.C.).

The Shar-i-Kuna edict now corroborates the suggestion that Asoka became an active propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in his eleventh regnal year, and sets at rest certain unwarranted speculations about the duration of Asoka's *upāsakata* when Minor Rock Edict I was issued.<sup>6</sup> The nature of the Shar-i-Kuna edict is similar to that of Minor Rock Edicts I-II and both the former and the latter appear to have been issued in the same year and may be counted among the earliest edicts issued by Asoka.

As indicated above, the imperial order contained in Rock Edict III was issued and Rock Edict IV was caused to be written down in the thirteenth regnal year of Asoka. But Rock Edict V, belonging to the set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts including Rock Edicts III and IV, contains a reference to the creation of the posts of *Dharma-Mahāmātrās* in the following year.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 13-19, my *Mastī Inscription of Asoka*, p. 25, note 1; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Mastī Inscription of Asoka*, pp. 23-30.

<sup>3</sup> For the meaning of the words *upāsaka*, *upāsika* and *upāsaka* used in indicating Asoka's relation with the *Saṅgha*, see *ibid.*, p. 24; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> This is quite obvious from the language of the different versions of Minor Rock Edict I (see *Mastī Inscription of Asoka*, pp. 23-25) and is now corroborated by the evidence of the Shar-i-Kuna edict.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23 ff., 29-30.



The set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts could therefore have been engraved in Aśoka's fourteenth regnal year at the earliest. Amongst the Six Pillar Edicts forming another set, it is known from Pillar Edicts I, IV, V and VI that the set was issued twenty-six years after Aśoka's coronation, i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year. Pillar Edict VII added to the above set of six on the Delhi-Toprā pillar was caused to be written down in the following year and this particular set of Seven Pillar Edicts could not therefore have been engraved before Aśoka's twenty-eighth regnal year. There is a fairly long and rather inexplicable interval of more than a decade between the issue of Minor Rock Edicts I-II (thirteenth regnal year) and the set of the Rock Edicts (thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years) on the one hand and that of the Pillar Edicts (twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regnal years) on the other. During this interval, Aśoka may have been busy with his tours of pilgrimage and with the schism in the Buddhist Church, both referred to in some of his records.

The Shar-i-Kuna edict (very probably of the thirteenth regnal year) suggests that the hunters and fishermen in Aśoka's service, who had originally been responsible for supplying animals and fish to the royal kitchen for the preparation of curries, gave up the practice of catching animals and fish under the king's orders. This reminds us of the fact that, according to Pillar Edict V, the emperor banned the slaughter of certain species of animals and fish totally and of all kinds of them on particular days of the month, in his twenty-seventh regnal year (i.e., twenty-six years after coronation). The general prohibition therefore came after many years of intensive propaganda, even though Pillar Edict VII says that, in the matter of the propagation of *Dharma*, Aśoka considered propaganda by far more effective than prohibition.

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By Shrinivas Rishi, M.A.

[The figures refer to pages, n. after a figure to foot-notes, and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—au.=author; ca.=capital; ch.=chief; ci.=city; co.=country; com.=composer; de.=deity; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; engr.=engraver; ep.=epitbet; f.=family; fe.=female; feni.=fendatory; gen.=general; gr.=grant, grants; ins.=inscription, inscriptions; k.=king; l.=locality; l.m.=linear measure, land measure; m.=male; min.=minister; mo.=mountain; myth.=mythological; n.=name; N.=Northern; off.=office, officer; peo.=people; pl.=plate, plates; pr.=prince, princess; q.=queen; ri.=river; S.=Southern; sa.=same as; te.=temple; T.d.=territorial division; Tel.=Telugu; tit.=title; to.=town; tk.=taluk; vi.=village; W.=Western; wk.=work; wt.=weight.]

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